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A
COLLECTION

OF

Voyages and Travels,

SOME

Now first Printed from *Original Manuscripts*,

OTHERS

Now first Published in ENGLISH.

In SIX VOLUMES.

WITH A

General PREFACE, giving an Account of the Progress of NAVIGATION, from its first Beginning.

Illustrated with a great Number of useful Maps and Cuts,
Curiously Engraven.

VOL. VI.

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed by Assignment from Mess^{rs}. CHURCHILL,

For HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVI.

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LONDON:

Printed by W. Johnston, at the Golden-Ball in Pall-mall.

For Henry Johnston, and John Oxborn, at the Golden-Ball in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXVI

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O F T H E
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THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

To the First Edition in Four Volumes.

WE think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that it was not possible to publish this Collection of Voyages and Travels within the time mentioned in our proposals, by reason of the difficulties we met with, as well in finding out persons fitly qualified to translate from so many languages, as in getting the cuts prepared: yet we hope we have made sufficient amends, by adding a considerable number, no less than a hundred and fifty sheets and cuts more than we promised. Particularly we have inserted Baldæus's description of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and island of Ceylon; and instead of abridging Gemelli, as we proposed, we have on better advice chosen to give him intire: which necessarily delayed the publication of these volumes, and at the same time put us to much greater expence than our proposals obliged us; though the buyer does not pay one farthing the more. We might indeed have made quicker dispatch, and performed what we undertook at less charge, could we have contented ourselves with abridging any of the pieces we have given intire, or with leaving out some of those cuts (as possibly there are a few, which in some men's opinion might have been spared) but we would not assume the liberty of prescribing to the publick how much of an author they should read, nor determine which figures are useful, and which superfluous; seeing those who read for their diversion have different tastes, and those who read for instruction have different views.

We take occasion likewise to inform the publick, that since the undertaking of this design, divers other relations, some in manuscript, others printed, no less curious than useful, are fallen into our hands; which by the advice of learned and judicious friends we have resolved to prepare for the press with all possible expedition, and to publish them in one or more volumes in folio, printed on the same kind of paper with these. In all which we shall not presume to abridge the originals, but fairly and candidly deliver whatever our authors have thought fit to be inserted in their several pieces.

An Account of the BOOKS contained in this COLLECTION.

VOL. I.

I. THIS volume begins with NAVARETTE'S historical, political, moral, and religious account of *China*. The author was a Dominican friar sent over by his order in the year 1646. to exercise his ecclesiastical function in the *Philippine* islands. But there finding no great encouragement, he ventured over into *China*, where he spent several years in the service of the Christians he found there, learning the *Chinese* language, reading their histories, studying the points in controversy among the missionaries, and thoroughly qualifying himself to give a just account of that mighty monarchy. He wrote in *Spanish*, and was never translated till now. Those that have read him in the original give a high commendation of his learning, judgment, and sincerity; for in handling the particulars mentioned in the title of his book, he delivers nothing but upon the best grounds, as an eye-witness, where he could be so, or else upon the authority of *Chinese* histories, which he searched and very well understood, or upon the information of

credible persons; ever mentioning on which of these the reader is to rely for the truth of what he relates. He often quotes his second volume, calling it, *of controversies*, the main subject of it being those points still in dispute among the missionaries; this book (as we are informed) was printed, but by the interest and artifice of the Jesuits, the edition was seized by the inquisition before it was published, so that very few copies of it got abroad.

He gives us an exact history of the empire of *China*, both ancient and modern; a description of the country and people, perfect in all circumstances; a genuine translation of the morals of *Confucius* their great philosopher; a full view of the *Chinese* learning, and a judicious explication of their opinions in religious matters: in which he is so careful and particular, that no other author whatsoever has given so complete an account of the religion of that nation. Nor does he confine himself to *China*, but in his way thither delivers many curious observations he made in his voyage to *New-Spain*, and gives a very good account of that

An Account of the Books contained in this Collection.

that country, as also of the *Philippine* islands (where he made a considerable stay), of the islands lying about them, and of other parts of *India*; and the accidents he met with in his return home, which was in the year 1673. after he had been abroad 26 years. On his arrival in *Europe* he repaired to the court of *Rome*, upon the matter of the controversies between the missionaries; where he was treated with all the honour due to a person of his merit: and soon after his return to *Spain*, he was promoted to an archbishoprick in *Hispaniola*.

II. BAUMGARTEN, whose travels we have here into *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, was a *German* nobleman, as appears by his life prefixed to his travels. His journal was not published by himself, but after his death collected from his own and his servant's observations, both of them having kept diaries of all they saw; and therefore are two several witnesses for the truth of what is delivered. Here is not only a description of the countries abovementioned, but a great deal of their ancient history inserted; and what renders the relation yet more agreeable, is the great variety of occurrences in this voyage well worth the relating. In particular, we are obliged to him for his account of the discipline and manners of that strange and unparallel'd society of men, the *Mamelukes*, who for a long time held the dominion of *Egypt*, and of whom there is scarce to be found any where else a tolerable relation. His observations on the lives of the Christian religious men in those parts, will be delightful to the curious reader, as will also his remarks on the superstitions of the *Mamelukes*, *Arabs*, and other infidels. This author travelled in the year 1507. His journal never appeared before in *English*. The *Latin* copy here translated was corrected by *Joseph Scaliger's* own hand.

III. HENRY BRAWERN and ELIAS HERCKEMANN were sent to the kingdom of *Chili* by the *Dutch West-India* company in the years 1642 and 1643. *Brawern* was ordered to endeavour to settle among the *Indians* of that country, who were then revolted from the *Spaniards*, as may appear by the advertisement before the voyage; but he died there, and so that design came to nothing. The main thing in this journal is an account of the voyage, and a description of the island of *Castro* lying off the South coast of *Chili*, as also of the river of *Baldivia* in that kingdom.

IV. The next is a description of the island of *Formosa* near the coast of *China*, where the *Dutch* had a considerable fort. Of the author we know no more, but that he was minister to the *Dutch* in that island. The description is but short, yet contains the most material points usually treated of in such relations.

V. The remarks on the empire of *Japan* give a particular account of the revenues of the emperor and all the great men of that empire. The rest of it may almost as soon be read as characterized, and is therefore left to the reader's censure.

VI. Captain JOHN MONCK's voyage into the Northern parts, was perform'd by order of *Christian IV.* king of *Denmark*, in the years 1619 and

1620. The particular preface to it mentions the most material points, which therefore need not be repeated here. What may be added concerning the captain is, that he was one of the ablest seamen of his time; that he had excellent natural parts; was of a bold and daring spirit, proper to attempt those dangerous discoveries; and hardy to endure all the rigours of those frozen climates: But what is his greatest commendation in this place is, that he was a man of truth and integrity, as may appear by his narrative, in which all that have followed him could find nothing to contradict.

VII. To BEAUPLAN's description of *Ukraine* so particular a preface is prefixed, that little more can be added. In general, the reader will find many things both moral and natural, that are rare and remarkable. He lived in that country about the year 1640. He was excellently qualified to give this description, being a mathematician and an engineer; and he has performed it so well, that nothing seems to be wanting but the map, which he tells us was seized with his papers by the king of *Poland*.

VIII. The two voyages to *Congo* in *Africk* were performed, the first by MICHAEL ANGELO of *Gattina* and DENIS DE CARLI of *Piacenza*, *Capuchins* and missionaries into that kingdom, in the year 1666. The first of these died there, after he had sent these particulars in letters to his friends. The other returned into *Italy*, where he composed a small book from which this is translated. It begins with their voyage from *Italy* to *Lisbon*, and thence to *Brazil*, which introduces a brief account of that country; and thence sailing over to *Africk*, treats of the *Portuguese* town of *Loando* on that coast, of the behaviour and manners of the people, their way of travelling, the product of the country, of the several princes, the proceedings of those and other missionaries, the state of religion; and lastly, remarks in the author's travels through *Spain* and *France* in his return home. More particulars whereof may be seen in the translator's preface before the voyage.

IX. The other voyage to the same country was performed by F. JEROME MEROLLA DA SORRENTO in the year 1682. who was also a missionary. The vessel he went in being by contrary winds carried to the southward of the cape of *Good Hope*, the father delivers all that is remarkable in running along that Southern coast of *Africk*, till his arrival at the port of *Angola*. Then he enters upon his business, with the discovery of *Congo*, and first missions to those parts; describes the river *Zaire*, relates the proceedings of the missionaries, the superstitions and customs of the *Blacks*, something of the wars betwixt the *Portuguese*s and the *Blacks*, and of the attempts of the *Dutch* and *English* to breed enmity betwixt those two nations. He describes the beasts, birds, fruits, and plants of *Congo*, and has many curious things not taken notice of by the former missionaries.

X. This volume concludes with Sir THOMAS ROE's journal, a valuable piece. He was sent ambassador by king *James* the first to the *Great Mogul*, in 1615. at the charge of the *East-India* com;

An Account of the Books contained in this Collection.

company, to settle peace and commerce. Being in that high post, he was the better able to give us a true account of the court of that mighty monarch, to shew us all the customs and manners of it, and to instruct us in their policies, arts and maxims of state, which common travellers are not allowed to pry into. There is no cause to suspect the truth of his relation, because his negotiations in *Turky*, where he was ambassador, lately printed, shew the extent of his genius, which was universal; and for Integrity, that he was one of the honestest as well as ablest ministers that ever was employ'd by any court; and in this journal he had an eye particularly to serve those who had business to transact in *India*, and were to have business there in all future time. For a fuller account of this work we refer to the preface before the journal itself.

VOL. II.

I. The voyages and travels of Mr. JOHN NIEUBOFF. He was a *Dutchman*, and employed by the *Dutch* company to the *East* and *West Indies*. They are divided into three parts. The first to *Brazil*, anno 1640. in which he went merchant supercargo to a ship of the *West-India* company. His description of *Brazil* is so exact and full, that he has left nothing for the diligence and those who came after him; for besides the general map, there are draughts of the towns of *Arecite* and *Olinda*, and Cuts of all the strange beasts, birds, serpents, insects, trees, plants, and of the *Indians* themselves, all taken upon the spot. To which he adds the transactions in the war betwixt the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* in that country, he being there in the height of it, that is, from 1640 till 1649.

The second part contains the author's travels in the *East Indies*, begun in the year 1653. In the way thither he describes the islands of *Cabo Verde*, giving draughts of two of them, call'd *S. Anthony* and *S. Vincent*; and then a map of the cape of *Good Hope*. Thence he sails to *Amboyna*, of which, and of the *Molucco* islands, as also of *Formosa*, he leaves nothing worth relating untouched. The same he performs from *China* all along the coast of *India* and *Persia*; so plainly representing all things observable or strange there, that with the help of his cuts we seem to be conversing with the people of those parts, to see all their towns and living creatures, and to be thoroughly acquainted with their habits, customs and superstitions. But when he comes to *Batavia*, the metropolis of the *Dutch* dominions in the *East*, he there spares no labour or cost to express the greatness of that city; and this not only with words, but with abundance of fine draughts, representing, besides the town and harbour, the church, the markets, the town-house, the hospital, and many other places and structures. All the habits of those parts are also represented. In short, the whole work contains Eighty-two cuts, which being all drawn to truth, and not fancy, illustrate the work, and render it extraordinary valuable. All this is interwoven with discourses of the wars betwixt the *Dutch* and *Indians* in several parts;

and many remarks of their history, both political and natural.

The third part is a voyage to the East-side of *Africk*, in the year 1672. which is very short and imperfect; Mr. *Nieuboff* being unfortunately killed in the island of *Madagascar* by the natives.

II. SMITH'S adventures, travels and observations, begin with his travels in the *Low-Countries*, *France* and *Italy*, proceeding thence to the wars betwixt the *Turks* and *Transylvanians*, where the author served; and being taken prisoner and carried into *Tartary*, he speaks somewhat of that country: Making his escape from the *Tartars*, he crossed all *Europe*, and passed into *Barbary*: Hence he went to *Virginia*, the *Summer Islands*, and *New England*, and has left us the history of the *English* settlements in those places, and their state from the year 1624 to 1629. thence he passed to the *Leeward Islands*, of which he likewise gives an account.

III. Two journals of men left in the frozen regions of *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen*, to winter there, and make some observations on those countries.

The first of these is of seven sailors, who voluntarily consented to stay in the isle *Maurice*, on the coast of *Greenland*. These kept an exact diary, setting down the wind, weather, and all other particulars they could observe, from the twenty-sixth of *August* 1633, till the twenty-ninth of *April* 1634. The method is plain, and such as might be expected from Sailors; and as there is nothing in the relation that seems incredible; so neither is there any ground to call the truth of it in question, because they all died one after another, and left this journal behind them without any alteration: and doubtless as they felt themselves declining, they could have no inclination to impose on the world.

The second journal is of seven other *Dutch* sailors, left to winter at *Spitzbergen* in the year 1634, where they also kept a diary from the eleventh of *September* till the twenty-sixth of *February*, when being spent with the scurvy, and their limbs benumbed with the winter's cold, they could not help themselves, and like the others were all found dead at the return of the *Dutch* fleet in 1635.

IV. A brief relation of a shipwreck in *Spitzbergen* in 1646. and of the taking up of four of the men who escaped, after a wonderful manner; yet three of them died soon after, and only one returned home.

V. The descriptions of *Iceland* and *Greenland* were written about the year 1645. by Mr. *la Peyrere*, a learned *Frenchman*, author of the book about the *Præ-Adamites*, secretary to the *French* embassy at *Copenhagen*, at the request of the ingenious *Monf. de le Motte la Vayer*, and sent to him: Of *Iceland*, a country long inhabited, though so cold and northerly, he delivers something of ancient history, besides the description of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In *Greenland* he follows much the same method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the most accomplished narratives we have of those parts, and esteemed as such by *Monf. de la Motte la Vayer*, who was a very competent judge.

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VI. Captain THO. JAMES's voyage, anno 1631. for the discovery of the North-west passage into the *South Sea*: Setting sail in *May*, he ran into the latitude of 63 degrees and upwards. 'Tis very observable throughout the voyage, that we shall scarce meet with so continual a series of storms, and all sorts of hardships, miseries and calamities, as this captain ran through; who after struggling till *September* with tempests, cold and uninhabited shores, at last was driven upon a desert frozen island, and there forced to winter in miserable distress. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in those quarters, and his observations on it are curious, and were very useful to Mr. Boyle, in the experiments he made about Cold. The general esteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will sufficiently recommend it. He returned safe home with most of his crew.

VII. The *Muscovite* ambassador's journey by land from *Moscow* to *China* in 1645 is so short, that it requires little to be said of it, but that it describes the way from *Moscow* to *Peking*, and shews us that the city is the same with the so much talk'd of and little known *Cambalu*, mistakenly supposed to be in *Tartary*. This ambassador being never admitted to audience, could learn nothing of the *Chinese* court, and therefore does not pretend to inform us of any thing that relates to it.

VIII. WAGNER's travels in *Brazil* and the *East Indies* about 1633. which are annexed to this embassy, are as short, and may so soon be read over, that it is needless to give a character of them.

IX. The life of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS has a short preface to it, partly the author's, and partly the translator's, which is sufficient to inform the reader both of the contents of the book, and the value of it above others that treat of the same subject. And indeed nothing can be described more authentick, if we will give credit to original papers, and those from so good a hand as the admiral himself and his own son, who bore part with him in some of his enterprises. But we must not omit to observe, that under the title of his life, is contained the narration of all that was done in the discovery of the *West Indies* in his time, about 1492. besides abundance of curious remarks, scarce to be found in any other author that writes upon this subject.

X. GREAVES's account of the *pyramids*, needs little to be said of it. The universal approbation it has received is a greater character than can be here given of it; the judicious Monsr. Thevenot set such a value upon it, that he translated it into *French*. In a word, it is the most accomplished narrative we have of those wonderful Piles, and may spare all other travellers the trouble of writing of them. He has said all that can be expected; he instructs us who were the founders of the pyramids, the time of erecting them, the motive and design of them, and then describes them exactly, and gives draughts of them.

XI. His *Roman foot* and *denarius* added to his pyramids, is another piece of excellent literature, to give light into the weights and measures of the ancients.

XII. CHRISTOPHER BORRI's account of *Cochin-China*, where he lived about the year 1620. closes the second volume. It is short, but full of matter, and contains many curious things. There is a small preface of the translator's before it, giving an account of the whole work in very few lines.

VOL. III.

I. The historical relation of the kingdom of *Chili*, by ALONSO DE OVALLE, about the year 1646. is the only good account extant of that kingdom. The author, being a Jesuit, inserted the relations of several miracles in this work, which the translator has in great measure retrenched; for the rest, his veracity is unquestioned. The author himself is so modest, as to excuse any fault that may be found with his work, alledging its being written at *Rome*, where he was procurator for those of his order in *Chili*; and, being so far from home, ill-provided with papers and all materials for composing a history of this sort: But whosoever reads it, will find more ground for commendation than need of excuse, nothing of the kind being more compleat, full and accurate. Something might be here said as to the particulars contained in this book, but that the author and translator have done it already in two several prefaces before the book. The translator gives the author and his work that honourable character they deserve. The author in his preface sums up the contents of his book, declares how sincerely he has dealt, in order to deliver nothing but the truth; gives his reasons for what he says relating to *Peru* and *Mexico*, and lastly demonstrates how this work may be diverting and useful to all sorts of readers.

II. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's naval tracts. Sir William was a gentleman well descended, but of small fortune, as he confesses, which made him take to the sea, where he served many years in several capacities, till merit raised him to the degree of an admiral, first under queen *Elizabeth*, and then under king *James* and king *Charles* the first. Being bred from his youth at sea, and being a man of excellent natural parts, there is not the least shadow of reason to make a doubt of his capacity in maritime Affairs. His integrity will sufficiently appear to any that reads him, for he every where carries such a visible ingenuity in what he delivers, that it plainly appears to be written with a true zeal for the publick, and without prejudice or affectation. The excellent advice he gives to his eldest son, is a good instance of his virtuous inclination; and the small estate he declares he leaves him, after so many toils and dangers, plainly shews the honesty of his life. Thus much as to the author; as to his tracts there is a preface before them, to which the reader is referred for other particulars not touched upon in this place.

The first book is chiefly a brief collection of every year's actions in the war against *Spain*, on our own and the *Spanish* Coasts, and in the *West-Indies*. In some he is more particular than in others; and what perhaps may be still of use, he

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at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them.

His second book begins with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with *Spain*, which put an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed against pirates. He inveighs against the *Dutch*, shews the ill management of a design against *Algier*, and makes very notable remarks on the attempt upon *Cadiz* by king *Charles* the First, proposing methods how *Spain* might have been much more endamaged, with other particulars about the shipping of *England*, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book treats of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral to the meanest persons employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a compleat fleet to the smallest vessel, with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all sorts of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many more curious matters accurately handled.

The fourth book is a brief collection of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* discoveries and conquests in *Africk*, *Asia* and *America*, with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of *English* and *French* plantations.

The fifth book is full of projects or schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation.

The sixth and last treats of fishing, to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to *England*; with all instructions necessary for putting such a design in execution.

III. The description of the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, and the island of *Ceylon* in the *East Indies*, about the year 1649. by *PHILIP BALDÆUS*, a *Dutch* minister, who lived several years in those parts. The preface to the work gives a general idea of it, and of the author. He first gives a brief account of the actions and conquests of the *Portugueses* in those parts, and then an ample and full relation how the *Dutch* expelled them; where we shall find more particulars concerning those affairs than have been hitherto made publick in *English*, which is a very considerable piece of history. Though he only promises to treat of the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* on the continent, yet to lead us the more methodically into it, he begins with the description of *Cambaya*, the treaties of the *Dutch* with the *Great Mogul*, the trade of several *European* nations along that coast; and leads us even into the *Red Sea*, describing many places of note upon those shores, and even up the inland country, acquainting the reader, at the same time, with all that is requisite to be known of the *Mahometans* in those parts. Hence he descends to treat of all the great peninsula on this side *Ganges*, of its product, the rivers *Nile* and *Ganges*, and more particularly than any other has done of the *Malabar* language. After this he proceeds to *Ceylon*, where he enlarges more than upon the rest, as having lived longest there, and concludes with a large account of the idolatry of the *East India* pagans.

VOL. IV.

I. Dr. FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI'S voyage round the world; is a piece of extraordinary curiosity, published in *Italian* in six octavo volumes, and now first in *English*: The author, who was a doctor of the Civil law, returning home from his long travels but at the end of the year 1698. An air of truth appears throughout it; there being nothing but what is told with much modesty, and what is probable and natural enough in itself; besides that the most part of what is here related may be found dispersed in many other travellers, who saw but pieces of what *Gemelli* took a view of intire. His remarks and observations are extraordinary curious, he being not only a man of learning and capacity, but had leisure, and money to carry him through, (that being his only business). And these advantages have enabled him to annex an excellent, though brief collection of history to every part of his travels, which informs the reader of the *antient* as well as *present* state of the countries he treats of. He is exact for the most part in setting down the distances of places; a great help to future travellers. His accounts of plants and fruits peculiar to the *East* and *West Indies*, with the draughts and representations of them, are a good help to natural history, which with his other descriptions, and his observations of customs, manners, habits, laws, religions, and all other things in those vast regions he passed through, make his work invaluable. In particular, what he says in that part of his voyage which is from *Aquapulco* till his leaving the continent of *America*, is, besides what is in *Gage*, almost the only account we have of the inland parts of that continent. The preface to the work gives a full account of it; to which we refer.

II. Travels thro' *Europe*, in xxviii. learned and familiar letters, from the celebrated Dr. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI, author of the famous voyage round the world, to the illustrious counsellor *Amato Danio*. These letters contain many curious observations; his journey seems to be the prelude to that which he afterwards took round the world; his letters being dated 1686, and his return from his voyage round the world, being in 1698. In those relating to *England*, however mistaken and defective he shews himself in several places, it will be seen, what notions and prejudices learned foreigners, especially *Italian* ones, are too apt to entertain of the *English*.

III. A relation of a journal to *Constantinople* in the reign of *Charles Gustavus* king of *Sweden*; including an account of the *Turkish* monarchy at that time, with their policies, &c. and of the execution of the king of *Sweden*'s commission to the *Ottoman Porte*; which was intrusted to the author, NICHOLAS ROLAMB, baron of *Bystad*, formerly envoy extraordinary to the grand seignor: Whose report this is of his negotiations, addressed to his royal master.

IV. An account of the shipwreck of a *Dutch* vessel on the coast of the isle of *Quelpaent*, which happened in the year 1653. together with the description of the kingdom of *Corea*. This was originally

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originally writ in *Dutch* by one that calls himself the secretary of the ship then lost, who lived thirteen years in those countries, and at last made his escape with some others. It was thought worthy to be translated into *French*, and now lastly into *English*. 'Tis the only account yet extant of the kingdom of *Corea*, which lies on the East of *China*, being a *peninsula* joined to that mighty empire by a small neck of land: and it is no wonder we should be so very much strangers to this country, since besides its remoteness, the author tells us they admit of no strangers; or if any have the misfortune, as he had, to fall into their hands, they never return home, unless they can make as wonderful an escape as he did. The relation itself has a particular preface annexed to it by the translator, to which the reader is referred.

V. PELHAM's account of the wonderful preservation of eight men left a whole winter in *Greenland* 1630, the preservation indeed was very remarkable, especially considering how unprovided they were left of all necessaries for wintering in such a dismal country, it being accidental, and no way designed. This narrative has nothing of art or language, being left by an ignorant sailor, who, as he confesses, was in no better a post than gunner's mate, and that to a *Greenland* fisher; and therefore the reader can expect no more than bare matter of fact, delivered in a homely stile, which it was not fit to alter, lest it might breed a jealousy that something had been changed more than the bare language.

VI. DR. JOHN BAPTIST MORIN's journey to the mines in *Hungary*, about 1650, is a very short relation of those mines, the ore they afford, the damps, the springs in them, the miners, the manner of discharging the water, and other particulars relating to them.

VII. TEN-RHYNE's account of the cape of *Good Hope*, about 1673, and of the *Hottentots*, the natives of that country, is very curious. After a short description of the cape and table mountain, he describes the birds, beasts, fishes, insects and plants found in that part of the world; and then succinctly treats of the people, their persons, garments, dwellings, furniture, disposition, manners, way of living, and making war, traffick, sports, religion, magistrates, laws, marriages, children, trades, physick and language.

VIII. Captain RICHARD BOLLAND's draught of the straits of *Gibraltar*, in 1675, and his observations on its currents.

VOL. V.

I. A description of the coasts of *North* and *South Guiney*; and of *Æthiopia inferior*, vulgarly *Angola*. The author JOHN BARBOT, a person exceedingly well qualified for the task he undertakes, being agent-general of the royal company of *Africa*, and the islands of *America*, at *Paris*. He begins his work with a curious introductory discourse relating to *Africa*. And divides it into six books, which contain a geographical, political and natural history of the kingdoms, provinces, commonwealths, territories and islands belonging to it. Their product, inhabitants, names, lan-

guages, trade, wars, policy and religion. He also gives a curious and full account of all the *European* settlements; of their rise, progress and present condition; their commerce, and measures for improving the several branches of the *Guiney* and *Angola* trade. Also of trade-winds, breezes, tornadoes, harmatans, tides, currents, &c. As he was also agent-general of the said company for the *American* islands, he gives a relation of the province of *Guiana*, and of the great rivers of *Amazons* and *Oronoque*, in *South America*. And in an appendix adds a general account of the first discoveries of *America*, and some curious observations on that subject; together with a geographical, political and natural history of the *Antilles* islands in the *North* sea of *America*. The whole is illustrated with a great number of useful maps and cuts engraved on copper, very exactly drawn upon the place. And now first printed from the author's original manuscript.

II. An account of the first discovery of *America*, by *Christopher Columbus*; with a brief relation of his voyages. We need say nothing in praise of this work, or of its genuineness, when we inform our readers, that it is taken from the history of the *West-Indies*, written in *Spanish* by ANTONY HERREKA, historiographer to the king of *Spain*.

III. A brief description and history of the *Caribbee* islands in *North America*, viz. of *Tobago*, *Granada*, *Granadilla*, *Bekia*, *St. Vincent*, *Barbadoes*, *Santa Lucia*, *Martinico*, *Dominica*, *Los Santos*, *Marigalante*, *La Deseada*, *Guadalupe*, *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Nevis*, *Antigua*, *Monserate*, *Barbadoes*, *St. Christophers*, *S. Eustachius*, *St. Bartholomew*, *Anguila*, *Saba*, *Santa Cruz*, *The Virgins*, *Anegada*, to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*; together with their trade, wars, &c. This is extracted from the same authentick account as above, written by *Herrera*; and therefore nothing need be said in its behalf.

IV. An account of the rise and progress of the *English* trade to *Africa*, preceding the year 1697. This is a very short piece; containing but one sheet of paper; but it nevertheless contains many things needful to be known, relating to that trade, and gives also an abstract of the state of the case relating to the famous question agitated before the parliament, of laying the trade to *Africa* open.

V. A relation of a voyage from *Spain* to *Paraguay*, about 1691. by F. ANTONY SEPP, and F. ANTONY BEHME, *German* jesuits; it gives a description of that country, the remarkable things in it, and the residences of the missionaries. As well as of their voyage, they give a particular description of *Buenos Ayres*, where they landed, of the great river of *Plate* which runs by it, and of the several cantons of *Paraguay*.

VI. The next piece is a fragment translated out of *Spanish*, concerning the islands of *Salomon* in the *South Sea*, discovered by the *Spaniards* about 1695, but hitherto never conquered or inhabited by any *European* nation. It was inserted in *Thevenot's* collection of voyages. Both the beginning and conclusion are wanting; which, it seems, have perished through the negligence of those intrusted with the original papers. However, by good

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good fortune, as much has been preserved, as serves to give us some knowledge of those islands, and of the nature and disposition of their inhabitants. And because so little is known of those places, this fragment was judged not unworthy a place in this collection.

VOL. VI.

I. The history of the provinces of *Paraguay*, *Tucumany*, *Rio de la Plata*, *Parana*, *Guaira*, *Urvaica*, and *Chili*; it was written in *Latin* by F. NICHOLAS DEL TECHO a jesuit. The antecedent account of *Paraguay* by F. Sepp, has lightly touched upon part of this subject, but that only relates to one of the provinces here named; whereas this extends from the *North* to the *South Sea*, and includes all that vast tract of land in *America*, lying South of *Peru* and *Brazil*. The greatest part of these countries have not been so fully described, nor the manners and customs of those savage *Indians* so fully made known, as they are by this author, who spent no less than twenty-five years among them. But to avoid repetitions, we refer to the particular preface before it.

II. A description of the kingdom of *Tonqueen*. In this piece many of the famous *Tavernier's* mistakes are animadverted upon and corrected. And that kingdom is described in its situation, extent, rivers, fruits, flowers, beasts, birds, commodities, trade and government. The customs and manners of the people, their diversions, laws, policy, militia and soldiery: An account is given of its Bova or king, of its Chova or general, who is for life, and has royal authority; of its literadoes and mandarins; of the physicians, and the diseases to which the people are subject; of their ceremonies of Can-ja, Theckydaw and funerals; their religious sects, idols, worships, pagods, or temples, &c. This piece is enriched with copper plates, drawn on the spot by a nobleman of *Tonqueen*, after the *Chinese* manner. The author of this work, SAMUEL BARON, was a native of the kingdom he describes, and in the service of the *East-India* company: And he writes his description of the country, at the express desire of some of the principal members of the said company; who knew his ability for the task they put him upon; and to some of whom he dedicates it.

III. A voyage to *Virginia*, written by Col. NORWOOD, a royalist, who abandon'd his native country, in hopes to mend his fortune after the civil wars in *England* were ended by the murder of king *Charles* the first. It contains an extraordinary series of distresses and hardships, principally occasioned by imbarcking in a crazy vessel, and by famine, storms, and other accidents.

IV. A journal of a voyage made in the *Hannibal* of *London*, ann. 1693, 1694, to cape *Monseradoe* in *Africa*, and thence along the coast of *Guiney* to *Whidaw*, the island of *St. Thomas*, and so forward to *Barbadoes*. In this journal is given a cursory account of the country, and people, with their manners, forts, trade, &c. which cannot fail of being of use to all who make that voyage. The author of it was THOMAS PHILIPS, the commander of the ship; and his relation is that

of an honest and skilful mariner, present to every transaction he relates.

V. A voyage into the *North-West Passage*, undertaken an. 1612, by the *Merchant-Adventurers* of *London*. It contains an honest and faithful account, written in a plain unaffected stile, of their adventures, wind and weather, the bearings, height of the pole, the shoals of ice they encounter'd; the barrenness of the country; the nature and condition of the inhabitants and salvages. The truck they drove with them for old iron; with what befel them in the country; and their voyage homeward. The author JOHN GATONBE.

VI. A relation of three years sufferings of ROBERT EVERARD, upon the coast of *Assada*, near *Madagascar*, in a voyage to *India*; and of his wonderful preservation and deliverance. Written by himself anno 1693.

VII. A description of the *Mosquito* kingdom in *America*. In this piece an account is given of the strange customs of the people, their ways of living, festivities, wars, marriages, buryings, &c. together with an account of the product of the country, and other remarkables. The initials of the author's name, M. W. are only come to our hand. But the little knowledge we have of the country from any other author, and his account of the Golden River, which once occasioned much talk in *England*, makes it worthy of a place in this collection.

VIII. The religion and manners of the two famous sects of the *BANIANS*, the antient natives of *India*; and the *PERSEES*, the antient inhabitants of *Persia*. The customs and manners of these remarkable sects were so little known to the generality of *Europeans*, that the author intitles his piece *A Discovery*: And he was very well qualified to treat of the subject, being a divine, (*Henry Lord* by name) who was long resident in *East-India*, and employed as a preacher by the company of merchants trading thither.

IX. An account of the wonderful preservation of the ship *Terra Nova* of *London*, home-ward-bound from *Virginia*, on which was imbarcked great part of the treasure of the duchess of *Albemarle*, on her return from that government after her lord's death. It contains an account of the extraordinary hardships and distresses which the mariners and passengers went thro', written in the plain intelligible stile of an honest and skilful sailor. The author CHARLES MAY, who was mate of the ship.

X. An account of the king of *Mocha*, and of his country. This is a short piece, but nevertheless it describes very agreeably and fully the temperature of its climate; the richness of its soil; its excellent productions; the probity and worthy qualities of its inhabitants; the descent of its sovereign, his character, titles, &c.

XI. Some reasons for the unhealthfulness of the island of *Bombay*. This is a very short piece; but the reasons the author of it gives, are such as are very proper to be known by all who have any thing to do with that considerable factory.

XII. A journey thro' part of the *Low Countries*, *Italy* and *France*, in company with the celebrated Mr. Ray, Mr. Lister, Mr. Willughby, Mr.

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Mr. Henry Messingberd, &c. This is written by Sir PHILIP SKIPPON, and is a very curious piece, worthy of the perusal of every *English* gentleman who takes what is called THE GRAND TOUR, and has a view either to curiosity or improvement. For the author shews himself to be a connoisseur in the arts of sculpture, architecture, painting, statuary, and carvings; and gives an account of all that is curious in each of those polite arts, in all the places, and in every court he visits. The universities, colleges and academies of the learned, take his particular attention; and even the lectures read at some of them, where curious and instructive. Their libraries, and the cabinets of rarities, whether in publick or private hands, do not escape him, any more than basso-relievo's, coins, medals, &c. The palaces and structures, the religious houses, the churches and their fine paintings, the monuments of antiquity, as well as those of famous persons, he accurately describes; and gives us copies of the inscriptions upon both. He touches upon the government of particular towns, as well as sovereign-

ties, gives the rates of travelling, copies of the bollatins or bills of health, of singular use to those who travel into those parts. Their legends, proverbial speeches, languages, customs; their medicinal waters, fountains, baths, cataracts, aqueducts, catacombs, musæums, theatres, hospitals, &c. he takes brief but judicious notice of. Shews his skill in natural philosophy, and history, and inserts many useful arcana in medicine, manufactures, mechanicks, hydraulicks, clockwork, and even œconomicks. Among other curious pieces which he picks up, and inserts, he gives a detail of the sums which the emperor and every prince and state of *Germany* presented to king Charles II. when in exile: Also the number of the prelates, abbots, dukes, marquisses, earls, burgraves, barons, imperial cities, &c. in *Germany*: A list of the sovereign princes of *Italy*, &c. In short, the piece is worthy of the author, and of the companions he travell'd with.

XIII. Supplement to NAVARETTE's account of *China*.

N. B. The following Extract from the Codicil to Mr. LOCK's Will, shews how much that celebrated Genius interested himself in this Work. "Item, Whereas I am informed, that there is a design of publishing two other Volumes as a continuation of the Collection of Voyages published this Year (viz. 1704) by Awnsham and John Churchill, in Four Volumes Folio, it is my Will that my Executor shall, in my Name, present to the said Bodleian Library [to which he before, presents all the Books he wrote himself] these two intended Volumes also, when they come out; which I hereby give to the University of Oxford, to make up the Four Volumes of the Collection aforesaid, of which I have already presented to the said University a complete set.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT having been thought proper in this Edition to take Gemelli's Travels thro' Europe out of the sixth Volume, in order to place them in the Fourth, immediately after his voyage round the world, we have in consequence of that, been obliged to make several other alterations in the method of placing the other voyages. The Catalogue and Characters of Books of Voyages and Travels, are continued to the present time; and a Complete General Index is given to the whole six Volumes, instead of very imperfect ones to each Volume.

This Edition contains the following Maps and Cuts more than either of the former Editions, viz.

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| 1. A Map of <i>China</i> . | 7. The Procession at a <i>Chinese</i> Funeral. |
| 2. <i>Europe</i> . | 8. A Description of the Observatory at <i>Peking</i> . |
| 3. <i>Asia</i> . | 9. The Pompous Attendance of a <i>Chinese</i> Viceroy whenever he appears abroad. |
| 4. <i>Africa</i> . | 10. The Procession of a <i>Chinese</i> Wedding, when the Bride is brought home to her Husband. |
| 5. <i>America</i> . | |
| 6. The Effigies of Confucius the Great <i>Chinese</i> Philosopher. | |

i

The Catalogue and Character of most Books of Voyages and Travels.

Latin.

D *Escriptio Africae*, 8°. *Descriptiones Asiæ*.
De Lege Mahumetica, and
De Rebus Mahumeticis.

These four by *John Leo*, a *Spaniard* by birth, and a *Mahometan* by education, but afterwards converted, who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of *Africk*, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as *Johannes Bodinus* affirms. He first writ them in the *Arabick* for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into *Italian*, and *John Florianus* into *Latin*. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs and manners of the people of *Africk*, but is too brief in martial affairs and the lives of the *African* princes.

Epistolæ viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty-six letters concerning the affairs of *Japan*, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historica relatio de legatione regis Sincensium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the embassy sent by the emperor of *China* to *Taicofoma* king of *Japan*, *An.* 1596. and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, *Rome* 1599. 8°.

Historica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, *An.* 1596. à patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis: or an account of the proceedings of the jesuits in *Japan*, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by *F. Lewis Froes*, a jesuit, who lived forty-nine years in the east, and thirty-six of them in the island of *Japan* as a missionary. It is believed these relations were writ in *Portuguese* by the author, and afterwards translated into *Latin*.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiarum patriarchis, *Lions* 1615. 8°. The author was *F. Nicholas Godinbo*, a *Portuguese* jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by *F. Urreta*.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletanæ provinciæ usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of *Alcala* in *Spain* to *Rome*, by *Dr. James Lopez de Zuniga*, a pious and learned man.

Literæ annuæ. The annual or yearly letters out of *Ethiopia*, *China*, *India*, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

Athanasii Kircheri è societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata, fol. This is a complete history of *China*, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appear'd writ by missionaries, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in *Kircher*.

Jobi Ludolfi historia Æthiopica, fol. This history of *Ethiopia* is written by a *German*, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an *Ethiopian* he was acquainted with in *Germany*, for he was never near *Ethiopia* himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the *Ethiopian* language, than of history.

Relatio eorum quæ circa S. Cæs. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum ablegatos anno æræ christianæ 1675. gesta sunt, strictim recensita per Adolphum Lyseck, dictæ legationis secretarium, 8°. *Saltzburg* 1676. In this account of an embassy to the Czar of *Moscow*, we have an account of his travels through *Silesia*, *Pomerania*, *Prussia*, *Lithuania*, and *Moscow*, to the court of *Moscow*, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of, being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the embassy, *Giom. de Letter*.

Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponiæ, id est regionis Laponum & gentis nova & verrissima descriptio, 4°. *Lipsiæ* 1674. An account of *Lapland*, which though it be not by way of travels, well deserves a place here, because we shall scarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a just relation of it. This however is authentick, as gathered from the *Swedish* writers, who are best acquainted with those parts.

Theodori & Joannis de Brye India orientalis & occidentalis, 6 vols. fol. *Francfort* 1624. This collection being three volumes of the *East* and three of the *West Indies*, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of *Congo* in *Africk*, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been discovered before *India*; this account translated from the *Italian* writ by *Philip Pigafetta*. Next follow five voyages of *Samuel Bruno* of *Basil*, the three first to *Congo*, *Ethiopia*, and other parts round the coast of *Africk*; the fourth to several parts in the *Straits*, and the fifth to *Portugal* and *Spain*, &c. translated into *Latin* from the author's original in *High Dutch*. The next are *Linshoten's Indian* voyages,

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voyages, translated from the *Dutch*, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in those parts. Then three *Dutch* voyages to the north-east passage, and after them a great number of cuts and maps, besides very many dispersed throughout the book, and a considerable number at the beginning. These are the contents of the first volume. The second begins with a large account of *Bantam*, *Banda*, *Ternate*, and other parts of *India*, being a voyage of eight *Dutch* ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of *High Dutch*. After that the description of *Guinea* out of *High Dutch*. *Spilberg's* voyage, *An. 1601*. *Gaspar Balbi's* voyage, *An. 1579*. In the third volume *Jacob Neck's* voyage, *An. 1603*, *Jo. Hermon de Bree*, *An. 1602*. *Corn. Nicolas*, *Cornelius Ven*, and *Stephen de Hagen*, all to *India*. *Verbuff's* voyage to *India*, *An. 1607*. Dialogues in *Latin* and the *Malayc* language. *Hudson's* voyage to the north-east passage. An account of *Terra Australis incognita*, by capt. *Peter Ferdinand de Quir*; and the description of *Siberia*, *Samoieda*, and *Tingoesia*. Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius* to the *East-Indies*. A very strange relation of an *Englishman*, who being shipwrecked on the coast of *Cambaia*, travel'd through many of those eastern countries; and the description of the northern country of *Spitzbergen*: the whole illustrated with a vast number of maps, and other cuts. Thus far the three volumes of the *East-Indies*. The three of the *West* are composed of these parts. Vol. I. an ample account of *Virginia*: The unfortunate expedition of the *French* to *Florida*, *An. 1565*. *Laudonniere's* voyage thither, *An. 1574*. Two voyages of *John Stadius* to *Brazil* and the river of *Plate*, where he lived among the *Indians*. *Leri's* account of *Brazil*. *Villagano's* voyage to *South America*. *Benzo's* history of the discovery of *America*. Vol. II. The second and third parts of *Benzo's* history of the *West-Indies*. *Faber's* description of several parts of *America*, where he travelled. Voyages of *Sir F. Drake*, *Cavendish* and *Raleigh*. *Dutch* expedition to the *Canaries*. General account of *America*. *Sebald de Weert's* voyage through the straits of *Magellan*. *Noort* round the world. Vol. III. Two Voyages of *Americus Vesputius*. *Hamor's* account of the state of *Virginia*. Captain *Smith's* description of *New-England*. *Schouten* and *Le Maire's* discovery of a new passage into the South-sea, called *Strait le Maire*: *Spilbergen's* voyage through the straits of *Magellan*. *Herrera's* description of the *West-Indies*. These are the contents of the six volumes, the whole illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it,

that the like is not in any other collection; nor is it likely that any will be at so extensive an expence. To be short, this collection is a small library, including all the voyages and discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi & viaggi, Raccolte da M. Gio Battista Ramusio, Venice, 3 vol. fol. 1613. *Ramusio's* collection of voyages and travels, the most perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatsoever: containing all the discoveries to the east, west, north, and south; with full descriptions of all the countries discovered; judiciously compiled, and free from that great mass of useless matter, which swells our *English Hackluyt* and *Purchas*; much more complete and full than the *Latin de Brye*, and in fine, the noblest work of this nature. The contents of it as briefly as may be set down, are as follow. In the first volume, *John Leo's* description of *Africk*. *Alvise de ca da Mosto's* voyage, and that of *Peter de Santra* to the coast of *Africk*. *Hanno the Carthaginian's* navigation on the coast of *Africk*. Voyage from *Lisbon* to the island of *S. Thomas*. *Gama's* voyage to *Calicut*. *Peter Alvarez* to *India*. Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius*. Voyages to *India* by *Tho. Lopez* and *Gio. da Empoli*. *Barthema's* travels to, and account of *India*. *Corsali* to *India*. *Alvarez* to *Ethiopia*. Discourse of the overflowing of *Nile*. *Nearchus* admiral to *Alexander the Great*, his navigation. Voyage down the *Red-sea* to *Diu*. *Barbosa* of the *East-Indies*. Voyages of *Conti*, and *S. Stephano*. First voyage round the world performed by the *Spaniards*. *Gaeton* of the discovery of the *Molucco Islands*. Account of *Japan*. Extracts of *Barros's* history of *India*. The second volume; *Marcus Paulus Venetus's* travels. *Hayton the Armenian* of the great *Chams* or emperors of *Tartary*. *Angiolello* of the wars betwixt *Ussuncassan* king of *Persia*, and *Mahomet* emperor of the *Turks*; of *Ismael Sophy* and the sultan of *Babylon*, and of *Selim* the *Turk's* subduing the *Mamelucks*. *Barbaro's* travels to *Tartary* and *Persia*. *Contarino's* embassy from the republick of *Venice* to *Ussuncassan* king of *Persia*. *Campense* of *Muscovy*. *Jovius* of *Muscovy*. *Arianus* of the *Euxine*, or *Black-sea*. *Geor. Interiano* of the *Circassians*. *Quini's* shipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north latitude. The same by *Christ. Fioravante* and *J. de Michele*, who were with him. *Baron Herberstein* of *Muscovy* and *Russia*. *Zeno's* voyage to *Persia*.
Nich.

Nich. and Ant. Zeni's discovery of *Frizeland*, *Iceland*, and to the north pole. Two voyages to *Tartary* by *Dominicans* sent by pope *Innocent IV.* *Odoricus's* two voyages into the east. *Cabot's* voyage into the north-west. *Guagnino's* Description of *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and part of *Tartary*. The same by *Micheorus*. In the third volume; an abridgment of *Peter Martyr of Angleria* his decads of the discovery of the *West-Indies*. An abridgment of *Oviedo's* history of the *West-Indies*. *Cortes's* account of his discovery and conquest of *Mexico*. *Alvarado* of his conquest and discovery of other provinces above *Mexico*. *Godoy* of several discoveries and conquests in *New-Spain*. Account of *Mexico* and *New-Spain*, by a gentleman belonging to *Cortes*. *Alvar Nunez* of the success of the fleet set out by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, and his strange adventures for ten years. *Nunno de Guzman* of several cities and provinces of *New-Spain*. *Francis de Ulloa's* voyage to *California*. *Vasquez Coronado* and *Marco de Nizza* of the provinces north of *New-Spain*. *Alarcon's* voyage by sea to discover the seven cities north of *Mexico*. Discovery and conquest of *Peru*, writ by a *Spanish* captain. *Xeres's* conquest of *Peru*. The same by *Pizarro's* secretary. *Oviedo's* account of a voyage up the great river of *Maranon*. *Verazzano's* discovery of north *America*. *Jaques Cortier's* first and second voyages to *Canada* or *New-France*. *Federici's* voyage to *India*, with a large account of the spice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in those parts. Three voyages of the *Dutch* to discover the north-east passage to *China* and *Japan*, in which they found the straits of *Weygats* and *Nova Zembla*, and the coast of *Greenland* running to 80 degrees of north latitude. These, with many learned discourses and observations of the author's, are the contents of the three volumes.

Prima spedizione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Giuseppe di Santa Maria, 4°. *Roma* 1668. This author was sent by pope *Alexander VII.* to the *Malabar* Christians of *S. Thomas*, being himself a barefoot *Carmelite*, and has in this left a most excellent piece of curiosity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he saw, of birds, beasts, and other animals, and of the philosophy of the *Brabmans*, their secrets, and of all the other *Malabars*, as also of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vast empire of the *Mogul*, of the pearl-fishery, of the *Sabeans* about *Bassora*, who pretend they received their religion from *S. John Baptist*; and concludes with the errors of the *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and other eastern sects.

Historia delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progressi dell' arme Mocovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moscovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Bellunese, 4°. *Venetia* 1672. Though the wars of *Poland* may not seem relating to travels, this work is inserted, as giving a good account of the *Poles*, *Tartars*, and *Cossacks*, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of *Muscovy* and *Sweden*, where the author travelled, and made his excellent observations.

Il viaggio all' Indie orientali, del P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. *Roma* 1673. A voyage to the *East-Indies*, performed by *F. Vincent Maria* of *S. Catharine* of *Siena*, procurator general of the barefoot *Carmelites*, and sent to *India* by the way of *Turkey* and *Persia* by the pope, together with *F. Joseph* of *S. Mary*, who writ also an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the first and last is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The second treats of the affairs of the *Malabar* Christians. The third and fourth of all the nations of *India*, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it.

Istoria descrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, & Angola, & delle missioni apostoliche essercitatevi da religiosi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, & nel presente stile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamanini, fol. *Bologna*, 1687. An historical description of the kingdoms of *Congo*, *Matamba* and *Angola*; the authors were *Capuchin* missionaries, who compiled it by order of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, and have given a most accurate description of those countries, and all things of note in them; as also of the missions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relatione della citta d' Attene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queste passeggiate da Cornelio Magni l' anno 1674. 4°. *Parma* 1688. An account of *Athens*, and the provinces of *Attica*, *Focia*, *Beotia*, and *Negropont*, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of, and for further satisfaction conferred with *Mr. Spon*, who had travelled the same parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of *Syria*, *Chaldea*, and *Mesopotamia*, and principally enlarges himself upon the city of *Athens*, the condition whereof he describes more fully than any other has done.

The Catalogue and Character of

Relazione e viaggio della Moscovia del signor cavaliere D. Ercole Zani, Bolognese, 12°. Bologna 1690. This voyage to *Muscovy* is writ by a most judicious person, and who had spent a great part of his life in travelling, and deserves to be highly valued, as coming from such a hand; and the more, because we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12°. He performed this voyage to mount *Libanus* by order of pope *Clement VIII.* to inquire into the faith of the *Maronite* Christians; he describes the country, gives an account of the peoples doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, bishops, priests, and religious men. A work very curious and useful. It is translated into *French*, and the translator has added many useful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Constantino-poli, &c. da Gio. Benaglia, 12°. Bologna 1664. This is an account of count *Caprara's* embassy to the great *Turk*, the author being his secretary, and has many good remarks of that court, and of the *Turkish* army, taken by him upon the spot, and therefore well worth the observation of the curious. *Biblioth. Univ.* vol. XV. p. 75.

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. Melchisedec Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a collection of curious travels in two volumes in folio. The first contains *Greaves's* description of the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and *Buratini's* account of the *Mummies*. An account of the *Cossacks*, another of the *Tartars*, another of *Mengrelia*, and another of *Georgia*. *Jenkinson's* voyage to *Cathay*. An extract of the *Dutch* embassy to the *Tartar*. A relation of the conquest of the island *Formosa* by the *Chinese*s; another of the court of the *Mogol*. *Sir Thomas Roe's* and *Terry's* voyage to the *Mogol*. A Greek description of the *East-Indies*. The *Arabick* geography of *Abulfeda*. The antiquities of *Persepolis*. The beginning of a book of the *Chaldeans* of *Bassora*. Relations of the kingdoms of *Golconda*, *Tanassari*, and *Aracan*, of the gulph of *Bengala* of *Siam*. *Bontekoue's* voyages to *India*. The discovery of *Terra Australis*. The sailing course to *India*. Instructions upon the trade of *India* and *Japan*. *Beaulieu's* voyage to the *West-Indies*. Accounts of the *Philippine* islands, of *Japan*, of the discovery of the land of *Yedso*. A description of the plants

and flowers of *China*. Ancient monuments of christian religion in *China*. The second volume; the *Dutch* embassy to *China*; the *Chinese Atlas*. The state of *India*. The portraiture of the *Indians*. *Acarete's* voyage on the river *Plate*, and thence to *Peru* and *Chile*. Journey by land to *China*. The second book of *Confucius* the *Chinese* philosopher. The history of *Ethiopia*, and of some countries about it. Travels to the province of *Zaide* in *Egypt*. The history of *Mexico* in figures explained. *Tasman's* voyage to *Terra Australis*. Instructions for the navigation from *Holland* to *Batavia*. Two embassies to the emperor of *Cathay*. A chronological synopsis of the *Chinese* monarchy. *Barros's Asia*, or conquest of *India*. An account of the Christians of *St. John*. A voyage to *Tercera*. The elements of the *Tartar* language. A fragment concerning the isles of *Solomon*; another of the history of some eastern princes.

Thevenot has also composed one volume in 8°, in which is an embassy from the Czar of *Moscovy* to *China* by land. The discovery of some countries in north *America*, and of the great river *Mississippi*. A discourse of navigation. The natural histories of the *Ephemera*, or fly that lives but a day, and the *Cancellus*.

Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, & aux Indes. These travels are printed in several sorts of volumes in *French*, according to the several editions, and have been translated into *English*. He is a faithful writer, and deserves full credit in what he delivers upon his own sight and knowledge; but in some relations taken from others, he was imposed upon, being a person of integrity, and not suspecting others would give a false information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great; having taken several ways in his six journies. But above all, he gives the best description of the diamonds, mines and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the spot, as being a great dealer in those precious stones.

Recuill de plusieurs relations & traitez singuliers & curieux de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, divise en cinq parties, 4°. This is an addition to his voyages, in which he treats of the *Dutch* practices to exclude all Christians from *Japan*, negotiations of *French* deputies in *Persia* and *India*, remarks on the trade of *India*, an account of the kingdom of *Tunquin*, and the history of the proceedings of the *Dutch* in *Asia*.

Relation nouvelle de la Caroline, par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau paiz, ou il par le de-la route qui

qu'il faut tenir pour y aller le plus surement, & de l'état ou il a trouvé cette nouvelle contrée. A la Haye 1686. 12°. This is a modern account of *Florida*, its estate in the year 1684, and the best way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as *Florida* is one of those *American* countries we have not the best account of, this is a considerable light into it.

Relation du voyage de monsieur l'évesque de Beryte par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes jusques au Royaume de Siam, & autres lieux, écrit par monsieur de Bourges Prestre, 8°. An account of the bishop of *Berytus's* journey by land through *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *India*, into *China*, by a priest that went with him; very curious in the description of those countries and manners of the people, with instructions for travellers to those parts. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 591.

L'Embassade de D. Garcia de Silva Figuerra. This is a translation out of *Spanish*, and the account of the book is among the *Spanish* under the title, *Embaxada*, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertised that he may see more concerning this translation in *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 205.

Les voyages de monsieur de Monconys. Monsieur *Moncony's* travels in three volumes, 4°. The first through *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Constantinople*. The second into *England*, the *Low-Countries*, *Germany* and *Italy*. The third into *Spain*. Besides the general account of those countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary observations and secrets in physick and chemistry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the press, it is in some measure imperfect, and has many particulars of no use to any but himself; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 339, and 424.

Description des costes de l'Amerique septentrional, avec l'histoire de ce pays, par monsieur Denys, 2 vol. 12°. The first volume is a description of the northern coasts of *America* and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by several stories related. The second is the natural history, very curious and learned. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. III. p. 141.

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, & les établissements de plusieurs nations, &c. 12°. This author set out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for several observations not easily to be found in others; but most for his account of the settlements of *European* nations, yet all short.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypt, par le P. Vansleb en 1672, & 1673. 12°. The author to what he saw himself, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to *Egypt*.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, & du Levant, aux années 1675 & 1676. par Jacob Spon, 12°. 3 vol. This work, besides the general observations of travellers, is singular for its curiosity in the search of antiquities. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VI. p. 128 and 185.

Voyage de François Pirard de la Val aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, & au Brasil, &c. 4°. This is one of the exactest pieces of travels, and the most diverting hitherto made publick. M. *Pirard* the traveller furnished the materials, which were digested and methodised by several very able men in *France*. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and yet he has some curiosities which others have not touched upon. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VII. p. 85.

Ambassade de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An. 1641. fol. It is a perfect account of all that happened to the said ambassadors, and full description of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 130. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 499.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Constantinople, présentée au roy par le Sieur Grelot, An. 1680, in 4°. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the spot. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 296.

Relations des missions & des voyages des eveques vicaries apostoliques, & de leurs ecclesiastiques en années 1676 & 1677. in 8°. This is a relation of what those preachers observed in their travels in *Asia*.

Les voyages de Jean Struys en Moscovie, &c. in 4°. In these travels through *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *India*, the isle of *Madagascar*, and other places, being a vast extent of ground, and to be travelled many several ways, there are abundance of notable observations, not to be found in other books of this sort; the whole very instructive and diverting. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. IX. p. 260.

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez & de Moroc, en l'an 1681, 12°. Besides what these fathers did, as the peculiar Business of their religious profession, this book contains many curiosities relating to the king of *Morocco* and the customs of the country. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. X. p. 354.

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduite par M. Gomberville, sur l'original Espagnol du P. d'Acufia jesuite. This is a relation of the said father's voyage down this vast river; to which the translator has added a dissertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of *Manoa*, *Dorado*, and the lake of *Parima*. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XI. p. 107.

Relation du voyage de Venise a Constantinople de Jaques Gassiot, 12°. This author, though he writ above a hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious observations not to be found in later travellers. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XII. p. 139.

Relation du voyages des Indes orientales, par M. Dellon, two volumes 12°. The author affirms, he has inserted nothing but what he saw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coast of *Malabar*; and concludes with a treatise of diseases in those parts, and their cures. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 121. [A new edition of this work was published in 1709 with great improvements, *Amsterdam*, 2 vol. 12°.]

Histoire de la conquête de la Floride par les Espagnols, traduit du Portugais, 12°. This is a very exact account of that country, and all that happened in the conquest of it, writ by a *Portuguese* gentleman, who served in that war, and was an eye-witness of all that passed. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 304.

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, ausquels on a joynit une nouvelle découverte au Mexique, 12°. It treats of two journies the emperor of *China* made into the eastern and the western *Tartary*. The other part shews the settlement made by the *Spaniards* in the island of *California*, An. 1683. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 446.

Relation de l'embassade de Mr. le Chevalier de Chaumont a la cour du roy de Siam, 12°. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an ambassador, and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often descending to things of less moment worth the general observation, as the description of the country, customs and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature. *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 396. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 521.

Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, & aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, & par la Colchide, fol. Though so many travellers as have visited those parts before him, seem to have left nothing new for him to write of, yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be seen in any other, and remarks no where else to be

found, and particularly the exposition of several passages in scripture, which the author makes out by customs preserved in the east from the time of *Moses* till our day. *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 535. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 520. [New editions, very much enlarged, were published in *Holland* in 1711, in 3 vol. 4°, and in 10 vol. 12°. A monument has been lately, in 1746, erected in *Westminster Abbey* to this traveller, with this motto alluding to his voyages, *Nomen sibi fecit eundo.*]

Ambassades de la compagnie Hollandoise d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon, 2 vol. 12°. It is an abridgment of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the first is the description of *Japan*; the second an account of the embassy there; and the third of five other embassies. To which is added a relation of the civil wars in *Japan*. *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XV. p. 139.

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monsieur l'Abbe de Choisi, 4°. It is composed of several letters writ by this gentleman, who was sent by the king of *France* with the character of ambassador in case the king of *Siam* had embraced Christianity, as was hop'd; and does not only inform as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as *Tonquin* and *Cochinchina*, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the *Dutch* colony at the cape of *Good Hope*. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 301.

Histoire des Indes orientales, 4°. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of the voyage to, and observations at cape *Verde*, of the isle of *Madagascar*, and several passages which happened in *Argier* and *Constantinople*. The second of two voyages into *India*. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 436. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. II. p. 307.

Histoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, 4°. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the situation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and customs of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monsieur *Gervaise* the author of it resided there four years, understood the language perfectly, read their books, and conversed with the most intelligent persons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made publick. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 612.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12°. Contains an exact description of all the places where the principal passages of our Saviour's passion happened, and many other things well worth observing, being very short, and yet full enough.

enough. *Journal des Scavans*, vol. XVI. p. 204. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. III. p. 417.

Voyage en Moscovie d'un ambassadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12°. An. 1661. He describes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government and religion of the people. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 232.

Description historique du royaume de Macassar, 12°. It is divided into three books, the first the description of the country, the second the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 532. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. V. p. 324.

Relation de la Nigritie, 12°. It contains an exact description of the kingdoms of the Blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country; with the discovery of the river *Senega*, and a map of it. By four *Franciscan* friars, who went thither upon the mission in the year 1689, from *France*. *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 311.

Voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jesuites envoyez par la roy au royaume de Siam, An. 1685, 4°. This is an historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The first book is mostly astronomical observations in the voyage to the cape of *Good Hope*; the second a relation of the table-mountain, and many other things about the aforesaid cape; the third passages at *Batavia* and *Macassar*; the fourth of affairs of *Siam* and others; the fifth continues the same matter; the sixth much natural history, concluding with the king of *Siam's* letters to the pope, king of *France*, and *F. le Chaise*; the seventh the father's return home; and the eighth from thence to *Rome*. *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 415. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 472.

Second voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jesuites envoyez par le roy au royaume de Siam, 1689, 8°. This father returned from his first voyage to carry more missionaries; and this second voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many historical, physical, geographical and astronomical remarks, besides abundance of other observations and curiosities omitted in the first voyage. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIV. p. 445.

Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon, par Mr. L'Abbé de T. 2 vol. 4°. It was writ by *F. Solier*, a jesuit, and published by L'Abbé, who refined the language. This, though an ecclesiastical history, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being composed by those fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It

is an excellent work, in twenty books. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 486.

Journal du voyage fait a la Mer du Sud avec les Flibustiers de l'Amerique, en 1684. & années suivantes, par le Sieur Raveneau de Lussand, 12°. It is a buccaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the *Isthmus of America* and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land. *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 721.

Histoire de monsieur Constance premier ministre du roy de Siam, & de la derniere revolution de cet estat. Par le P. d'Orleans, 12°. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in *Siam*, where he attained to be first minister to that great monarch in the year 1685 and those that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the persecution that ensued against the Christians. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVIII. p. 373.

Du royaume de Siam. Par Mr. de la Loubere, envoye extraordinaire du roy aupres du roy de Siam, en 1687 & 1688. 2 vol. 12°. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The first volume divided into three parts; the first geographical, the second of customs in general, and the third of manners in particular. The second volume begins with strange fables and superstitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary curious and remarkable. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 256 & 269.

Relation du voyage d'Espagne, 3 vol. 12°. Treats of the country in general, of the situation of its towns, of publick and private structures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquisition; with many pleasant adventures, in which there is much of the romantick. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 364. It is writ by the countess *D'Aunoi*, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie. Par le P. Chretien le Clercq. 12°. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the savages called *Gaspesians*, carrying crosses, and worshipping the sun; and other nations of *Canada* in north *America*. It was taken in twelve years, the author residing there as missionary, beginning An. 1675. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 395. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIII. p. 86.

Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. le Clercq, missionnaire, 2 vol. 12°. It is the complete history of *Canada*, or *New-France*, from the first discovery of it till this time, containing the discoveries, settling of colonies, conquests, and

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and all other passages from those northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico, with the battles with the *English* and *Iroquois*, An. 1690. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 131.

Voyages en divers estats d'Europe & d'Asie, pour decouvrir un nouveau Chimin a la Chine, 4°. These travels were writ and performed by F. Avril, a jesuit, who spent five years traversing *Turky*, *Persia*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, *Moldavia* and *Tartary*, and embarked in several seas to find out this way to *China*, to avoid the tedious voyage by the cape of *Good Hope* and *India*. The relation is physical, geographical, hydrographical, and historical. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 187.

Les aventures de Jaques Sadeur dans la decouverte, & le voyage de la Terre Australe, 12°. This is a very extraordinary account of *Terra Australis incognita*, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being cast upon that country after the loss of the ship he was in, and living thirty years among those savages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, studies, wars, of the birds and beasts, and other rarities. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 256.

Voyages historiques de l'Europe, 8 vol. 12°. The first of these volumes treats only of *France*; the second of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the third of *Italy*; the fourth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the fifth of the seven *United Provinces*; the sixth of the empire; the seventh of *Muscovy*; the eighth of *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Iseland*. These volumes are travels into the most considerable parts of *Europe*, and contain abundance of singularities not observed by other travellers and writers. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 93, 95, 276.

Relation du voyage, & retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691, par un garde de la marine servant sur le bord de M. Duquesne commandant de l'Escadre, 12°. It has many curious observations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the Squadron touched at. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 177.

Les voyages du sieur le Maire aux isles Canaries, Cap Verde, Senegal & Gambie, 12°. In this are many particulars of those *African* countries, little known, and scarce to be found in other travellers. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXIII. p. 364.

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1668. par le R. P. Gabriel de Magaillans, de la Compagnie de Jesus, 8°. This was originally writ in *Portuguese*, and ought to have been among the travels in that lan-

guage, had we any number of them. It was thought worth translating into *French* first, and from that into *English*, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account. *Hist. des ouvrages des Scav.* vol. II. p. 203.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le Sieur de la Croix, 12°. 4 vol. Besides the chronology and geography, it has the customs, manners, religion, trade, plants and other particulars of the continent and islands, and what the king of *France* has done against the *Barbary Corsairs*, An. 1688. A Lyon.

Le Bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques & chretiens, &c. Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, & la Barbarie. Par le R. R. Jean Coppin, 4°. This father was first a soldier, then consul for the *French* nation at *Damietta* in *Egypt*, and lastly, a religious man. The design of his work is to stir up christian princes to make war on the *Turk*, and accordingly his first and second books are taken up in shewing of how great consequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the causes of the rise and decay of the *Ottoman* empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; first in *Egypt*, where he has many curious observations not to be found in other travellers, but more particularly, in that he took the pains to travel the great desert of *Thebaida*, where few besides him have been in these latter times; and this is his subject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of *Barbary*, *Phœnicia* and the *Holy Land*: and the work concludes with an exact description of the city *Diametta*, where he resided some years. His relation is faithful, and deserves all credit, especially in those things he delivers as an eye-witness. It was published at *Paris* in the year 1686. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. V. p. 103.

Journal, ou suite du voyage de Siam, en forme de lettres familières, fait en 1685 & 1686. par monsieur l'Abbé de Choisi, 8°. It is the third account of the *French* embassadors sent to *Siam*; monsieur De Chaumont, and P. Tachard, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that voyage, has all the sea-terms, much of the same as F. Tachard, and several other remarks. He treats of the war in *Bantam*, of the island of *Java*, of *Batavia*, the power of the *Dutch* in *India*, of *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Cochinchina*, &c. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. VI. p. 274.

Histoire naturelle, & politique du royaume de Siam, par monsieur Gervaise, 1688. 4°. The author lived four years at the court of *Siam*, and affirms nothing but what he saw,

or found in the best books of that country, as also by discourse with the best people there. He says little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other travellers to *Siam*, and adds much, which they, as being only passengers, could not observe. The work is divided into four parts: the first contains the description of the country; the second the laws, customs, manners and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth speaks of the king, royal family and court. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. X. p. 516.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, ou description de l'état présent des lieux, où se sont passées les principales actions de la vie de Jésu Christ. Paris 1688. 8°. This is a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and therefore writ in a religious stile, and contains an account of all the holy places in *Palestine*, and description of *Malta*; and is a good guide for such as desire to travel into those parts.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot en Asie & en Afrique. Paris 1689. 3 vol. 12°. It is to be observed, that whereas before mention is made of *Thevenot's* travels, that is a collection of other men, as appears there, but these are *M. Thevenot's* own travels, divided into three parts; the first of the eastern countries under the *Turk*; the second continues other eastern parts, proceeding towards *Persia*; and the third the *East-Indies*. It is one of the most curious and exact works of this nature hitherto published, and well deserving to be read by all that are curious of travels. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIII. p. 246.

Voyages d'Amerique, bistoire des avanturieres qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, &c. Par *Alexander Olivier Oexmelin.* Paris 1688. 2 vol. 12°. This was a surgeon sent over in the service of the *French West-India* company, and sold in *America*, where he lived several years. The author of the *Biblioth. Univers.* gives a great character of this work, and says, no man has yet given so good an account of the manner of living in those parts, besides very good descriptions, and all that is requisite in such a work; of which see more in the said *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XVIII. p. 129.

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688. avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles a ceux qui voudront fair le meme voyage. A la Haye, 1691. 2 vol. 12°. Par monsieur *Misson.* This author gives a general account of all things observable in *Italy*, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in *Holland*, of which he gives a short account; then crossing *Germany* and *Tirol*, he runs down *Italy* by the *Adriatick* shore, and returns on the other side through *Tuscany*, *Genoa*, *Piedmont*, *Switzerland*.

[*Mr. Misson* is very free in his remarks, which has occasioned the *Roman* catholic writers to give a bad character of his valuable work; there is now a third volume of these travels in *French*.]

Voyage en divers états d'Europe & d'Asie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine. Par le P. *Avril.* Paris 1693. 12°. The first book contains the author's travels from *Marseilles* to *Erivan* in *Persia*; the second from *Erivan* to *Moscow*; in the third he gives an account of *Tartary*, but it was such as he received from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to *Poland*, thence to *Constantinople*, and thence for want of health to *France.* *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIV. p. 203.

Histoire de la revolution de l'Empire du Mogol. Par monsieur *F. Bernier,* 8°. This history of the revolution of the empire of the *Mogul*, contains the whole account of *Aurenge Zeb* dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the description of *Agra* and *Delhi*, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, customs, &c. of the *Indians*, the *Mogul's* journey to *Cachemire*, and many other curious observations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie. Par le sieur *Roland Frejus,* 8°. The author of this voyage into *Mauritania* was sent by the king of *France's* order in the year 1666, to settle trade in the kingdom of *Fez*, and gives a very just, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monsieur *Charant*, who lived twenty-five years in *Suez* and *Morocco*, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of those people.

Voyages en Asie, Afrique, & l'Amerique. Par monsieur *Jean Mocquet,* 8°. See this among the *English,* 8°.

Voyage par monsieur du Quesne aux Indes en 1691 & 1692, &c. See more of this among the *English,* 8°.

Voyages historiques & curieux en Allemagne, Boheme, Suisse, Holland, &c. de monsieur *Charles Patin,* 8°. See this among the *English.*

Histoire de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares. Par le P. *Greslon* de la Comp. de *Jésus,* 8°. Paris 1672. We have here a succinct history of *China* from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a missionary resident there many years; his principal subject is the astronomy of *China*, which gained the first admission to the missionaries; of which, and all its parts, and how used and practised there, he treats very ingeniously and learnedly. *Giom. de Letter.*

The Catalogue and Character of

Voyage du Levant. Par monsieur de Loir, 12°. A voyage to the Levant in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the islands of *Archipelago*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Constantinople*, *Scutari*, *Negropont*, *Greece*, the *Morea*, and all the coasts to *Venice*; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have said of them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no less learned than curious. *Giom. de Letter. An. 1673.*

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monsieur Sorbier, 12°. This account of *England* is not methodical, but contains some observations worth reading. [Two or three treatises were writ against it.]

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le sieur de la Croix, 4 vol. 12°. *Lyon 1688.* This is the fullest and most perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world, being a judicious and laborious collection of all the best that has been writ on the subject. *Giom. de Letter. An. 1689.*

Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan, par le capitain Jean Ribeyro, traduite du Portugais en François, 12°. *Paris 1701.* This short history of *Ceylon*, though writ originally in *Portuguese*, and published in the year 1685, is here inserted in the *French* translation, because the translator *Mr. Le Grand* has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors that have writ of that island. It is divided into three books: the first is the description of the island, its government, religion, product, &c. the second treats of the wars there between the *Portugueses*, the natives, and the *Dutch*: and the third, of the errors the *Portugueses* committed in their conquests of *India*, and the power of the *Dutch* in those parts. *Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIX. p. 389.*

Nouveaux memoires sur l'estat present de la Chine, par le P. Louis le Comte, 2 vol. 12°. *Paris 1696.* *F. Le Comte's* memoirs of *China* have appeared in *English*; they have abundance of very remarkable passages and singular curiosities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be said of them. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 25. p. 58.*

Dernieres decouvertes dans l'Amerique septentrionale de monsieur de la Sale, mises au jour par monsieur le Chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du fort S. Louis aux Illinois, 12°. *Paris 1697.* This is an account of a vast discovery in *North America*, being the whole length of the river *Mississipi*, from the *French* plantations in *Canada* down to the gulph of *Mexico* to the southward, and from the same plantation to the source of the said river northwards. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 25. p. 311.*

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696 & 1697, aux costes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & isles Antilles, par le sieur Froger. This is a relation of an expedition of six *French* ships fitted out during the war with *Spain* in those years: it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all sorts. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 164.*

Memoires du Chevalier Beaujeu, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, & en Hongries, 12°. *Paris 1679.* The author of these memoirs having travelled in *Poland*, *Germany* and *Hungary*, undertakes to rectify many mistakes in the maps as to distances of places; he gives a particular account of these countries, and most especially of *Poland*, and all things relating to it. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 284.*

Relation du voyage du Sieur de Montauban capitain des Flibustiers en Guinée, dans l'année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ship; but so that the captain escaped, and got ashore on the coast of *Africk*, of which he gives some account; thence he got over to *Barbadoes*, and thence into *France*.

Relation curieuse & nouvelle de Moscovie, contenant l'etat de cet empire, 12°. *Paris 1698.* This account of *Muscovy* is composed by *Mr. De Neuville*, envoy from the king of *Poland* to the *Czar*, who during his residence there collected the best account of a way through *Muscovy* and *Tartary* to *China*, as convenient as any for travellers in *Europe*, which he says he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the *Czar* at the request of the *Dutch* has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait & passe par l'escadre de sa majeste, envoye sous le commandement de M. de la Haye, 12°. *Orleans 1697.* This is a voyage of the *French* fleet to the *Indies* in the year 1670. it describes *Goa*, and gives some account of those coasts, of taking the city of *S. Thomas* or *Meliapor*, and the losing it again to the *Dutch* and infidels, with the return of the *French*.

Voyage d'Italie & de Grece, avec une dissertation sur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12°. *Paris 1698.* This author set out from *France* in the year 1691. and gives such a description of the countries he passed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whose behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleasant and diverting than solid. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 535.*

Spanish.

Historia del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que Rup Gonzales de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del senor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Castilla. Sevil 1582. Fol. This is the first Spanish book of travels, at least of any reputation, now extant, and is of no less than 300 years antiquity; for tho' the book was published as above, the embassy was in the year 1403. in which the author spent three years, saw a considerable part of *Asia*, following *Tamerlan's* camp, and besides what he saw during those three years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: It is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande Alphonso de Albuquerque capitao general da India, collegidos por seu filho das proprias cartas, que elle escrivio ao rey D. Manoel. Lisboa 1576. Folio. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the first Portuguese conquerors of the *East-Indies*; and a particular encomium of it is given by *Anthony Ferreira* in his poems.

Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, y.

Comentarios de Alvar Nunez Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata. Valladolid 1555. 4°. The first was writ by *Alvar Nunez* himself, wherein he gives an account of his shipwreck, and unparalleled sufferings in *Florida*. The second was composed by his order by *Peter Fernandez* his secretary, and is an account of the province of the river of *Plate*, where he was governor: both curious and scarce.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Catayo, o Reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by *F. Anthony de Andrada* a jesuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the most remote eastern countries.

Verdadera description de la Tierra Santa como estava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531. 8°. It is an exact account of the *Holy Land* at that time, writ by *F. Anthony de Aranda*, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim at that time.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654. 4°. The description of the *Holy Land* in a pious stile, for the help of pilgrims, by *F. Anthony del Castillo*, a *Franciscan*; who was superior of the monastery at *Bethlehem*.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los Padres de la compania, de Jesus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 y 1631. Valladolid 4°. An account of the travels and actions of the jesuits in *India* and *Japan*, by *F. Anthony Collaco*.

Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa D. F. Aleino de Meneses, &c. as ferras de Malabar, & lugares em que moram os antigos Christaos de S. Thome. Coimbra 1606. Fol. It was writ by *F. Antony de Gouvea* of the order of *S. Augustin*, who treats very curiously of the inland parts of *Malabar*, and Christians of *S. Thomas* there.

Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las islas, y Tierra firma del mar oceano, escrita por Antonio de Herrera. Madrid 1615. 4 vol. Folio. A most excellent and compleat history of the discovery and conquest of *America* by the Spaniards, not omitting to mention the discoveries made at the same time by other nations. It reaches from *Columbus's* first discovery an. 1492 till 1554. divided into four volumes, and those into eight decads, with a very just description of that vast continent.

Historia general de la India oriental, los descubrimientos y conquista que bon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Brasil, &c. hasta el ano de 1562. Valladolid 1603. Folio. This tho' ancient is the fullest account there was till that time of the actions of the Portuguese in the *East-Indies* and *Brasil*, writ by *F. Antony de S. Roman* of the order of *S. Benedict*.

Historia de la conquista espiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639. 4°. It is an account of the progress of the preaching jesuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of some colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra anno 1520. Coimbra 1565. 16°. A journal of *Antony Tenreiro's* travels from *India* by land into *Portugal*. It was more rare in those days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage desde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by *F. Augustin de Tordesillas*, a *Franciscan*, but published by *John Gonzales de Mendoza*, an. 1585. being a voyage from the *Philippine* islands to *China*; which I have not seen, nor met with any further account of it.

Historia del descubrimiento, y conquista del Peru, de Augustin de Zarate. Sevilla 1577. 8°. The author was an examiner or controller of accounts in the king's household, and sent over to *Peru* to inquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in those parts, where he gathered materials for his history, which has always been in good esteem where known, as appears by its having been twice translated into *Italian*.

Historia da Etiopia alta, do P. Baltasar Tellez. Folio. He was a Portuguese jesuit, who collected this history of *Ethiopia* from the writings of the jesuits, who resided there. He is highly commended by *D. Francisco Manoel* in his epistles and his history,

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ry, and no less by *Georgius Cordofus* in *Agiologio*.

Conquista de las islas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argenfola. Madrid 1609. Fol. This author was historiographer of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and the most accomplished master of the *Spanish* tongue in his time: So that his history is not only valuable for his excellent account of the *Molucco* islands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone most men.

Manual y relacion de las cosas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634. 4°. The author was a native of *Peru*, and bishop of *Paraguay*; so that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577. 8°. It is a short but ingenious treatise of the eastern voyages, and some affairs of *China*.

Historia de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lizana. The author was a missionary in the province of *Yucatan*, whose history he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Historia de las cosas antiguas que los Indios usavan en su infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sabagun. This history treats of the idolatry, rites and ceremonies of the *Indians*, and of their government, laws and politics. The same author also writ *La Conquista*, or the conquest of *Mexico*.

Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana, por Bernal Diaz del Castillo. Fol. The author of this history of the conquest of *Mexico*, served in it under *Cortes*, from the beginning till the last; and therefore speaks as an eye-witness, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be present at from those that were. He says he finished his work in the year 1568, but it was not published till some years after.

Relation de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angeles de Bernardo de la Vega. Mexico 1601. 8vo. This is only a collection of rarities in those parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of *Tucuman* in *South America*.

Sitio naturaleza y propiedades de Mexico, de Diego de Cisneros, 1618. The author was physician to the marquiss *De Guadalcacac* viceroy of *Peru*, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas de Asia, de Joao de Barros. He finished three decades, in as many volumes, of the history of *India*; of which work the learned *Nicholaus Antonius*, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*, pag. 498. says it is a most compleat work, which will last for ever to the honour of the compiler. His 4th volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finished by *John Baptist Labanka*, historiographer to *K. Philip II*. But after that

James de Couio undertook to continue the history from the third decade, where *Barros* ended, and writ nine more; so that the whole work consists of twelve decades, but of these only seven have been printed at *Lisbon*.

Relaciones del Pegu, de Duarte Fernandez. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de Fernando de Quintana. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the first that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las islas Philipinas, de Fernando de los rios Coronel. The author was a priest in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the *Philippine*, but of the *Molucco* islands, representing at the same time what faults there are in the government of those parts to be redressed.

Verdadeira informazao do Preste Joao das Indias, de Francisco Alvarez. Lisboa 1540. Folio. The author, a man of great probity, was sent by king *Emanuel* of *Portugal* into *Ethiopia*, with his ambassador *Edward Galvao*, and resided there six years, returning thence in the year 1533. and during his stay there had time to collect this historical account, in which he gives a description of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the stay of the *Portugueses*.

Relazao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. Francisco Cordim. The author was a *Portuguese* jesuit, who had been in those parts; and his work was so well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be translated into *French*, and printed at *Paris* 1645.

Historia general de las Indias de Francisco Lopez de Gomara. This author wrote in a commendable stile; but his history is of no credit, being full of false relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of those parts, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the things he misrepresents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquista del Peru, por Francisco de Xeres. Salamanca 1547. Fol. The author was secretary to *Francis Pizarro* the great discoverer and conqueror of *Peru*, and wrote this account of the conquest of that vast kingdom, as an eye-witness which he presented to the emperor *Charles* the fifth.

Commentarios de los reyes Incas del Peru. Lisboa 1609. Folio.

Historia general del Peru, 1617. Fol.

Historia de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695. 4°. These three by *Garcilaso de la Vega*, who calls himself *Inca*, as being the son of a *Spaniard*, who was one of the conquerors

of the kingdom of *Peru*, by an *Indian* woman of the imperial race of the *Incas*, from whom he took that name. The history of the ancient *Incas* he received from the natives, that of the actions of the *Spaniards* from his father and others, who had a share in them.

Trafado em que se contam muitopor estenso as cousas da China, e assi do regno de Ormuz, pelo P. Gasparda Cruz. Ehora 1569. 4^o. The author, a *Dominican* friar, travelled as a missionary in *India*, *Persia* and *China*, where he made his observations, and dedicated his work to king *Sebastian* of *Portugal*. Several authors of note make mention of him.

Historia general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547. Fol.

Historia del Estrecho de Magallones, 1552. Fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marannon. These three by *Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo*, who after many honourable employments in *Spain*, was sent governor of the city of *Santo Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, where he resided ten years, and compiled his history of the *Indies* mentioned in the first place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume abovemention'd; to which is added one called, *Of shipwrecks*. The rest have not appeared, unless we allow his history of the straits of *Magellan*, the second here spoke of, to be his 20th book, which is published by itself. His account of the river *Marannon* is in the 3d volume of *Ramusio's* travels.

Tratado de la Conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diversas gentes, y estranas y grandes batallas que vio, por Juan Angier. Salamanca 1512. 4^o. The author, of whom we have no further account, assures he saw all he writes, which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that it treats of the conquest of the islands on the coasts of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and of several nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Historia de las Cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586. 8^o. This history of the most remarkable things, and the customs and manners of *China*, was writ by *F. John Gonzalez de Mendoza*, of the order of *St. Augustin*, who in the year 1580 was sent into *China* by *K. Philip* the 2d of *Spain*, where he gathered the materials of his history, and composed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles. 4^o. This is a treatise writ in defence of the *Indians* by the good bishop, and gives an account of their disposition and manners, in opposition to those that repre-

sented them as brutal; and scarce induced with reason. This, tho' it seems not a book of travels, being the manners and customs of strange nations, and by a traveller to those parts, very well deserves admittance among them.

Ethiopia oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. Joao dos Santos. Ehora 1609. Fol. It treats of the eastern parts of *Africk*, where the author, who was a *Dominican*, resided eleven years as a missionary, making his collections on the spot, which he after methodized in his own country.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. Joseph de Acosta. Madrid 1610. 4^o. This history is so well known and generally esteemed, that little needs be said of it; the universal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the history natural and moral of the *West-Indies*.

Description del nuevo orbe, y de los naturaliez del, por el P. F. Luis Jeronymo de Ore. Lima 1598. Fol. The author was an *American* by birth, a great traveller in those parts, an able scholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which render'd him capable to write well upon this subject.

Description general de Africa, por Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vol. Folio. This is the fullest account extant of *Africk*, generally esteemed in all parts, and has been translated into *French*. The author being a slave at *Morocco*, there read and heard those accounts he afterwards published, of the interior parts of *Africk* which remain inaccessible to Christians. *Thuanus* & *Ambrosius Morales*, in their histories commend this work.

Historia de Ethiopia, y

Historia de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. Luis de Urreta, 2 vol. 4^o. Both these generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by *F. Nicholas Godinho* in his book *de Abyssinorum rebus*.

Historia de las islas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. Morcello de Ribadencira. Barcelona 1601. 4^o. This history of those eastern countries was collected there by the author, who travelled the greatest part of them as a missionary.

Relacion del Nombre, Sitio, Plantas, &c. de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr. Martin Camillo. Barcelona 1612. 4^o. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being sent by King *Philip* of *Spain* into *Sardinia*, to inspect all the courts there, travelled over the whole island of *Sardinia*, and took that opportunity to write this learned treatise of its name, situation, plants, conquest, conversion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Gobierno de los Quixos en Indias. 1608. 4°. An account of the province called *Los Quixos* in *South America*, writ by Dr. *Peter de Castro Eorle* of *Lemos*. What more to say of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philippinas, por el P. Pedro Chirino. *Roma* 1604. 4°. The author of this account of the *Philippine* islands, spent the greatest part of his life, and ended his days there, so that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it consists of the actions of the jesuits in those parts, he being of that society.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de Pedro Cieca de Leon. *Antwerp* 1554. 8°. It treats of the limits and description of the provinces of *Peru*, the founding of cities, and the customs and manners of the *Indians*. Only this first part is extant, the other four, which the author promises, and were historical, having never been published; which is a great loss, for by the value of this first we may judge of the rest.

Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil. The history of the province of *Santa Cruz*, vulgarly *Brasil*, by *Peter de Magalbaens Gandavo*. *Lisbon* 1579. 4°. It is commended by *Antonius Leo*, in his *Bibliotheca Indica*.

Relacion dos reges de Persia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of *Persia* and *Ormuz*, and travels from *India* to *Italy* by land, in the year 1614. 4°. The author *Peter Texeira* a *Portuguese*, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las misiones orientales, con una sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eastern missions, and of the empire of the *Mogol*. *Rome* 1649. 4°. Composed by *Sebastian Manrique*, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. Hernando Cortes Marques del Valle, de la conquista de Mexico, al emperador. The original letter writ by *Cortes* the famous conqueror of *Mexico*, giving the emperor *Charles* the 5th an account of his expedition. There is no need to speak of the value of such papers, than which nothing can be more authentick, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his sovereign.

Corta do P. Gonzalo Rodrigues do sua embaixada a Etiopia, e do que la le succedeo com o seu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embassy of *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*, sent by the king of *Portugal* to the emperor of *Ethiopia*. It is to be seen in *F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyssinorum*, lib. II. cap. 58.

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonsalo de Nodal hermanos al descubrimiento del Estrecho Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalbanes. This is an account of a voyage

performed by the two captains above-nam'd to the straits of *St. Vincent*, which we call strait *Le Mayre*, and to view that of *Magellan*, in the years 1618 and 1619. *Madrid* 1621. 4°. It is an exact journal of their voyage and observations whilst they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able seamen, who had served the king many years.

Viage a la santa ciudad de Jerusalem, descripcion suya y de toda la tierra santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. Bernardo Italiano. *Naples* 1632. 8°. A journey to *Jerusalem*, the description of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount *Sinai*, performed by the author, a *Franciscan* friar.

Relacion de los Sagrados lugares de Jerusalem, y toda la tierra santa. The author *F. Blaze de Buiza*, a *Franciscan*, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the *Turks* the tribute for the privilege of those holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at *Salamanca* 1624. 8vo.

Tratado de las Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. *Burgos* 1578. 4°.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque se navega por aquellas partes. Both these by *Christopher da Costa*, a native of *Tangier*, who spent many years in his travels in *Africk* and *Asia*, and was a doctor of physick, which enabled him to write that most excellent treatise first mentioned of these two, of the plants and drugs of the *East-Indies*. The second is of the *East-India* voyage, and of those seas.

Relacao da navigacao de Duarte Lopez a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or *Lopez* his voyage to *Africk* and the kingdom of *Congo*, which is to be seen in *Latin* in *Theodore de Bry's* collection.

Viage de D. Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera a Jerusalem. *Lisboa* 1580. 40°. This is a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* performed by this nobleman, who was marquiss of *Tarifa*, and spent two years in it, setting out in *November* 1518. and returning in *October* 1520. when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de Fernan Mendez Pinto. *Lisboa* 1614. Fol. *Pinto's* travels in *India*, so fabulous that the general consent of the world has exploded them, tho' some few have taken the pains to defend those chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem Francisco Guerrero. *Sevil* 1645. This is another pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of *Sevil*, and can only be a repetition of what we see in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que Fez Gaspar Barreiras, o ano de 1546, de Badajoz em Cassel la ate Milan

Itin en Italia. Coimbra 1561. 4°. The author gives an account of the places he passed thro' in his journey from *Badajoz* in *Spain*, to the city of *Milan*. But *Andrew de Resende* complains that he stole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inserted them as his own.

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a descripçao de Jerusalem. Lisboa 1611. 4°. This journey was performed and book writ by *F. Gaspar de Sa*, a *Portuguese Franciscan*, being a journal of his travels from *India* to *Portugal* by land, and a description of *Jerusalem*; but of this sort there are several, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de Jeronimo de Santistevan de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y sa buelta a Portugal. A voyage by *Jerome de Santistevan* from *Genoa* by the way of *Grand Cairo* to *India*, and his return to *Portugal*. It is to be seen in *Italian* in the first volume of *Ramusio's* collection.

Itinerario de Esparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by *F. Martin Ignatius de Loyala*, a *Franciscan*, who took his way from *Spain* to *America*, thence to the *Philippine* islands, thence to *China*, and so round home by the *East-Indies*. It is printed in *F. John Gonzales de Mendoza's* history of *China*, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585. but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by *F. Nicholas Diaz*, of the order of *St. Dominick*.

Itinerario da terra santa, e todas as suas particularidades. Another pilgrimage still to the Holy Land, by *F. Pantaleo de Aveiro*. Lisbon 1593. 4°.

Relacao de Pedro Alvarez Cabral da sua navegacao a India oriental. This *Cabral* was the next after *Gama* sent by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* into *India*; and accidentally being drove thither by storms, discovered *Brasil*. This relation is to be seen in *Italian* in *John Baptista Ramusio's* collection.

Relacao de Pedro de Cintra, da sua navegacao a costa de Guinée, y a India. A voyage to the coast of *Guinea* and *India*, by *Peter de Cintra*, of which I find no more, but that it was translated into *Italian* by *Aloisius Cadamustus*.

Relacao do viage de Pedro Covillam de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo. 1587. This *Covillam* was one of the first sent from *Portugal* to discover *India* by land, before the way to it had been opened by sea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to *Grand Cairo*.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem el P. F. Pedro

de Santo Domingo, de la orden del mismo santo. This was a *Dominican* lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600. and printed at *Naples* in 1604. in 8°.

Viage de Jerusalem de Pedro Gonzales Gallardo. Another Holy-Land voyage printed at *Sevil* 1605. 8°.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la Costa del Peru, de Pedro Goveo de Victoria. This is an account of a shipwreck and travels in *America* by this *Goveo* in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610. in 8°.

Viage del mundo, por Pedro Ordonez de Zevallos. 4°. This, tho' the author calls it the voyage of the world, only shews a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than *America*, a part whereof the author saw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India Tomas Lopez, el anno de 1502. This voyage to *India* by *Lopez*, is to be seen in *Italian* in *Ramusio's* collection.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new discovery of the great river of the *Amazons*, by *Christopher de Acuna*, a jesuit, who went upon that expedition by order of the king of *Spain*. Madrid 1641. 4°.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de Diego Ramirez. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers *Bartholomew* and *Garcia de Nodal* to the straits of *Le Mayre*; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by *Anthony de Leon* in his *Biblioth. Ind. occident.* p. 91.

Relacion del naufragio de la Nao Santiago, y Itinerario de la gente, que della se salvo el ano de 1585. This is an account of a *Portuguese* ship cast away, and of the great sufferings of those that were saved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed An. 1602. in 8°.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Fernando de Alarcon. The discovery of seven cities in the north *America* by *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, it is to be found in *Italian* in *Ramusio's* collection, vol. III.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Francisco Vasquez Coronado. The discovery of the seven cities last mentioned by *Coronado*, and to be found in the same volume of *Ramusio*.

Tratado de las guerras de los Chichimecas. An account of those northern people in *America*, called *Chichimecas*, and the wars with them, by *Gonzalo de los Casas*, a native of *Mexico*, and lord of the province of *Zanguitan* in that country.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los padres de la compania de Jesus en la India oriental y Japon

pon en los Anos 1600, 1601, 1607, y 1608. This account was first writ in *Portuguese*, and translated into *Spanish*, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Historia ecclesiastica del Japon desde del Ano 1602. hasta el de 1621. This is an ecclesiastical history of *Japon* for those years above-mentioned, composed by F. James Collado, and printed at *Madrid*, An. 1623. in 4°. It was continued to the year 1622. by F. Jacintus Offanel of the order of S. Dominick, as was the other.

Historia evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. Juan Baptista Morales. This history of *China* has been always in good repute; the author was a *Dominican* and missionary first in *Camboya*, and then in *China*, where he suffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then banished. Coming to *Rome* he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and spent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of *Fokien*. Thus much has been said of him, to shew that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deserves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa a la Persia. This embassador was a man curious and knowing, and observed many considerable things which other authors have not spoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient historians have writ of the eastern countries. He gives an account of the manners and customs of the people, and description of all places in the way he went from *Goa* to *Ispahan*, the capital of *Persia*. The relation of the *Persians* taking *Ormuz* from the *Portugueses*, a description of *Chilminara* the ancient palace of *Persopolis*, burnt by *Alexander* the Great when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original *Spanish*, the *French* translation being vitiated by the translator, so that there is no relying on it.

Conquista y antiquesdades de las islas de la Gran Canaria, su descripcion, &c. Por el licenciado Juan Nunez de la Pena. 4°. *Madrid.* The conquest and antiquities of the *Canary* islands, being perhaps the best relation we have of them, both as to their present state and antiquities.

English.

Hackluyt, a minister by profession, is the first *Englishman* that compiled any collection of travels now extant: He himself was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was published in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, composing one thick volume in *Folio*. The

first contains the following voyages: 1. K. Arthur to *Iseland*, An. 517. 2. K. Malgo to *Iseland*, *Gotland*, &c. An. 580. 3. K. Edwin to *Anglesey* and *Man*, An. 624. 4. Bertus to *Ireland*, An. 684. 5. Oether beyond *Norway*, An. 890. 6. Oether into the *Sound*. 7. Wolfstan into the *Sound*. 8. K. Edgar round his monarchy, An. 973. 9. Edmund and Edward into *Hungary*, An. 1017. 10. Harald into *Russia*, An. 1067. 11. An *Englishman* into *Tartary*, *Poland* and *Hungary*, An. 1243. 12. F. de Plano's wonderful voyage, An. 1246. 13. F. de Rubricis's journal, An. 1253. 14. F. de Linna towards the north pole, An. 1360. 15. Hen. E. of Derby into *Prussia*, An. 1390. 16. F. of Woodstock into *Prussia*, An. 1391. 17. Sir H. Willoughby to *Lapland*, An. 1553. 18. Chancellor's discovery of *Muscovy* by sea, An. 1553. 19. Burrough to the river *Ob*, An. 1556. 20. Johnson to the *Samoads*, An. 1556. 21. Burrough to *Wardhouse*, An. 1557. 22. Jenkinson to *Russia*, An. 1557. 23. Jenkinson from *Moscow* into *Bactria*, An. 1558. 24. Jenkinson through *Russia* into *Persia*, An. 1561. 25. Alcock, &c. by land to *Persia*, An. 1563. 26. Johnson, &c. by land to *Persia*, 1565. 27. Southam and Spark to *Novogrod*, An. 1566. 28. Jenkinson to *Russia*, An. 1566. 29. Edwards, &c. by land to *Persia*, An. 1568. 30. Bannister and Duckett by land to *Persia*, An. 1569. 31. Burrough to *Livonia*, An. 1570. 32. Jenkinson to *Russia*, An. 1571. 33. Burrough by land to *Persia*, An. 1579. 34. Pet and Jackman to the north-east, An. 1580. 35. Horsey by land from *Moscow* to *England*, An. 1584. 36. *Russians* to the north-east. 37. Voyage to *Siberia* and the river *Ob*. 38. Vanquishing the *Spanish* armada, An. 1588. 39. Voyage to *Cadiz*, An. 1596. Thus far the first volume; the first 16 of which voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two last are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among discoveries; the rest of the volume is filled with treaties, patents and letters. Thus it appears all these, except the two last, are northern voyages. The second volume contains voyages to the straits, coast of *Africk*, and the *East-Indies*. Of these the greatest part are pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, many of very little moment, expeditions for the *Holy Land*, common trading voyages, that have little or nothing of curiosity, and sea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inserting here: the small remaining part are voyages to *Guinea*, and other coasts of *Africk*, and some few to the *East-Indies*; of all which there is a much better account in *Purchas* and others, and therefore they are not inserted in this place. Besides, as in the first part, there are abundance of letters,

letters, discourses, patents, and such original papers. The third volume, not to mention many of no worth, has these considerable voyages, *Sebastian Cabot's* to north America, three of *Sir Martin Forbisher* to the north-west-passage, two of *Davis's* to the north-west, *Hore* and *Gilbert* to Newfoundland; *Granpre*, and others to the isle of *Ramea*; three of *Jacques Cartier* to Newfoundland, Canada, &c. *Roberval* to Canada; *Amadas*, *Balow*, *Greenvil* and others, to *Virginia*; *Verazzano*, *Ribault*, *Laudonniere*, and *Gourges* to *Florida*; *Marco de Nica*, *Francis Vasquez Coronado*, and *Antony de Espejo* to *Cibola*, *Culiacon* and *New Galicia*; *Ulloa*, *Alarcon* and *Drake* to *California*; *Ovalle* to the *Philippine* islands, *Lequeos*, *China*, and back to *Acapulco*; *Tomson*, *Bodenham*, *Chilton*, *Hawks*, *Philips*, and *Hortop* to *New Spain*, *Peru* and *Panuco*; *Pert* and *Cabot* to *Brasil*; *Tison* and *Hawkins* to the *West-Indies*; *Hawkins* to *Guinea* and the *West-Indies*; *Drake* to *Nombre de Dios*; *Oxnam*, *Barker*, *Drake*, *Michelson* to *Mexico*, &c. *Newport* to *Puerto Rico*, &c. *May* to the straits of *Magellan*; *Dudley*, *Preston*, *Drake*, *Sherley*, *Parker*, to several parts of the *West-Indies*; *Raleigh* to the island *Trinidad*, and to *Guiana*; *Hawkins*, *Reniger*, *Hare*, *Lancaster* to *Brasil*; two *Englishmen* and *Drake* up the river of *Plate*; *Drake* round the world; *Silva* through the straits of *Magellan*; *Winter* into the south-sea; *Fenton* to *Brasil*; *Witbrington* to 44 deg. of south latitude; *Candish* round the world; *Ship Delight* to the straits of *Magellan*; *Candish* his last voyage. Thus have we briefly run over the contents of *Hackluyt's* collection, precisely setting down all in the first volume, to give the reader a taste of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad, which has been abridged in relation to the second and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The collection is scarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out; but it might be wished the author had been less voluminous, delivering what was really authentick and useful, and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust, so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries.

Purchas was the next great *English* collector of travels after *Hackluyt*, whom he has imitated too much, swelling his work into five volumes in *Folio*. The whole collection is very valuable, as having preserved many considerable voyages which might otherwise have perished. But to particularize with him, as has been done

before with *Hackluyt*; his first volume is divided into five books. The first contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apostles and philosophers, with the warlike expeditions of *Alexander* the Great, and other princes; to which is added an inquiry into languages, and an account of the several sorts of religions. The second book treats of navigation in general, the discoveries made by *Henry* prince of *Portugal*, *King John* of *Portugal*, *Columbus* of the *West* and *Gama* of the *East Indies*: then follow *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Candish*, *Noort* and *Spilbergen* round the world, and *Le Maire's* discovery of the new strait of his name. The third book is filled with some private voyages to the *East-Indies*, and the seven first made by the *East-India* company, with descriptions, and an account of all those parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the first that resorted there and made no long stay, imperfect, and far short of what we have had since. The fourth book contains the 8th voyage of the *East-India* company, capt. *Saris* to *Japan*; *Finch* to *India*; 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th voyages of the company; observations for sailors; *Steel* to the *Mogul's* court; *Milward* to *India*; *Peyton* to *India*; an extract of *Sir Thomas Roe*, ambassador from *King James* to the *Mogul*, his journal; *Coryat's* travels. The fifth book still continues upon accounts of the *East-India*, of all parts thereof, and from many several hands, upon differences between the *Dutch* and *English*, wars of the natives, engagements of the *English* and *Portugueses*, and many other passages and occurrences to the same purpose. The sixth book, being the first in the second volume, begins with collections of *John Leo's* history of *Africk*, and *R. C.'s* history of *Barbary*: then follow *Nicholay's* description of *Argier*: an expedition to *Argier* under *Sir Robert Mansel*; and some relations of *Africk*. The seventh book begins *Jobson's* voyage to *Guinea*; *Battle's* account of *Angola* is next, then *Pigafetta's* relation of *Congo*, *Alvarez's* voyage to *Ethiopia*; *D. John de Castro* from *India* to *Suez*; *Bermudez* the patriarch to *Ethiopia*, and *Nunbes Barreto* of the same country. The eighth contains several pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, Christian expeditions to the *Holy Land*; *Barton's* (*Q. Elizabeth's* ambassador to the great *Turk*) account of his voyage and the adventures of *J. Smith*. The ninth book consists of *Sherley's* travels into *Persia*; *Benjamin* the son of *Jonas* his peregrination; *Terrey's* voyage to the *Mogul*; *Barthema's* to *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Persia* and *India*; Collections of *Asia* out of *Arabick*; *Meneses* his account of *India*; *Figueroa* to *Ispahan*; *J. de Santos* to *Ethiopia*; *Jobson* on *Gambra* river;

river; account of the *Grand Signior's* seraglio; *Sanderfon's* voyages in the straits; *Timberley* from *Cairo* to *Jerusalem*; *Newberry* of the eastern parts of the world; *Fran. Pyrard de la Vol* to the *East-Indies*. The tenth book has a collection of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* voyages out of *Galvan*; *Trigautius* his voyage to *India*; Letter touching *Japan*; *Frederick's* *Indian* observations; *Balbi* to *Pegu*; *Fitz* to *Goa*, and other parts of *India*; *Pimenta's* observations of *India*; *Linschoten's* voyages to *India*; relation of *Ormuz*; *Sir Rob. Sherley* to *Persia*; *Coryate's* travels; *Lithgow Scot* to the *Holy Land*, &c. Intelligence out of *Turky*; *Brown's* *Indian* voyage; *Dutch* proceedings at *Amboyna*; and description of the bay of *Todos os Santos*. The third volume, book the first, contains as follows: *W. de Rubricis* travels into the east; relations of *Bacon*, and *Balvacensis*; *Wendover* of the *Tartars*; *Mr. Paulus Venetus* his voyages; *S. J. Mandevile's* travels; Extracts of an *Arabick* history of *Tamerlan*; travels of *Chaggi Memet*, a *Persian*; treatise of *China*, of *F. Gaspar da Cruz*; *Pereira* of *China*. The second book has, *Sir H. Willoughby*, *Chancellor*, and *Jenkinson's* voyages to the north-east; Extracts of *Fernan Mendez Pinto's* travels; Discovery and planting of the *Philippine* islands; *Goes* travels from *Labor* to *China* by land; *Jesuits* first entrance into *China* and *Japan*; *Pantoja's* account of *China*; Discourse of *China* out of *Riccius* and *Trigautius*. The third book, *Fletcher's* treatise of *Russia*; *Edge's* northern voyages; *Barents* into the north-sea; *Gerart de Veer's* northern voyages; *Iver Boty* of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; description of *Siberia*, *Samoieda* and *Tingoesia*; *Gourdon* to *Pecora*; *Logan* to *Pechora*, and his wintering there; *Pusglove* to *Pechora*, and wintering there; *Gourdon* wintering at *Pustozra*; Voyages to *Cherry* island; *Hudson's* northern voyages; Discovery of *Nicholas* and *Anthony Zeni*; *Quirino's* shipwreck; *Barkley's* travels in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africk* and *America*; *Broniovius* ambassador to the *Crim Tartar*; *Blefen's* voyages and history of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; *Angrimfonas's* history of *Iceland*. The fourth book, *Sir T. Smith* to *Cherry* Island; *Poole* to *Greenland*; *Baffin* to *Greenland*; *Fosterby* to *Greenland*; several northern voyages; revolutions in *Russia*; *Cosjack's* travels out of *Siberia* to *Catoy*; Discovery of the river *Ob*; *Cabot*, *Thorn* and *Weymouth's* voyages to the south-west; *Hall* to discover *Greenland*; *Knight* to the north-west passage. Other northern voyages. The fifth book, *Herrera's* description of the *West-Indies*, *Acosta* and *Oviedo* of the *West-Indies*, *Mexican* history in cuts, conquest of *Mexico* by *Cortes*, other particulars of *America*. The fourth volume begins with the sixth book, and in it as follows; the

first book, *Earl of Cumberland's* voyage, *Cabot*, *Pert*, *Hawkins* and *Drake's* voyages and sea-fights, *Carder* living among the savages in *Brasil*, *Candish's* unfortunate voyage to the straits of *Magellan*, *Kniver's* adventures with *Candish*, *Turner* in *Brasil*, *Parker* taking *Puerto Bello*, *Middleton* and *Geare* to the *West-Indies*. Description of the island *Trinidad*, country of *Guiana*, and river *Oronoko*, by *F. Sparrey*. *Leigh's* voyages to *Guiana*, massacre of *English* in *Guiana*, *Wilfen's* relation of *Guiana*, *Harcourt* to *Guiana*, description of the river of the *Amazons*. The seventh book, a treatise of *Brasil* written by a *Portuguese*; extracts of *Leri's* history of *Brasil*; *Schmirdel's* 20 years travels, *Hawkins* to the South sea, *Ellis* of the same voyage, relation of an *Englishman* 13 years prisoner in *Peru*, *Ursino* of the coast of the firm land, and secrets of *Peru* and *Chili*; Notes of the *West-Indies* out of *Peter Ordenez de Cevallos*. New discovery in the South-sea by *Peter Fernandez Quiros*, *Lope Vas* of *American* affairs, extracts of *Benzo* of the new world, and of *Garcilasso Incas* of *Peru*; *Pizarro's* conquest of *Peru*, occurrences in *Peru* after the conquest. The eighth book, *Alvar Nunez* of *Florida*, *Soto* to *Florida*, Discoveries to the northward of *Mexico* by *Nuno de Guzman*, *Marco de Nica*, *D. Fr. Vasquez Coronada*, and *D. Ant. de Espejo*; *Casas* of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, Voyages and plantations of *French* in *North-America*, *Gosnol* to *Virginia*, other voyages to *Virginia*. Description of the *Azores*. The ninth book, description of *Virginia*, and proceeding of the *English* colonies there, Wreck of *Sir Thomas Gate*, and account of the *Bermudas*; *Argol* from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*, affairs relating to *Virginia*, fight of an *English* and two *Spanish* ships, voyages to the *Summer Islands*, and history of them. The tenth book, discovery and plantation of *New England*, *Chalton's* voyage for *North Virginia*, extracts of *Smith* of *New England's* trials, other accounts of *New England*; *New Scotland* the first planting of it, *Newfoundland* the first settlements there, and account of the island; warlike fleets set out by queen *Elizabeth* against the *Spaniards*, the duke of *Medina's* for invasion of *England*, squadron of the galleons of *Portugal*; the expedition to *Portugal* by *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Francis Drake*, supposed to be writ by colonel *Antony Wingfield*; expedition to *Cadiz*, and the success against the *Spanish* ships, and in taking the town; the earl of *Essex* his fruitless expedition to the *Azores*, the conclusion of the work. The fifth volume is a theological and geographical history of the world, consisting of the description, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like *Hackluyt*,

as was observed at first, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable.

A voyage to *Surat* in the year 1689. giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants and factory of *English*, describing *Madeira*, *Santiago*, *Annoboa*, *Cablanda*, *Malamba*, *S. Helena*, *Bombay*, *Mascate*, *Mycate*, the cape of *Good Hope*; and island of *Ascension*, the revolution of *Golconda*, description of *Arracan* and *Pegu*, an account of the coins of *India* and *Persia*, and observations concerning silk-worms. By *J. Ovington*, 8°. *London* 1696. This account was by a person well qualified to make such observations.

Travels and voyages into *Asia*, *Africk* and *America*, performed by *monf. John Morquet*, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of *France* in the *Tuilleries*, in six books with cuts. Translated from the *French* by *Nathaniel Pullen* gent. 8°. *London*, 1696. For so many travels the relation is too short, however there are things in it worth observing.

A new voyage to the *East-Indies*, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a description of several islands, and of all the forts and garrisons in those parts, now in possession of the *French*, the customs, &c. of the *Indians*, by *monf. du Quisne*. It has also a description of the *Canaries*, and of *Senaga* and *Gambia* on the coast of *Africk*, with several cuts and a map of the *Indies*, and another of the *Canaries*. Made *English* from the *Paris* edition, 12°. *London* 1696. Of the *French* factories in those parts we have no such account; and few better for the bulk, of all other places the author undertakes to speak of.

The voyages and travels of *Sir John Mandevil* Knt. shewing the way to the *Holy Land* and *Jerusalem*, to the *Great Cham*, *Prester John*, *India*, and other countries, 4°. *London*, 1696. It is needless to say much of this book, as being so universally allowed to be fabulous.

Two journies to *Jerusalem*, the first an account of the travels of two *English* pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to *Jerusalem*, *Grand Cairo*, *Alexandria*, &c. The second of 14 *Englishmen* in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in scripture; there are also ancient and modern remarks of the *Jewish* nation, the description of the *Holy Land*, captivities of the *Jews*, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promised, but the performance scarce answers, the volume

being too small, and looks more like a collection out of some real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Switzerland*, *Holland*, and other parts of *Europe*, describing the most considerable cities and palaces of princes; with historical relations and critical observations, upon ancient medals and inscriptions, by *Charles Patin* M. D. of the faculty of *Paris*, made *English* and illustrated with copper cuts, 8°. *London*, 1697. For those who are curious in medals this piece will be most acceptable; yet this does not lessen the value of the descriptions and other relations.

A new discovery of a vast country in *America* extending above 4000 miles between *New France* and *New Mexico*, with a description of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, customs, and languages of the *Indians*, &c. by *L. Hennepin*; to which are added new discoveries in *North America*, and not published in the *French* edition, 8°. The promise is very great, but there is little or rather no proof of such a vast extent of land, which no man has yet seen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundless, idle relations of *Indians*; the other parts have more in them, yet only what is collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to *St. Kilda*, the remotest of all the *Hebrides* or western isles of *Scotland*; with a history of the island natural, moral and topographical, containing an account of the peoples religion and customs, of the fish, fowl, &c. As also of a late impostor there, pretending to be sent by *St. John Baptist*. By *M. Martin* gent. 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here the only history and account of this island, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being such, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to lessen it.

The history of the buccaniers of *America*. 8°.

A new account of *East-India* and *Persia* in eight letters, being nine years travels, containing observations of the moral, natural and artificial state of those countries, as the government, religion, laws, customs, soil, seasons, diseases, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and measures, in the principal places there. By *John Fryer*, M. D. with maps and tables, *London* 1698.

A voyage to the *East-Indies*, giving an account of the isles of *Madagascar* and *Mascarenhas*, of *Surat*, the coast of *Malabar*, *Goa*, *Gomron*, *Ormuz*, and the coast of *Brasil*, &c. and of the religion, customs, trade, &c. of the inhabitants, also a treatise of distempers peculiar to the *Eastern* countries.

countries. There is annexed an abstract of monf. *Reneford's* history of the *East-Indies*, with his propofals for improvement of the *East-India* company; written originally in *French*, by monf. *Dellon*, M. D. 8°. *London*, 1698. This work has been well received both in *French* and *Engliſh*.

A new voyage and description of the *Iſthmus* of *America*, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coaſts, hills, rivers, wood, foil, weather, &c. Trees, fruit, beaſts, birds, fiſh, &c. The *Indian* inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, cuſtoms, employments, marriages, feaſts, hunting, computation, language, &c. With remarkable occurrences on the South-ſea and other places, by *Lionel Waſer*, with cuts, 8°. *London*, 1698. A work that has been well received by the publick. [This gentleman was caſt away with the famous captain *Dampier*, to whoſe voyages his account is ſometimes annexed.]

A new account of *North-America*, as it was lately preſented to the *French* king; containing a more particular account of that vaſt country, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto published, 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here a *French* account of thoſe countries, but more particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

The new *Atlas*, or travels and voyages in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, &c. 8°. *London*, 1699. A little volume, which ſeems rather ſome collections out of books and travels, than any real voyage.

An account of a voyage from *Archangel* in *Ruſſia*, in the year 1697, of the ſhip and company wintering near the north Cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: Their manner of living, and what they ſuffer'd by the extreme cold; alſo remarkable obſervations of the climate, country and inhabitants; with a chart deſcribing the place where they lay, land in view, foundings, &c. By *Thomas Allſon* commander of the ſhip. This is the lateſt relation we have of any ſuch northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with ſuch others as write of thoſe northern parts.

A relation of two ſeveral voyages made into the *East-Indies*, by *Chriſtopher Fryke* ſurgeon, and *Chriſtopher Scwartzner*, particularly deſcribing thoſe countries that are under the *Dutch*, 8°. *London*, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a *Dutch* embaffy to the emperor of *China*, writ by one of thoſe embaffador's retinue, *Fol*. It is a tranſlation from the *Dutch* original, and contains a deſcription of the country, and all places they paſſed through, with 200 cuts drawn

upon the ſpot; It treats alſo of the government of *China*, and manners of the people.

The deſcription of the iſland of *Ceylon* by captain *Knox*. He lived 19 years upon the iſland, being taken, and kept there all this while by the *Dutch*, and had the opportunity of ſeeing the greateſt part, and being informed of the reſt by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that beſel him till he made his eſcape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the iſland. The *Dutch* who are maſters of *Ceylon*, have thought this account worth tranſlating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which muſt add to its reputation.

Travels to *Dalmatia*, *Greece* and the *Levant*, by Mr. *George Wheeler*. He travelled with Mr. *Spon*, who published the ſame travels in *French*, but Mr. *Wheeler* remaining there behind him, has ſeveral curioſities that eſcaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; ſo that his work ſeems the moſt compleat, or at leaſt both together confirm one another.

Terry's voyage to the *East-Indies*, begun in the year 1615. 12°. He was chaplain to Sir *Thomas Roe*, embaffador to the *Mogol* from K. *James* the firſt, and gives an account of ſome things in that country omitted by Sir *Thomas* in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with diſcourſes of his own, very little to the purpoſe.

An account of ſeveral late voyages and discoveries to the ſouth and north, containing Sir *John Narbrough's* voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, to the coaſt of *Chile*, in the year 1669. Capt. *Wood's* voyage for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage, *An*. 1676. Capt. *Taſman's* round *Terra Australis*, *An*. 1642, and *Frederick Martens* to *Spitsberg* and *Greenland*, *An*. 1671. With a ſupplement, containing obſervations and navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of ſeveral voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and ſeems very well to deſerve it.

Collection of original voyages, publiſh'd by capt. *Hack*, 8°. It contains *Cowley's* voyage round the world, which is the ſame with *Dampier's* mentioned in the next place: Capt. *Sharp's* voyage into the South-ſea, both buccanier voyages. The third is capt. *Wood's* voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, which is the ſame as Sir *John Narbrough's* before-mentioned: And the fourth Mr. *Roberts's* adventures among the *Corſairs* of the *Levant*; ſo that there is little new in them, the three firſt being in other collections, and the laſt a very indifferent piece.

Dampier's

Dampier's voyages in three volumes, 8°. The first a new voyage round the world, begun *An.* 1697. It describes the *Isthmus* of *America*, and several of its coasts and islands, the passage by *Tierra del Fuego*, the isle of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, the *Philippines*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Celebes*, the cape of *Good Hope*, and island of *S. Helena*.

The second volume he calls a supplement to his voyage round the world, where he describes *Tonquin*, *Achen*, *Malaca*, &c. Their product, inhabitants, manners, trade, &c. The countries of *Campeche*, *Yucatan*, *New Spain* in *America*; and discourses of trade, wind, breezes, storms, seasons, tides, currents of the torrid zone.

The third volume is his voyage to *New Holland*, which has no great matter of new discovery, but gives an account of the *Canary islands*, some of those of *Cabo Verde*, and the town and port of *Baya de Todos os Santos* in *Brasil*. All the three volumes have cuts and maps. [This work has been since published in four volumes, the two first containing *Dampier's* own accounts, the third *Waser's* description of the *Isthmus* of *America*, and *Davis's* expedition to the gold mines; and the fourth, *Funnel's* voyage round the world; *Sharp's* journey over the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, and expedition into the South-seas; *Wood's* voyage through the straits of *Magellan*; Mr. *Robert's* adventures and sufferings among the adventurers of the *Levant*, and his description of the *Archipelago islands*: with maps and cuts.]

A collection of voyages by the *Dutch East-India* company, being three to the north east, two to the *East-Indies*, and one to the straits of *Magellan*. Little can be said in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be seen in several other collections. 8°.

An historical relation of the island of *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*, &c. illustrated with cuts and a map of the island, *Fol.* The author who lived long in that country, gives a general description of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural history.

Lassel's travels through *Italy*, first printed in one volume 12°. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of most things of note there.

Relation of the discovery of the island *Madera*, 4°. This is a discovery before it was peopled, and it continued lost again for several years, and has little of certainty.

Gage's survey of the *West-Indies*, 8°. This book has gained some reputation.

The discoveries of *John Lederer* in three several marches from *Virginia* to the west

of *Carolina*, and other parts of the continent, begun in *March* 1669. and ended in *September* 1670. 4°. This is a small account of the author's, who was a *German*, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; is contained in about four sheets, published by Sir *William Talbot*, in which there is much worth observing.

Relation of the travels and captivity of *W. Davies*, 4°. A small pamphlet of a few sheets.

Account of the captivity of *Thomas Phelps* at *Machanefs* in *Barbary*, and his escape. Another small 4° pamphlet.

The golden coast, or description of *Guinea*, in which are four *English* voyages to *Guinea*. A 4° pamphlet and has several pretty observations.

Herbert's travels into divers parts of *Africa*, and *Asia the Great*, more particularly into *Persia* and *Indostan*, *Fol.* These travels have always deservedly had a great reputation, being the best account of those parts written by an *Englishman*, and not inferior to the best of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent description of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur; not to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

Brown's travels in divers parts of *Europe*, *Fol.* The author, a doctor of physick, has shewed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person, having spent much time in the discovery of *European* rarities, and that in those parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themselves with seeing *France*, and *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*; whereas his relation is of *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Austria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola* and *Friuli*; adding to these *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and a great part of *Italy*, of all which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.

The voyages and travels of *J. Albert de Mandelslo*, a gentleman belonging to the embassy sent by the duke of *Holstein*, to the duke of *Moscovy* and king of *Persia*, *Fol.* These are also known by the name of *Olearius's* travels; the first part, which is of *Muscovy* and *Persia*, being altogether his, who was secretary to the aforesaid embassy: But then the following part, which treats of all parts of the *East-Indies*, is solely *Mandelslo's*, who left the ambassadors and *Olearius* at *Ispahan*, and proceeded to view those remoter parts. It is needless to give any other character of this work,

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than to inform such as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the most accomplish'd books of travels now extant.

Blunt's travels to the *Levant*, is a very short account of a journey through *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Bosnia*, *Hungary*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Thrace*, *Rhodes* and *Egypt*. The whole very concise, and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions; his account of the religions, and customs of those people, only a brief collection of some other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A description of the present state of *Samos*, *Nicaria*, *Patmos*, and mount *Athos*; by *Jos. Georgirenes*, archbishop of *Samos*, 8°. This prelate resided long as archbishop at *Samos*, and saw *Nicaria*, as being a dependance of his diocese; but being weary of that function, he retired to *Patmos*, where he continued some time, and after visited mount *Athos*; so that all he delivers of these places is as an eye-witness, and indeed the most particular account we have of them. The description is very exact, and what he says of the *Greek* religion may be relied on, as having so much reason to know it. All that can be excepted against, is what he says of the people in *Nicaria*, conversing at four or five miles distance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface the reader must observe is the translator's, not the author's, which is requisite to be known.

A voyage to *Constantinople*, by *monf. Grelot*, 8°. translated into *English* by *J. Philips*. This, tho' perhaps in the relation it may not contain much more than what may be picked out of other travellers who have writ of those parts, yet it exceeds them in 14 curious cuts, the exactness of which is attested by several travellers that have been at *Constantinople*, and seen the places they represent; besides that all the ingenious people of *Paris* gave their approbation of the work, and upon their testimony the K. himself having seen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any scruple, to reckon it among the best books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to *Constantinople*, the *Propontis*, *Hellespont* and *Dardanel*s, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worship, government, manners, &c. of the *Turks*, are singular.

A description of the islands and inhabitants of *Færoe*, being 17 islands, subject to the king of *Denmark*, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in *Danish*, and translated into *English*, 12°. The description is very particular and curious, and indeed more

than could well be expected of those miserable northern islands; but the author was provost of the churches there, and had time to gather such an account, which is somewhat enlarged with philosophical observations on whirlpools and other secrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and favours more of affection than sincerity; but the worst part of this small book, is first a collection of some romantick stories of the ancient inhabitants of *Færoe*; and in the next place, what is yet worse, a parcel of insignificant tales of spectres and illusions of Satan, as the author calls them.

Josselin's two voyages to *New England*, 8°. In the first of these there is little besides the sea-journal and common observations, unless it be an account of necessaries for planters. The second is a very particular description of all the country, its beasts, fowl, fish, plants and trees, the manners and customs of the *English* inhabitants, the time of their settling there, with many other matters well worth observing. Of the *Indians* he has very little or nothing. The relation is curious and faithful, but in many places, where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddest uncouth expressions imaginable, which look very conceited; but that is only as to his style. He concludes with what he calls chronological observations of *America*, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the rest is of no great use, especially for that there are several errors in it.

Josselin's New England rarities, a very small 8°. is a more particular account of the fowl, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, plants, stones, minerals, metals, and earth of that country, than he has given in his voyages.

The adventures of *M. T. S.* an *English* merchant, taken prisoner by the *Turks* of *Argier*, and carried into the inland country of *Africk*, 12°. Containing a short account of *Argier* in the year 1648. of the country about it, and more particularly of the city *Tremizen*, where the author resided three years, going abroad with several parties which his master commanded, and relates some love intrigues he had with *Moorish* women, as also very strange metamorphoses of men and other creatures turned into stone. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn it out at the straits mouth with a westerly wind.

Wyche's relation of the river *Nile*, its source and current, a small *Octavo*. This is only a translation of a *Portuguese* Jesuit's account who lived in *Ethiopia* some years, being the same that is given by *F. Alvarez*, and

and others of the society who lived there, and no doubt is very authentick, as delivered by an eye-witness, who was a person of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradise, pelican and phenix, he writes upon hearsay, which deserve not the same credit, particularly when he says that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have seen in *England* to be otherwise; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are also sufficiently known. But these are trifles: he discourses well of the reason of calling the *Ethiopian* emperor *Prestor John*, on the *Red-sea*, and of the palm or coco-tree.

Ray's travels, or his observations topographical, moral and physiological, made in a journey through part of the *Low-Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious description of every town he saw; observes some particulars of the customs and dispositions of the people; and curiously lays before us any thing that is rare in itself, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one so understanding in those particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuse for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. *Venice* he describes more particularly than any other

place; but of all universities, as being himself a scholar, he says more than of other towns. Of *France* not much, as having made but a short stay there. He closes his work with a *Latin* catalogue of plants he observed abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in *England*. He has inserted *Willoughby's* travels in *Spain*.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French* and *English*, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore those who miss any in the *English*, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of *Dutch*, because they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were translated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in some places it is quoted where they were had; but if such authority be not quoted, it is because the books have been purposely perused and examined, where such account could not be found of them. Lastly the reader must observe, that in this catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in this collection, which would be a needless repetition, they being all mentioned and characterized in the general preface.

Continuation of the Catalogue and Character of most Books of Voyages and Travels down to the present Time, added to this new Edition.

THO' the former editors distinguished their catalogue by the languages that their several authors wrote in, it was not thought necessary to observe that method in this continuation, which we do not give for compleat. Our predecessors were so far from being so, that we found it necessary to make several alterations and additions in what they left; and before we proceed, must take notice of two or three *English* articles worthy of notice, which they omitted, tho' falling within their compass of time.

Travels to the Holy Land, &c. by *George Sandys*. We can assure our readers, that for the time when it was written, there is not a more judicious and entertaining book of travels than this of our countryman, who was son of *Dr. Edwin Sandys*, archbishop of *York*. He begun his journey in *France* in 1610, and continued it through *Italy*, *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, *Palestine* and *Egypt*, making very curious remarks, and particularly noting the allusions of the an-

tient poets as he passed along, which hath since been so happily followed by *Mr. Addison*. *Mr. Sandys* was famous also for his poetical translations, being the best versifier, and one of the politest gentlemen of the age he lived in. His travels have been many times printed in one volume *Folio*.

Some letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in *Switzerland*, *Italy*, &c. written by *G. Burnet*, D. D. to *T. H. R. B.* [that is, to the honourable *Robert Boyle*.] *Dr. Burnet's* letters are as much a book of travels as those of *Misson*, and several others mentioned by our collectors. It has passed through several editions in 12°. That I have now before me I take to be the first, as it was printed in 1687, and the journey was performed in 1685 and 1686. I suppose it to have first appeared in *Holland*, there being no name of either place or printer. This reverend clergyman's remarks are often very free, and usually pretty judicious. Three more letters concerning the present state of *Italy* were the next year published

published by another hand, and called, *A supplement to those of Dr. Burnet*, several passages of which they help to explain farther.

The late Mr. secretary *Addison's* travels into *Italy* were not performed till the years 1701 and 1702: so that 'tis not strange we find no account of them in what precedes. But his father, Dr. *Launcelot Addison*, had before published an account of *Barbary* from his own remarks. As I have not the book by me, I cannot directly transcribe the title: and as to the use of it, that may probably be dispensed with, since we have so many larger and more modern accounts of the same country, which was not the case when this collection of voyages was first made.

But the *Remarks upon several parts of Italy* by *Joseph Addison* Esq; will be never out of use with the curious. Mr. *Tickell* tells us it is a large commentary upon his poetical letter from *Italy* to *Charles* lord *Halifax*, which those who have a relish for antiquity esteem the most exquisite of his poetical writings. The remarks are printed among Mr. *Addison's* works in 4°. and separately in one vol. 12°.

Voyage au Levant par Corneille le Brun, traduit du Flamand. This is the French translation of the first part of *Le Bruyn's* travels, and was printed at *Delft* in 1700. It contains descriptions of the principal places in the *East*, as *Asia Minor*, the isles of the *Archipelago*, *Egypt*, *Syria* and the *Holy Land*, all pretty particular. The author was bred up to drawing, which induced him to make draughts of all that he thought worthy of notice, and he is very careful to produce attestations that they are his own originals, and not copied from others, as was given out in *Holland*. He was born at the *Hague*, and spent 19 years in his travels, viz. from 1674 to 1693. He owns he has made use of some remarks of other travellers, as well as his own. An *English* translation of this book was afterwards published in two volumes *Folio*.

Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and part of the East-Indies, containing an accurate description of whatever is most remarkable in those countries, and embellish'd with above 320 copper plates, &c. By *Mons. Cornelius le Bruyn*, two volumes *Folio*. This is not the same work with the former, as may be seen by the different countries it relates to. It should therefore have been properly called the 3d and 4th volume of the author's travels. As well as the other two, it is most peculiarly estimable for the drawings, particularly the remains of the noble palace of *Persepolis*, called by the modern *Persians* *Chelminar*. To the journal and drawings are added, *An account of the journey of Mr. Brants ambassador from Muscovy, thro' Russia*

and *Tartary, to China*; together with remarks upon the travels of *Sir John Chardin* and *M. Nerapfer*: in a letter to the author upon that subject. This *English* translation was published in 1736.

Recueil des voyages qui ont donnés le commencement & la progres a la compagnie des Indes orientales, établie dans les provinces unies des Pays Bas. 12°. *Amst.* 1705 & 1707, in 7 volumes. This bears the character of being a curious and useful work. The two last volumes contain the voyage of *Schouten*.

Voyage du sieur du Mont au Levant, 12°. *Hague* 1700, 4 volumes. *M. du Mont* writes with a good deal of moderation, and a great many valuable things are to be found in his work.

Voyage du Levant fait par le sieur Paul Lucas l'année 1699 jusqu'en 1703. *Paris* 1704, 2 volumes 12°.

Nouveau Voyage de Paul Lucas au Levant, Paris 1710, 2 volumes 12°. This traveller has had from his countrymen the character of being exact, judicious, and attentive: but more modern travellers, especially of our nation, have contradicted him in many particulars. His cuts, however, have been copied by some of those moderns, to save the trouble of new drawings.

Relation historique d'un voyage fait au mont de Sinai & a Jerusalem, par Antoine Morison, chanoine de Bar-le-Duc, 4°. *Toul*, 1704. A work not badly written, and useful in the knowledge of sacred geography.

Relation nouvelle & tres fidelle de la Terre sainte, dans la quelle, &c. par *F. Felix Beau-grand*, 8°. *Paris* 1700. This description is chiefly confined to places visited by pilgrims out of veneration, as *Mount Calvary*, the *Holy Sepulchre*, the *Garden of Olives*.

Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel, & de quelques autres adjacentes, dont les principales sont Cypre, Rhodes, Candie, Samos, Chio, Negropont, Lemnos, Paros, Delos, Patmos, &c. Traduite du Flamand de *M. Dapper*, *Amst.* 1702. This book contains the names, situation, cities, castles, and history antient and modern of the several islands it describes; as also their government, revolutions, plants, animals, &c. with maps, prints of the dress of the inhabitants, and of the plants and animals.

Lettres edifiantes & curieuses écrites des missions etrangeres par quelques missionaries de la compagnie de Jesus. This work, the publication of which was begun in 1703 by father *le Gobien*, was continued down by him to his death, and since by father *du Halde*, author of the history of *China*, till in the year 1741, it was already swelled to 25 volumes 12°. We have not informed ourselves what has been since printed, but matter for continuing this collection must still arise, while the missions of those industrious

dustrious men continue to distant countries that are otherwise little known. These letters are filled with a great number of curious particulars, extremely useful in the perfecting of modern history and geography; but intermixed with so many remarks concerning their own superstition, the labours and sufferings of some of the fathers, &c. that the protestant reader who was to go thro' them would be alternately delighted and disgusted. Mr. Lockman, about 3 or 4 years ago, formed a very laudable scheme of throwing out all the trash, and abstracting only the valuable parts of these letters in *English*. He published two volumes 8^o, in pursuance of this design, under the title of *Travels of the Jesuits*, &c. But whether he goes on with it I have not been informed.

Nouveaux voyages de M. le Baron de la Hontan dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, &c. enrichis de cartes & de Figures, 2 Tom. 8^o. a la Haye 1703. This book hath been since translated into *English*. The author professes great sincerity and impartiality, and pretends he has all the qualities necessary to an impartial historian; but his work is entirely grown out of credit, thro' the observations of modern travellers, as well his own countrymen as others; and instead of being one of the truest, he is found to be one of the falsest of all writers. Father Charlevoix, in particular, is very free in censuring him.

Etat des Royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis & Alger, contenant l'Histoire naturelle & politique de ces pais, &c. a Rouen 1703, 12^o. Printed again at the Hague the same year. Father de la Motte, of the order of the Trinity, wrote to his general, father de la Forge, the letters that compose this relation, which hath some intermixture of the priest along with the historian.

Voyage de Guinée, contenant une description nouvelle & tres exacte de cette Côte, &c. par Guillaume Bosman, Utrecht 1705. 12^o. This relation is also written in the form of letters, and the famous Mons. Le Clerc observes of it, that tho' he had seen many relations of the Gold Coast, nothing appear'd to him so exact and extensive as this; not only with regard to the country, its inhabitants, and whatever else there was worthy of notice; but moreover of the commerce carried on there by the Europeans, and the several forts they possess. There are also a great many private histories of accidents that have happened to them in those countries, and their wars with the natives. Towards the end there are two letters, written in 1701 and 1702, by the captains of some ships sent to trade at Benin, and the coasts of Africa that border upon Guinea.

Ouzioportus Helveticus, sive Itinera Alpina, in quibus incolæ, animalia, plantæ, montium altitudines barometrica, cæli & soli temperies,

&c. exponitur, & iconibus illustratur. Auctore Joan. Jac. Scheuchzero. Lond. 1708. 4^o. This author informs us of all he found remarkable in the three journies he made into the mountains of Switzerland, with regard to minerals, stones, waters, plants, animals, the people, the height of the mountains, the degrees of heat and cold, &c. His work has therefore been very useful to the studious in natural history, and will with such be always in esteem.

A cruizing voyage round the world, begun in 1708 and finished in 1711, by captain Woodes Rogers, with maps and cuts, 8^o. This gentleman, in the time of the last war, was sent out with two Bristol privateers, the Duke and Dutchess, to cruise upon the Spaniards on their several coasts. He and his associate took a prize soon after their setting out, between the Great Canary and Forte Ventura. They pick'd up several others in the South Sea, and formed and executed the design of taking the city of Guayaquil. In one ship, among other wares, they found four millions of indulgences. But their greatest prize was an Acapulco ship, which they took near the coast of California, in her return from Manilla. Mr. Rogers seems to be very faithful in his narration, and is equally entertaining: Several accounts of private adventures, and other particulars, being intermixed with the descriptions of countries, and of the voyage.

Captain Cooke, who went the same voyage with captain Rogers, has also published an account of it in two volumes 8^o. which is in good esteem. As two writers of any such affair must each have particulars to relate that were not observed by the other, it is very entertaining and instructive to compare them, when they are both men of good understanding and veracity, as seems here to have been the case. Captain Cooke's title is, *A voyage to the South Sea, and round the world, in the years 1708, 1709, 1710 and 1711. With an account of Mr. Alexander Selkirk's manner of living, and taming some wild beasts, during the four years and four months he lived upon the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez, with cuts*.

Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse, par l'Océan oriental & par le detroit de la Mer Rouge, fait par les François le premier fois dans les années 1708, 1709 & 1710. avec la relation particuliere d'un voyage de Mocha a la cour du Roi de Yeman, dans la seconde expedition des années 1711, 1712 & 1713, &c. Amst. 1716. This account, like some we have before mention'd, is given in the way of letters, and has many entertaining things in it; particularly a curious memoir concerning the coffee-tree and its fruit, and a dissertation upon the origin and progress of the use of it in Europe.

A journey over land from the gulph of Honduras to the great South Sea, performed by John Cockburn and five other Englishmen, &c. There is something interesting in this narrative to those who love to feel compassion for the hardships their fellow creatures undergo. The journey was performed in the year 1732, and the editor has annexed to it the voyage of Nicolas Worthington in the year 1611.

Histoire d'une voyage literaite, fait en 1733, en France, Angleterre & Hollande, &c. 1735. 8°. The author of this book travelled on purpose to get acquainted with books and men of learning, and gives an account of the state of literature in the several countries he visited, with curious anecdotes of many authors.

A voyage to Abyssinia by father Jerome Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, containing a narrative of the dangers he underwent in his first attempt to pass from the Indies into Abyssinia, with a description of the coasts of the Red Sea. An account of the history, laws, customs, religion, habits and buildings of the Abyssins. With the rivers, air, soil, birds, beasts, fruits, and other natural productions of that remote and unfrequented country. A relation of the admission of the Jesuits into Abyssinia in 1634. An exact description of the Nile, its head, its branches, the course of its water, and the cause of its inundations. With a continuation of the history of Abyssinia down to the eighteenth century, and fifteen dissertations on various subjects, relating to the history, antiquities, government, religion, manners, and natural history of Abyssinia, and other countries mentioned by Father Jerome Lobo, by M. LeGrand. From the French, Lond. 1735. We have given at length this full title to save the trouble of any farther account of the book, which is but a single octavo volume.

Remarks on several parts of Europe, relating chiefly to the history, antiquities, and geography of those countries thro' which the author has travelled; as France, the Low Countries, Lorrain, Alsatia, Germany, Savoy, Tyrol, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Illustrated with several maps, plans, and above forty copper plates. By John Breval, Esq; 2 volumes Folio 1726.

Remarks on several parts of Europe, relating chiefly to their antiquity and history. Collected upon the spot in several towns since the year 1726, and illustrated by upwards of forty copper plates, from original drawings; among which are the ruins of several temples, theatres, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and other unpublish'd monuments of the Greek and Roman times, in Sicily and the south of France. By John Breval, Esq; 2 volumes folio, 1738.

The two last volumes are a distinct work

from the former, but may not improperly be called a third and fourth of the author's travels. They seem more confined than the two former to matters of antiquity only; and those who have a relish for antient monuments, it is agreed, will find a gratification here which no other tour of those places can afford them, mixed as little as may be with any thing that is foreign to that peculiar gratification. Indeed in the two first Mr. Breval seems to have had antiquity chiefly in view, because he laments that Mr. Addison, who wrote in the same taste, left so small a sample of what might be said upon the subject, and censures other travellers for being too minute in descriptions that to him appear of much less moment. Most of our travellers, he justly observes, borrow their intelligence from their landlords, their voiturins, or cicerones, who are much such another sort of literati as the fellows who shew the tombs in *Westminster Abbey*, or the rarities in the tower. As Mr. Breval travelled with better discernment, we ought to rely upon much more exactness in his two performances.

A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A. D. 1697. by Henry Maundrell, with cuts, 8°. There have been several editions of this book, which is a very exact and useful account of the country it describes, and peculiarly serviceable in clearing up the sacred geography, which the author, being a clergyman, seems to have had chiefly in view. Dr. Wells has made great use of this author in his geography of the old and new testament, and indeed there was no book more to his purpose.

Anciennes Relations des Indes & de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahometans, &c. Paris 1718. 8°. This book is in *English* under the following title: *Ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, who went to those parts in the 9th century. Translated from the Arabic by the late learned Eusebius Renadot, with notes, illustrations and inquiries by the same hand.*

Travels from Paris thro' Italy, with an account of the antiquities of Vienne, Marseilles: also the delights of Italy, or accounts of paintings, churches, statues, libraries, &c. By B. Montfaucon, with cuts, Folio. Translated from the French of the learned Father whose name it bears, and whose taste for antiquities will inform the reader what he is to expect in this work.

A voyage to the South-sea, and along the coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713 and 1714, particularly describing the constitutions of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards, their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffick with Europe, &c. By Mr. Frazer. 4°. with cuts. The voyage, of which this is a descrip-

description, was undertaken after the return of the captains *Rogers* and *Cooke*, and upon the encouragement of their success. The book is in very good esteem.

Stevens's collection of voyages and travels, 2 volumes 4°. Vol. I. containing the discovery and conquest of the *Molucca* and *Philippine Islands*, with their history antient and modern, and several remarkable voyages thro' the straits of *Magellan*: A journal of a thousand miles travels among the *Indians* from *South* to *North Carolina*, with the natural history of *Carolina*: seventeen years travels of *Peter de Cieza* thro' the kingdom of *Peru*. Vol. II. containing the travels of the *Jesuits* in *Ethiopia*: the travels of the *Sieur Monette* in the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*: the travels of *Peter Teixeira* from *India* to *Italy* by land: *Canche's* voyage to *Madagascar*.

Travels thro' France, Italy, &c. with curious cuts of antient statues, &c. By *Mr. Wright*, 2 volumes 4°. This book is valued by the lovers of antiquity, and the curious in sculpture. It is, in short, reckon'd in the first rank of modern books of travels.

Travels throughout Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa, with observations on Italy, Greece, Crim and Northern Tartary, Circassia, Sweden and Lapland; with an account of the remains, cities, inscriptions, idols, medals, &c. 3 volumes Folio, with fine cuts. By *A. de la Motraye*. The two first volumes were published a considerable time before, and are more valued than the third: but in general, *M. de la Motraye* is reckon'd among the best of modern travellers, especially as the countries he describes the most particularly have been least visited by the generality of other travellers.

Hamilton's voyages to the East Indies, with observations and remarks upon the people, customs, &c. 2 volumes 8°. with cuts. As this is the most modern particular account of those countries now extant, and written with judgment and care, it is consequently looked upon to be the best.

A voyage to the South-sea, and round the world, by captain Shelvocke. 8°. with cuts. This gentleman was father to the present *Mr. secretary Shelvocke* of the post-office, who accompanied him in his expedition, and is thought to be the writer of this narrative.

A new account of some parts of Guinea, and the slave trade, with a relation of the author's being taken by pyrates, and the dangers he underwent. By *captain Snelgrave.* 8°. This writer seems to have been an honest man, but appears over credulous on some occasions; especially with regard to the eating of human flesh by the *Negroes*. His account relates to the years 1726 and 1727.

Captain Uring's voyages and travels, with draughts of the Bay of Honduras, the Caribbe Islands, maps, &c. 8°. This gentleman was in 1722 employ'd by his grace the present duke of *Montague*, to make a settlement in the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, for which his grace had a grant from his late majesty: but the captain was cruelly and unjustly impeded in the execution of his commission by the *French* governor of *Martinico*, who obliged him at last to abandon the enterprize.

A voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies, in his majesty's ships the Swallow and the Weymouth; describing the several islands and settlements, viz. Madeira, the Canaries, Cape de Verde, Sierra Leon, Sesthos, Cape Apollonia, Cabo Corfe, and others on the Guinea coast; Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. in the West-Indies. By *John Atkins, surgeon in the royal navy*, London 1735. 8°. *Mr. Atkins*, among other things, takes pains to confute captain *Snelgrave*, with regard to the anthropophagous disposition of the *Negroes*. He has no cuts nor draughts.

Travels into the inland parts of Africa, containing a description of the several nations for the space of six hundred miles up the river Gambia, &c. To which is added, captain *Stibbs's* voyage up the river *Gambia* in 1723, to make discoveries. By *Francis Moore, factor several years to the royal African company of England* 1738. 8°. *Mr. Moore*, besides his own narrative, and captain *Stibbs's* journal, hath several valuable things; particularly a curious map of the *Gambia*, upon a scale sufficiently large, for the space of 500 miles; some draughts and plans, with several extracts from the ancient and modern geographers concerning the countries he describes.

A true and impartial account of a voyage to the South-sea, and round the globe, in his majesty's ship the Centurion, under the command of commodore George Anson; wherein all the material incidents during the said voyage from its commencement in the year 1740 to its conclusion in 1744, are fully and faithfully related, having been committed to paper at the time they happened, &c. By *Pascoe Thomas, teacher of the mathematicks on board the Centurion*. This author, besides his journal, and the observations he made in natural philosophy, was able, by his mathematical skill, to make and collect some useful tables concerning the situation of places, which will render his book serviceable to *English* mariners, who may hereafter go the same voyage. But the most compleat account of this expedition is still expected by the publick, being undertaken by *Mr. Anson's* direction, and with the use of all his papers, by the *Rev. Mr. Walters*, chaplain of the *Centurion*.

A voyage to the South-sea in the ship Wager, one of commodore Anson's squadron, with an account of its shipwreck, &c. This account was written by two of the officers, who came back thro' the straits of Magellan after the loss of the *Wager*, and contains a very affecting relation of the hardships they met with before they got to the *English West-India* islands.

Captain *James's dangerous voyage to discover the north-west passage, &c.*

Captain *Middleton's journal of a voyage to discover the north-west passage, &c.*

Tho' both these attempts, and several others to the same purpose, failed of the end proposed, the practicability of the scheme is still so much believed, that in the present year 1746, two other vessels, under the encouragement of an act of parliament, are gone in search of the same discovery. Captain *Middleton's* failure occasioned a long dispute, which was carried on with great acrimony in the year 1744, between him and Mr. *Dobbs*, the gentleman who recommended him for that service to the admiralty.

The memoirs of Charles Lewis, baron of Pollnitz, being the observations he made in his late travels from Prussia thro' Germany, Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, England, &c. in letters to his friends, vol. I. and II. 8°. second edition, London 1739. This is a very entertaining book for those who are willing to be acquainted with the modern state of the several courts in *Europe*, to which the baron, by means of his quality, had more free admission than a common traveller can expect. He talks freely of men and things; but seems a little bias'd to the side of flattery in his portraits of princes and other great personages.

The memoirs, &c. vol. III and IV. 8°. second edition 1740. It will appear by the perusal of these volumes, that, in order of time, they ought to have been published before the two former, and that the baron twice made the grand tour he describes. In some respects, likewise, these last volumes seem to be the original memoirs, from whence the letters in the first and second were with more elegance written.

M. Blainvilles travels into Holland, &c. This work, which is said to be a translation from a *French M. S.* never published, came out in periodical numbers, within the two or three years last elapsed, and consists of three volumes in 4°. The translator speaks of it with great commendations, to the justice of which we have not yet heard any contradiction.

A voyage to Georgia, containing the rules for the settlement of Frederica, and a description of the country. By F. Moore, author of the travels into the inland parts of Africa,

1744. This is a pamphlet only, but deserved to be mentioned here as it relates immediately to one of our own colonies.

Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Sale fit dans le Golphe Mexique, pour trouver l'Embouchure de la Riviere de Micissipi. This voyage was made in 1715. The *French* are now very well acquainted with the mouth of this river, and very particular draughts are given of it in the work next to be mention'd.

Histoire de la nouvelle France, &c. par le Pere le Charlevoix, 3 tom. 4°. 1745. This is the most copious and accurate work that ever was written upon that part of the world. As Father *Charlevoix* was appointed by the *French* government to compose it, he had all the assistance that could be given him for it from the public offices in *Paris*, and seems exceedingly well qualified for the undertaking. His maps and draughts are very curious, and, joined with the description, must be particularly useful to the *English* in any future attempt they may make against *Quebec*: the navigation of the gulph and river of *St. Laurence*, which was the chief obstacle hitherto urged against such an attempt, being so plainly laid down, that there seems to be little danger of such a miscarriage as Sir *Hovenden Walker* met with in 1711. The father, besides his history, has given us a journal of his own voyage to enable him to write it, and a chronological catalogue of all the voyagers of latter ages, who have made any new discoveries in different parts of the world. A new edition of his book has been just printed in *Holland*, in 5 volumes 12°.

Travels: or observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant. By Thomas Shaw, D. D. fellow of Queen's College in Oxford, and F. R. S. Oxford, printed at the Theatre, 1738. Folio. The author has lately published a supplement, partly to vindicate himself with regard to some mistakes and misrepresentations, and partly to enlarge his observations. This work is beautifully printed, and adorned with a great number of original maps and drawings. By the first, in particular, the coasts of *Barbary* seem to be more exactly laid down than in any former author. He endeavours to reconcile his remarks with the itinerary of *Antoninus*; and they will be also useful in settling the ecclesiastical geography of that country, so famous antiently for its great number of bishops. Tho' the Dr. writes chiefly for the learned, his work may be look'd upon as one of the best that the present age has produced, not being destitute of sufficient entertainment for the less accomplish'd reader.

A description of the east, and some other countries, vol. I. &c. By Richard Pococke, L. L. D.

L. L. D. F. R. S. Folio, London 1743. *A description of the east, &c. vol. II.* London 1746. Dr. Pococke will certainly be accounted one of the most curious, diligent, and accurate writers among the modern travellers. His map of *Egypt* alone must have cost him abundance of pains. It is to be had single in a large size, and is very neatly abridg'd before the first volume. Besides which, he has a great number of particular plans and drawings, serving to illustrate the antient and present state of that country, in which, we think, he has gone farther than any former author. He has also some very curious conjectures relating to the *Nile*, &c. All this in the first volume. The second, which describes *Syria*, &c. is equally learned and useful. In a word, this writer seems to throw new light upon whatsoever he undertakes to discourse of. He has given catalogues of the singular plants, &c. in the countries he describes, and prints of the most curious among them.

A view of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece. In which their antiquities, government, &c. are attempted to be described and treated on. By Charles Perry, M. D. 1743. *Folio*. When we look into this gentleman's work, the first thing that strikes the eye, after a long preface, is the pompous list of subscribers that appears to grace it. He runs thro' a great variety of subjects, and gives a competent number of prints to illustrate them. But how much there is of new, either in his matter or the illustrations of it, we do not take upon us to determine. We will only say in general, that tho' this *English* traveller, as to the bulk of his volume, the time of its appearance, and the author's degree in his profession, might very properly make up a triumvirate with the other two doctors last mentioned; we very much doubt whether posterity will continue to him that honour.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROVINCES
OF

*Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata,
Parana, Guaira, and Urvaica.*

And something of the
Kingdom of CHILI
In SOUTH AMERICA.

Written in *Latin* by *F. Nicholas del Techo*, Priest of the
Society of *Jesus*.

Nº. 224. VOL. VI.

Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-
noster Row*.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE author having design'd this for a history of his order, has fill'd a considerable part of it with the lives, particular actions, preaching and teaching of his brethren the Jesuits, and inserted abundance of miracles and other pious matter, which is not the subject of this present work, nor likely to be at all acceptable to the reader; who in a book of travels, will expect to meet with nothing but what is prophane history, description, strange manners, customs and superstitions, surprizing accidents, discoveries, conquests, and such things as are usual in books of this nature. Such care has been therefore taken, that his expectation may be answer'd according to the nature of the work, and therefore those religious narrations are either quite left out, or, if any thing be said of them, it is so concise as may be no way tedious, but rather afford something of variety, and serve to make a connexion, lest breaking off too abruptly in some places, we should altogether lose the order and method of the author. But he having dispos'd things so as that the delivery of the affairs of his society may appear to be the principal part of his undertaking, has not therefore digested the others to the best advantage for a reader that looks only for travels, who therefore may think all things are not so regularly recited as might have been; which is here endeavour'd in some measure to be rectified, by joining some accounts, which in him lie far sever'd, that so all confusion might be avoided. And lest any one should object here is too much mention made of the Jesuits and their actions, it is to be observ'd they are the main subject of the history; and that with good reason. For whereas in all other discoveries, we see the whole relation lies upon commanders and soldiers, who conquer'd those nations found out by force of arms: here, on the contrary, and which is very well worth our curious observation, we see vast provinces converted to christianity, and only brought under the dominion of the kings of Spain by a few religious men, arm'd only with the sword of the gospel; and yet these same preachers are brought in here no more than necessity absolutely requires, they being the great discoverers of those far extended countries we treat of, and founders of towns; so that these things cannot possibly be deliver'd without mentioning those who were the prime actors: but the thing will justify itself. As for the truth of the relation, I see little reason to call it in question, since the author could have no inducement to forge any part of it, as being a religious man, who valu'd his reputation, and could propose to himself no benefit or advantage by falsehood. Nor could he easily be impos'd upon, having liv'd twenty-five years in those countries, during which time he must have seen much, and learnt more from persons of credit and authors above blemish. Now to give a more particular account of what is done, as to the translation, several matters, as was hinted before, which in the original lie far asunder, are here for the better understanding of them brought together. The first twenty-one sections run exactly with the author, neither adding nor diminishing, because so far he proceeds upon the account of those countries, not interrupting it with any spiritual matter. At chapter twenty-two he begins to enter upon the subject of the Jesuits coming into those parts, where we reduce many chapters in a few lines each, till some matters altogether spiritual occurring, there are chapters quite left out, till we meet with more temporal affairs. This same method is continued throughout the whole work, sometimes delivering whole chapters, oftner reducing them into less compass, by leaving out those things which are not historical, and sometimes wholly omitting chapters, which contain nothing but the particular lives of some of those fathers, or miracles, and such things from the purpose. The original is divided into chapters and books, which method is not follow'd here for the reasons already set down. In fine, the whole work is diverting, full of variety and new, for of those parts we have had but very imperfect accounts before, and such peaceable conquests as are here found we do not meet with in any other travels.

The History of Paraguay, Tucuman, ^{TECHO.} and the adjacent Provinces in South America.

The intro-
duction.

AMERICA is divided into the northern and the southern. South America is shut in between two seas, has a considerable part of its shoars inhabited by the *Peruvians* and *Brasilians*, neither of them stretching far into the inland, unless where the desire of gold or silver, or the goodness of the soil has drawn the *Spaniards* on the one side, and the *Portugueses* on the other. All the land between *Brasil* and *Peru*, and consequently between the *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* oceans, being a vast extent down to the straits of *Magellan*, as for the most part comprehended under the names of *Chili*, *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and some other provinces included in them. This new world divided like the old into two vast peninsulas, and only knit together by a small isthmus, was in the last age but one brought under a foreign dominion to its own unspeakable advantage; for upon this occasion, through the special goodness of God, and great care and expence of the catholick kings, wherever the *Spanish* dominion extends, the christian faith is propagated. For if there be any nations that have not yet own'd Christ, the king of *Spain* is no way to be blam'd for it, but all the fault is to be imputed either to the obstinacy of those *Barbarians*, or, as is usual in all parts, to the ill behaviour of some private persons. Others will speak of what relates to the rest of *America*, but I being commanded by my superiors, to write the affairs of the society in those vast southern regions of *Paraguay*, *Tucuman* and *Chili*, which in the year 1607 were made one province of the said society, will first give an account of the first coming of the *Spaniards* into those countries; of the towns founded by them; of the first preaching of christianity; and afterwards proceed to such other actions, as happen'd in process of time upon further discovery of those parts, chiefly as to temporal affairs, yet not so as altogether to forget the spiritual. This I shall endeavour to perform with that truth and sincerity, that becomes a religious man. And thou, my God, the Author of all good, without invoking whom a religious person ought not to enter upon any work, assist me in this undertaking, as thou hast done so

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many heroes of our society in propagating the faith, whose steps I have follow'd in that great work, tho' not so worthily, for the space of twenty-five years. Do thou, fountain of eternal wisdom, correct my stile, which so many years use of a barbarous language has corrupted; and guide me, that I may make the best choice of the vast mass of matter that lies before me, and worthily deliver that to posterity, which shall be to thy greater honour and glory.

Pizarro having carry'd the war into south ^{The *Portugueses* first discovered *Paraguay*, but unsuccessfully.} *America*, and the *Spaniards* under his command, gaping after the vast wealth of the *Ingas*, kings of those parts, having possess'd themselves of a large tract of land along the *Pacifick* ocean, commonly call'd

the *South Sea*: several persons persuaded themselves there might be a shorter and less dangerous way found along the coasts of the *Atlantick* or north sea, to *Peru*, which was then reported to abound in gold and silver. The first I can find, that propos'd the discovery of this way, was *Martin de Sousa*, who govern'd *Brasil* for king *John II.* of *Portugal*, and divided it into provinces, and was ambitious to vye with the *Spaniards* in discovering new countries that might increase his master's dominions. To this purpose he sent *Alexius Garcia* a man of undaunted resolution, with his son, and three *Portugueses*, and a considerable attendance of *Indians*, from the southern part of *Brasil*, to pierce as far as possibly he could into the inland of *America*. He having travell'd three hundred leagues by land, and coming into the country about the river *Paraguay*, being well vers'd in the language of the *Indians*, and knowing how to deal with them, prevail'd with about two hundred of the people of *Paraguay* to follow him as their captain; with whom, in martial manner he made his way to the borders of *Peru*, whilst the *Inga* was still living, and there by plundering gather'd a vast quantity of wrought and unwrought silver. Being loaded with this booty, he sent away two of his *Portuguese* companions to *Brasil* for succours, and returning to *Paraguay*, was cruelly murdered by the *Barbarians*, who spar'd his son because of his tender years. The father's memory will

B. live

TECHO. live for ever, because he durst with so small a company traverse almost all the land between the two seas that encompass south *America*, travelling unknown ways, where no *European* had been before, and through fierce and warlike nations, shewing that nothing is impracticable to those, who prefer fame and the benefit of posterity before their own lives. His companions returning to *Brasil*, and besides the account they gave of the friendship contracted with the people of *Paraguay*, and the wealth of the *Inga*, produced pieces of gold and silver, as undoubted proofs of the truth of their assertions. All the *Portugueses* were overjoyed, and eager upon repeating that expedition. Hereupon sixty *Portugueses*, and a good number of *Brasilians* under the command of *George Sedenio*, were sent to the assistance of *Alexius Garcia*, whom they thought to be still alive. When they were come near the river *Paraguay*, the *Indians* who were guilty of the murder of *Garcia*, fearing revenge, refus'd them provisions, and soon after fell upon them, killing their commander, and putting the rest to flight. Those that escap'd were by the *Paranenfi-an Indians* taken into their boats, which were rotten and worm-eaten, and being in the middle of the river, the *Indians* pull'd off the clay they use instead of pitch, by which means the boats sunk, drowning all the *Portugueses*, the *Paranenfi-ans*, who were naked and good swimmers, getting safe to shoar. Thus the expectation of the *Portugueses* was disapointed, either through the rashness of *Sedenio* or treachery of the *Barbarians*, God reserving *Paraguay* and the adjacent countries for the king of *Spain*.

Gavot takes possession of the river of Plate in Paraguay, for the king of Spain.

3. Not long after, *Sebastian Gavot* a man skilful in navigation, who had discover'd *Virginia* for the king of *England*, offer'd his service to the emperor *Charles V.* promising to find a short way to *Peru* south of *Brasil*, or else to discover the inland of south *America*. The proposal was pleasing to the emperor, then fill'd with the expectation of subduing vast dominions, and seeking all means to secure the best provinces of that new world. He therefore order'd four ships to be immediately fitted out with three hundred men aboard, and gave the command of them to *Gavot*, who, in the year 1530, crossing the *Atlantick* ocean, put into the mouth of *Rio de la Plata*, or the river of *Plate*, (the mouth and coasts whereof had been discover'd fifteen years before by *John de Solis* a *Spaniard*, and four years after review'd by *Magellan*) and sail'd up it, till he came to an anchor, where the river *Urvaica* falls into that of *Plata*. Thence he sent *Alvaro Romon* to discover up the river *Urvaica*, who, the third day after he left him, lost his ship upon the sands, and was himself slain with most of his men. *Gavot* ha-

ving built the fort of the *Holy Ghost* at the mouth of the river *Carcaranna*, which falls into that of *Plate*, sail'd a hundred and fifty leagues up this last river, till he came to the place where *Paraguay* joins it with a mighty stream, and advancing forty leagues up it, after conquering the *Indians* that opposed him, came to that place, where 'tis said *Alexius Garcia* the *Portuguese* was robb'd and kill'd by the people of *Paraguay*. There, as he pry'd into all things, finding many utensils of plate in the huts of the *Indians*, and not knowing any thing of *Garcia's* travels and death, thinking them to be natural riches of the country, he hastily bought all up of the *Indians*, and, as if he had now done the business he came about, having fortify'd the fort of the *Holy Ghost*, or *Espiritu Santo*, and leaving *Nuno de Lara* in it with one hundred and twenty-men, he hastened back into *Spain*.

After *Gavot* was gone, *Nuno de Lara* The *Indi-ans* contracting friendship with the neighbour-ans conspiring people, made a shift to maintain himself, till *Mangora*, chief of the *Timbusians*, resorting often to the *Spanish Fort* on account of trade, fell in love with a beautiful woman, *Lucy de Miranda*, that was the woman's name, and *Sebastian Hurtado* her husband, both born at *Ezija* in *Andalusia*, were not ignorant of the *Barbarians* wicked design, and therefore she modestly confining herself before her husband, receiv'd the *Indian's* presents after such a manner, as sufficiently evinced she did not design them as an earnest of any base affection. However *Mangora* try'd all ways to enjoy her, and therefore pretending much kindness, earnestly invited *Sebastian Hurtado* to go into his lands to divert him with his wife, where he should be respected and presented by his people. But *Hurtado* valuing his wife's honour above all he could hope to gain, excus'd himself to the *Barbarian*, pleading the rigour of military discipline, which forbid such liberty, and directed much watchfulness to be observ'd among strangers. *Mangora* inrag'd at this disappointment, drew his brother *Siripus* to his party, and resolv'd to destroy all the *Spaniards*, that he might debauch one woman. Nor was it long before an opportunity offer'd, for understanding that *Nuno de Lara*, governor of the fort, had sent *Ruiz Masquera* and *Sebastian Hurtado* husband to *Lucy de Miranda*, with forty men into the neighbouring islands, to bring in provisions, *Mangora* hastily drew together four thousand arm'd *Indians*, and laid them in ambush to wait his orders in the morasses near the *Spanish fort*. This done he conducts thirty young men loaded with provisions into the fort, as he had done at other times, and bestowing what he brought with great dissimulation, feasted among the *Spaniards* till late at night

Slaughter
of the Spaniards.

night. Then most of them being asleep, having order'd his men what every one was to do, he fir'd the magazines, slew the centinels, threw down the gates, and letting in his men, fell upon the *Spaniards* either asleep or in a consternation. Many of them were struck through with darts, before they knew of any design against them; others, as ignorant of the treachery, were butcher'd as they ran to put out the fire; some few, forcing their way through the *Barbarians* into the parade of the fort, made a mighty slaughter of them. Among them *Nuno de Lara*, tho' he had receiv'd many wounds, seeing *Mangora* the contriver of the mischief proud of his success, made his way, and being incens'd at his treachery, run him through, so often repeating his strokes as he lay, till he was assur'd of his being dead, and not so satisfied slew several others of the chief men; but being surrounded by many he fell down dead upon *Mangora*, all his men oppress'd by the multitude undergoing the same fate. *Lucy de Miranda*, the cause of this misfortune, with four *Spanish* women and as many boys, whom their age or sex reserv'd for greater sufferings, surviv'd the slaughter. Which being over, *Siripus*, who had inherited his brother's lusts, allowing his men all the other booty and prisoners, taking none but *Lucy de Miranda* to himself, and left no means unassay'd to overcome her constancy, calling her sovereign lady of a numerous people, and wife of a powerful lord, whereas she had lost a husband that was destitute of all things. But nothing so much perplex'd the worthy lady, as being belov'd by the *Barbarian*, and she blam'd her sex for having sav'd her life, and her beauty, which had made her belov'd above the rest, so that she could not so much as afford her new master a good look. After some days spent between the *Indian* courting, and *Lucy* resisting, some parties that were abroad, brought in *Sebastian Hurtado* her husband. He returning from the islands and perceiving the destruction of the fort and slaughter of his country-men, guessing at the occasion of it, deliver'd himself up to the *Timbusian* guards, to be conducted to his wife. As soon as *Siripus* saw him, being enrag'd with jealousy, he order'd him to be taken away and shot to death, which had been accordingly done, but that his wife interceded for him, and the *Barbarian* granted her his life upon the condition that they should for the future abstain from the marriage bed; otherwise both should die. Having accepted of the condition, for some time they only allow'd their eyes the liberty of enjoyment, tho' they liv'd together; till at last *Siripus* surpriz'd them in conjugal embraces, his old wife being the informer.

A faithful
couple
murder'd.

Then being inrag'd above measure, he order'd *Lucy* to be burnt, who being dragged from her husband's arms to the pile, having recommended herself to God, perish'd in the flames. Her husband *Sebastian*, like the saint of his name, being bound to a tree, was shot to death with arrows. 'Tis to be hoped the two faithful consorts, having purg'd all earthly guilt, were receiv'd into the heavenly mansions.

The forty *Spaniards*, whom we mention'd before to have gone out under the command of *Mosquera*, to get provisions, having bewail'd the misfortune of their companions and fort, and burying the bodies, not knowing how better to bestow themselves, sail'd over to the next part of *Brasil*, where they built a strong little fort, in 25 deg. of south latitude. Having made friendship with the natives they sowed the land, and one *Edward Perez* a *Portuguese*, being by his king banish'd to *Brasil* with a numerous family, had increas'd their number, when *Martin Alfonso de Sousa*, governor of the southern coast of *Brasil*, sent a messenger to order *Perez* to retire to that part of *Brasil* to which he was banish'd; and to require *Mosquera* and his men, if they design'd to live peaceably there, to take the oath of allegiance to the king of *Portugal*, in whose dominions they were settled. *Mosquera* answer'd, that there was still a controversy depending between their kings about the division of the *Indies*, which did not belong to them to decide, but that he and his companions intention, was to keep that part they had possess'd themselves of, for their sovereign *Charles V.* Soon after a *French* ship accidentally putting into the island *Cananea*, opposite to the port where *Mosquera* had settled, put the *Spaniards* in the mind of getting some arms, and supplying their wants. Having therefore taken two hundred *Indians* to their assistance, they went out in the dead of the night in canoos, and surprizing the *French*, brought them ashore, after taking their ship and arms from them. This done, understanding that the *Portugueses* were marching against them, they carried four pieces of cannon from the ship to their little fort, and preparing all things for their defence, laid an ambush in a little wood that was between them and the shore, keeping the rest of the men close in the fort. The *Portugueses*, to the number of eighty, follow'd by a multitude of *Indians*, suspecting nothing of the ambush, nor thinking of the cannon; but despising the small number of the *Spaniards*, march'd very disorderly as if they went to punish a parcel of thieves. But as soon as they had pass'd the ambush, and came up to the trench, the *Spaniards* fir'd with guns, and at the same time those that lay in the *Portuguese* wood, guezes.

TECHO.

40 Spaniards erect a fort on the coast of Brasil.

They take a French ship.

TECHO. wood, attack'd them in the rear, which putting them into confusion, those in the fort fall'd out, and having drove them into a close place, slew them at pleasure. After the slaughter, going aboard their vessels with the *Indians* their confederates, they sail'd to the *Portuguese* town of *S. Vincent*, which they plunder'd, and return'd immediately to their own little town loaded with booty, in which expedition some *Portugueses* of their own accord sided with the *Spaniards*. This was the first fight I know of that happen'd between the catholick *Europeans* in *America*. Not long after *Mosquera* and his companions, no ways able to cope with the forces of *Brasil*, and fearing revenge, went away to the island of *S. Catharine*, lying in 28 deg. of south latitude, to inhabit there, till being afterwards recruited, they might return to the river of *Plate*.

Retire to an island.

A great colony sent to the river of Plate.

In the mean while *Sebastian Gavot* returned into *Spain*, and spread abroad the fame of what he had found, saying, the countries about the river *Paraguay* were not scorched with the violent heat of the sun like *Brasil*, nor subject to violent cold like those parts more southward, but enjoy'd a temperate air: That the vast coasts of *Parana* were inhabited by vast numbers of people fit for service: That there was much more variety of fish and wild beasts, than in any part of *Europe*: And then shewing the pieces of gold and silver, and many utensils made of those metals, which he had purchas'd of the people of *Paraguay* that murder'd *Alexius Garcia*, and falsely believed to be the natural wealth of that river; he by these means made so powerful an impression in the minds of the *Spaniards*, that many made interest to be sent into that country. From that time the river *Parana*, on account of *Gavot's* silver, or the hope of much silver to be found there, was called the river of *Plate*, a name rather specious than true. *Gavot* having made the same report to *Charles V.* it was decreed in council, that a numerous colony should be sent into that part of *America*. Two thousand two hundred men were rais'd, besides sailors, and shipp'd under the command of *Peter Mendoza*, a man of the first quality, the emperor's sewer, and now made governor of the rivers of *Plate* and *Paraguay*.

The chief men among them, whom covetousness had mov'd to undertake this expedition, where *James Mendoza*, the governor's brother, *Francis Mendoza*, once steward to *Maxamilian* king of the *Romans*, *Charles Dubrin* foster-brother to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, *John Ossorio* commander of the fleet, nobly born, and renown'd in the wars of *Italy*, *Luis Perez*, brother to *S. Teresa*, *Bernard* a *Genoese* captain, formerly in great esteem with *Doria*, *James*

Ramua, a *Flemming*, not to mention the *Gusmans*, *Riberas*, *Rocas*, *Bracamontes*, *Manriques*, *Aguillars*, *Lucanes*, *Ayolas*, *Iralas*, and other noble persons, so very numerous, that there were thirty-two heirs of noble families and estates, reckon'd aboard that fleet. All these sailing from *Cadiz* in the year 1535, when they had cut the line, were parted and drove to several places; *James Mendoza*, the governor's brother, after the tempest was over, arriv'd safe in the river of *Plate* with a few ships. The governor with the rest put into the port of *Rio de Janeiro* in *Brasil*, where whilst he lay for a wind, he caus'd *John Ossorio* his lieutenant, a man much envy'd for his bravery and courtesy, to be stabb'd, without any trial, being wrongfully accus'd of ambitious practices, for that he was reported to have insinuated that in a short time he should command in chief; which action was so resented, that many stay'd behind in *Brasil* and others conspir'd to desert their governor. But before the conspiracy could come to a head, he left *Brasil*, and joyn'd his brother *James Mendoza*, who was then in the river of *Plate*, building flat bottomed vessels to cross the rivers, and hearing of the murder of *Ossorio*, is reported to have said, he was afraid, lest the whole fleet should incur some judgment for his brother's wicked action.

The governor having thus got all his strength together, order'd the fleet to make over to the other side of the river, where landing *Sancho del Campo* his kinsman, began to encourage the men to settle, commending the goodness of the air, which gave occasion to call the town there built *Buenos Ayres*, it being 50 leagues from the mouth of the river, almost in 35 degrees of south latitude, directly opposite to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and put under the protection of the virgin *Mary*. As they were carrying on their work, the natives fell upon them, slew some they had drawn into an ambush, and kept the rest within their fort. This mov'd the governor to send his brother *James Mendoza* with as many men, as he thought fit, to check those inhospitable people. He taking three hundred foot, and some horse of the prime nobility, the day after he set out, came to a place, where out of a vast lake there ran a brook, on the further bank whereof about three thousand *Indians* were drawn up in order of battle. A council of war being held, most were of opinion, that they ought to expect the enemy, whom they might easily destroy in the passage of the water. But *James Mendoza* was for attacking them immediately, and commanded the foot to pass the ford, on whom the *Indians* fell with such fury, that they had neither leisure

Buenos Ayres built.

Slaughter
of Spaniards.

sure to fire their muskets which had taken wet, nor to put themselves into any order. However there was a great slaughter made of the *Indians*, till *Bartholomew Bracamont*, and *Paraferna Ribera* commanders of the foot, being overpower'd by the multitude, were kill'd. Then many of the foot being slain, some few horses that durst fall upon the *Indians*, were contemn'd by them; for the horses being weak after the voyage, and under no command, as having not been back'd a long time, expos'd the riders to the enemies darts, who were thereupon easily struck down, or put to flight. *John Manrique* a noble horseman fighting among the foremost, was killed, and *James Mendoza* going to revenge his death, though well seconded by *Ramiro de Guzman*, was knock'd down with a stone, and slain by the enemy. The commander being slain, the rest fled, and the *Barbarians*, according to their custom, cut off the heads of those they had kill'd carrying and tossing them about by the hair, in an insolent boasting manner. Two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* were lost in the action and pursuit; a great number, considering how few they were in all. *Lucano* a horseman, who had receiv'd many wounds, falling down dead on the bank of an inconsiderable river, left his name to it, which continues to this day. It is reported, that many of the contrivers of the murder of *Ossorio* dy'd in that fight, to shew what fate they are to expect who follow violent counsels. The news of the slaughter being brought to the governor, it is not easy to express how much he was troubled at the loss of his brother and so many men of note. His grief was increas'd by the death of *Medrane* a noble horseman, murdered as was suspected in revenge for the death of *Ossorio* in the fort, and the murderer never known.

Terrible
famine at
Buenos
Ayres.

After these disasters, the provisions they brought being spent, there follow'd such a terrible famine, that many fed upon man's flesh, and other things not to be nam'd; nay there were those that eat their dead brother's bowels, and gnaw'd carcases on the gibbets to the bones; for the cruelty of the barbarous people, the fear of wild beasts, and severity of the commanders suffer'd none to go out of the works. Yet there was a woman, who weighing the misery of famine, chose rather to expose herself to the inhumanity of the *Indians* and wild beasts, than suffer the torture of hunger; and therefore stealing out, she wander'd a long time about the fields, till at night she went into a cave, where finding a lioness ready to whelp, she renew'd the ancient example, and had the boldness to play the midwife, much to her own advan-

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tage, for the lioness laying aside her fierceness, fairly divided her prey among her young ones, and her midwife, till she fell into the hands of the *Barbarians*, and being after many accidents redeem'd by the *Spaniards*, was brought again to the fort. But being there condemn'd for her rashness, and disobedience, she was expos'd without the works, to be devour'd by wild beasts, where she must have perish'd, had not God in his providence so order'd it, that the lioness she help'd to whelp, came up to her first, and defended her innocent midwife against the rest. This being observ'd, lest men should seem more savage than wild beasts, she was let loose and pardon'd, and liv'd many years after, an unquestion'd witness of these wonderful accidents. Her name was *Maldoneda*. Who this severe judge was, the governor having been a short time absent, is not known. Certain it is, there was such rigor us'd, that a soldier lost his ears for stealing a lettuce, and another was publicly disgrac'd for a cabbage. For then the integrity of discipline and justice exercis'd in *Europe*, was still in force among the new planters; and would to God it had continu'd in their posterity to punish heinous crimes daily committed on account there is no fear of punishment to deter them. The governor quite discourag'd with his ill success, having every where made inquiry after *Gavot's* silver, the nature of the adjacent countries, and the hopes of building cities, and finding all things far short of expectation, repenting him of his expedition built the fort of *Corpus Christi* in the territory of the *Tymbusians*, brought *Mosquera* and his companions from the island where we left them near *Brasil*, and caus'd a ship to be fitted out with expedition, which done, having appointed *Francis Ruiz* governor of *Buenos Ayres*, and *John de Oyola* of *Guipuscoa* his own lieutenant, or deputy governor, he set sail for *Europe*. But this voyage proving tedious, and the small provision he had, being spent, he was reduced to eat all filthy things, and at last dy'd miserably with several of his companions, who all ran mad after eating of a bitch that was big with puppies. It is reported that many of those *Mendoza* carry'd with him to this expedition, had serv'd under *Bourbon* at the siege of *Rome*, whence returning through shame of that scandalous service, they went away to this part of *America*, where God's judgments follow'd them.

TECHO.
A woman kept by a lioness.

Corpus Christi Fort built.

In the mean while *John Oyola* the deputy governor, running up into *Paraguay* with some ships, the same way, that *Gavot* had gone before, and being inform'd there was to the south-west, a country abounding in gold and silver, which might be gone

John Oyola goes away by land to Peru.

TECHO. gone to, partly by land and partly by water, resolv'd to go thither. At his departure he order'd *Dominick Irala*, whom he left as his lieutenant, to expect his return in six months in the upper part of *Paraguay*, and if he return'd not in that time, to be at his own disposal. During *Oyola's* absence, *Salazar* and *Gonzalo Mendoza* sailing from *Buenos Ayres* to *Paraguay* for provisions, contracted friendship with the people call'd *Guaranians*, and found a fit place to erect a fort; whereupon they two parting, *Mendoza* built the fort call'd by the name of the *Assumption*, in the same place where it still continues, being the metropolis of the province of *Paraguay*; *Salazar* going at the same time to bring away the wretched soldiers almost starv'd to death, from the port of *Buenos Ayres*. Whilst they sail'd backwards and forwards, the barbarous *Indians* of *Caracara*, who hated the *Spaniards*, dissembling their malice, fraudulently desir'd *Alvarado* governor of the fort of *Corpus Christi*, to assist them against another barbarous people. *Alvarado* suspecting no design, readily sent them fifty *Spaniards* commanded by *Alonso de Figueroa*, who being come into a little wood adjoyning to the town of *Caracara*, were inclosed on all sides, and every man kill'd. In this heat the *Barbarians* haste away in great Numbers to the fort of *Corpus Christi*, then much weaken'd with the loss of that part of the garrison, and made several attempts to break in. It must certainly have been lost, had not God in his providence order'd that *Ramua*, a *Flemming*, who had the command as to martial affairs, should touch upon that coast, and guessing how the matter went, fir'd from two ships, which oblig'd the *Indians*, after losing many of their men, to quit their enterprize. The *Indians* that were taken said, that during the fight they saw the likeness of a man over the fort of *Corpus Christi*, clad in white, dazzling their eyes with his brightness, and threatening with a sword, which made many of their men drop down with fright. This happening on *St. Blase's* day, the *Spaniards* concluded it to be he that appear'd, and therefore the planters of *Paraguay* reckon him as one of their patrons. About the same time *Dominick Irala* sailing on the river *Paraguay*, had like to have perish'd by the treachery of the *Paraguans*, for about four hundred of them appearing on the shoar opposite to him, and sending to desire there might be an interview and trade between them, upon condition both sides should come unarm'd; *Irala* accepting of the condition, order'd his men to lay aside their weapons; whereupon the *Barbarians* suddenly attack'd them, and they must

have perish'd had not the *Spaniards* run to their arms, and stood upon their guard. Whilst they fought ashore, the ships were beset by other *Indians*, and the fight continu'd doubtful for a considerable time, both by land and water, till the cannon firing from the ships sunk the small vessels of the natives, and gave the victory to the *Spaniards*, both in the ships and ashore. Of the *Spaniards* forty were wounded, and two kill'd, besides *Caravajal* a brave man, who dy'd within three days of his wounds. Of the enemies many were kill'd, with their commander, the rest fled, where a vast multitude expected them. Eight months were now pass'd, since *Irala* had been waiting for *Oyola's* return, and he began to consider, whether he should stay yet longer, or go off to avoid the danger that threatened, from famine and from the enemies. Whilst he was thus divided with himself, on a sudden he heard the voice of an *Indian* on the opposite shore, who ask'd to be carry'd aboard, which being done, the tears flowing from his eyes shew'd he brought dismal news, and being order'd to declare the cause of his sorrow, fetching a deep sigh, he said he had been an eye-witness of the death of *Oyola*. *Irala* inquiring after the particulars, he deliver'd himself to this effect. *John Oyola*, said he, with whom I went of my own accord, leaving *Paraguay*, travers'd all that vast tract of land that lies between this place and the borders of *Peru*, and gather'd a great mass of gold and silver among the *Samo-* The
cocians and *Sivococians*, who dwell near the mountains of *Peru*, which he brought back of Oyola
into *Paraguay*, but in his return the *Paiaguans*, the worst of men, and counterfeiting a readiness to do any service, at first freely offer'd him their assistance and provisions, till they thought he and his company might be cut off with safety. Having therefore observ'd what guards the *Spaniards* kept at night, the chief of the nation appointed several to cut off every one, and in the dead of night they all at once set upon and butcher'd them. *Oyola* alone, I know not by what accident, fled, and hid himself among the reeds in a neighbouring marsh, whence being dragg'd out, he pay'd for delaying his death by the cruelty of it, being inhumanly murder'd in the market-place of the town, amidst the clamours of the bloody *Paiaguans*. Thus not one *Spaniard* escap'd. Being an *Indian* I sav'd my life; for by that means I was deliver'd from their hands, and escap'd to bring you the news of so great a slaughter. These misfortunes taught the *Spaniards* how little confidence was to be repos'd in the *Indians*, for the most stupid people have a sort of craft, which is the more dangerous, because
least

Assumpti-
on fort
founded.

Two in-
stances of
crafty
treachery
in the In-
dians.

Irala chosen governor.

least suspected. The marsh to which *Oyola* fled for safety, retains his name to this day. *Dominick Irala*, being left at his own disposal, after the death of *Oyola*, sail'd down the river with his company to the new fort of the *Assumption*; and the *Spaniards* met in council there from all parts, having read the emperor *Charles* the Vth's commission, newly brought out of *Spain*, with some recruits, and a few priests, by *Antony Cabrera*, by which the inhabitants of the river of *Plate* and *Paraguay*, were authoriz'd to choose their governor, in case the former dying had appointed none; they all unanimously pitch'd upon *Dominick Irala* for their governor. Nor was he unfit for the employment; for besides his birth, he had many good civil and military qualities to recommend him; insomuch that he had the principal honour of having brought under that new province. Before the assembly for the election broke up, the new governor put it to them, whether they did not think fit for a while to abandon the fort of *Buenos Ayres*, then infested with famine and plague, and to build a new town on the shoar of the river *Paraguay*, where they then were, to contain all the *Spaniards*, that their forces being united they might be the stronger. Some of the members were of opinion, that not only the fort of *Buenos Ayres* ought to be maintain'd, but several other colonies to be sent out, that the *Spanish* dominion might be spread abroad; saying, it was below them to confine so many brave men in a nook, when they had such a vast country before them, and that they did not doubt, that was the emperor's design, in order to cut off all other nations any passage to *Peru*, whither they would easily make their way, unless the shoars of those vast rivers were beset with many towns; and that the small number of the *Spaniards* was no objection, they being enough to curb the multitude of *Barbarians*. This was in general the opinion of those, who aiming at commands, desir'd there should be many governments. But the wiser sort, preferring the publick good before their own advancement, alledg'd, that though experience shew'd the *Spaniards* wanted neither for courage nor conduct, yet the *Indians* were not without craft and resolution, as was sufficiently evinced by the fresh dismal examples of *Ramon, Lara, Mendoza, Figueroa* and *Oyola*, which ought to weigh more than the opinions of a few, who would have the men disperfed, only to make the more governments. The governor being a prudent man, discouried concerning both opinions, as if he had been inclinable to each. For he said, it were to be wish'd, they could hem in those

vast countries with many garrisons, but that considering the present posture of affairs it did not seem so convenient. Nor would the emperor think otherwise, if he were present, and therefore, that the building of many Towns was put off for a while, not absolutely rejected. That in erecting a new common-wealth, the head was to be secur'd before the other members. Therefore he thought fit the fort of *Buenos Ayres* should be abandon'd for a time, and a town built on the banks of the river *Paraguay*, where they then were; which being once well settled, it would be no difficult matter to send out colonies, and secure them against the attempts of the natives and foreigners. The resolution of building a town prevailing, *James de Abreu* was sent with three ships to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to bring the men thence, whose number he found increas'd by the arrival of a *Genoese* ship, which having in vain attempted to pass the straight of *Magellan*, put in there by chance, the men choosing rather to join themselves to the colony on the river of *Plate*, than to hazard themselves again in an unknown sea. Thus both sailors and landmen joining with the garrison of *Buenos Ayres*, sail'd up to *Paraguay*, whence it came that the families of the *Trochi, Aquinates*, and *Rezi*, were propagated in this part of *America*. Having gather'd all his people, *Irala* the governor, muster'd them, and what is wonderful in so short a time, of so many *Europeans* there were scarce six hundred men left, the rest being all miserably consum'd by war, famine, plague, and the cruelty of the *Indians*. To shew us the great mischiefs that attend the search after wealth, which is the incentive of all evil.

After the muster, all things began to proceed regularly, the ground near the fort was mark'd out for building of houses and churches, and publick structures erected, magistrates appointed; to be short, in the year 1538. the city of the *Assumption*, afterwards the metropolis of the province, was begun to be built, in 25 degrees of south latitude, two hundred and forty leagues from the sea, and forty from the mouth of the river *Paraguay*; it was as the time would permit well secur'd against any attempts of the enemy, and still continues to this day. The river *Paraguay*, on whose banks the new city was seated, is reckon'd among the chiefest of that new world. It runs three hundred leagues from its source, receiving several other great rivers, and carrying a channel fit for great ships, before it falls into the *Parana*, by which it is swallow'd up two hundred leagues from the sea, and both together make the river of *Plate*. There is one thing very remarkable in their

TECHO.

A *Genoese* ship at *Buenos Ayres*.

All colonies abandon'd to build the town of the *Assumption*.

The city of the *Assumption* built.

Paraguay describ'd, why so call'd, falls into *Parana*.

con-

TECHO. conjunction, which is, that tho' they run down the same channel, yet for several miles each preserves its own natural colour, as if *Parana* scorn'd to mix its crystalline waters with the troubled stream of *Paraguay*, or as if *Paraguay* resented the loss of its kingly name; for *Paraguay* signifies the crown'd river, so call'd because the natives on each side of it wear coronets made of the feathers of birds, of wonderful fine colours, which that country abounds in. Nor is there more variety in the feathers of the birds, than in the languages and manners of the people that live scatter'd in the woods and plains about *Paraguay*. Among them all the *Guaranians* were the most rational, and aptest to be civiliz'd, and easily submitted to the *Spaniards*, being first persuaded to be friends, then to be hir'd as servants, and lastly to own the sovereignty of the catholick king.

A conspiracy of the Indians detected and punish'd.

About the end of lent in the year 1539. the governor thought fit to make a procession in honour of the passion of our Saviour, inviting the inhabitants of all the villages far and near to it, that they might begin to have some notion or opinion of our religion. The *Indians*, already provoked by the unusual service they performed, looking upon this otherwise than it was design'd, conspired together to destroy the *Spaniards* upon the procession day, and, to take away all jealousy of any rebellion, brought no arms but their bows and arrows, thinking the *Spaniards*, who were unarm'd, naked, and ready to discipline themselves, would be easily slaughter'd by their multitude. It is reported there were eight thousand conspirators in the town, and the *Spaniards* suspecting no treason, were taking their discipline or scourges to lash themselves. The images to be carry'd were brought out, when an *Indian* woman who knew of the design, being mov'd to compassion, privately went to her master *Salazar*, and said to him, master I pity you, because you are this day design'd for slaughter. *Salazar* was surpriz'd at these words of his servant, and having by fair means got the whole manner of the contrivance from her, went away to the governor and acquainted him with it. He having no leisure to consult, or take any other method, gave out he had receiv'd intelligence that the *Japirons*, lately revolted from the *Spaniards*, were in arms, and almost at the gates. The alarm was given, and the *Spaniards* laying aside their scourges, took up their swords and fire-arms; then the governor, as if he would have made use of the conspirators against the common enemy, sends for the heads of them to his house, where they were all put into fetters and parted; then ha-

ving forced them to a confession, hangs up the chief of them. The rest, as if they had been thunder-struck, were quite dispirited, and so far from daring to attempt what they had design'd, that they humbly sued for pardon, promising fidelity for the future. The governor having taken of the heads of the conspiracy, spared the multitude, which so gain'd the hearts of those *Indians*, that from that time, as the *European* women fail'd, they willingly gave their sisters and daughters to the *Spaniards*; on which wives they got such a numerous offspring, that some fresh supplies coming out of *Spain*, in a few years they were able to send out new colonies, dividing that vast province into several territories, all of them subject to *Paraguay*.

In the mean while the emperor *Charles* Alvar Nu-
the fifth, having receiv'd the news of the nez the
death of *James Mendoza*, and the ill success new go-
of affairs at the river of *Plate*, and being vernor ar-
of a spirit that ever struggled against adver- rives with
sity, he resolv'd to send thither another go- recruits.
governor, with a supply of planters. Several
aspiring to the command, *Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca* carried it, on account of the great merits of his ancestors. For his grand-father *Peter de Vera*, had subdu'd the *Canary* islands for king *Ferdinand*, and govern'd them; in which employment he behav'd himself with such integrity, that having spent his own estate, he was reduced to such distress, that he gave his two sons in pawn to a *Moor*, for a sum of money to support his dignity and maintain his government, and the king afterwards redeem'd them. One of these was father to this *Alvar* we now speak of; who being in his youth educated in his father's and grand-father's virtues, going over into *Florida* under *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, to be the king's treasurer there, was shipwreck'd on the coast of *America*, and fell into the hands of the *Indians*; and authors of the first rank tell us, he was so virtuous, that during his ten years captivity among the people of *Mexico*, he wrought several miracles invoking the blessed trinity. This man being appointed governor, imbark'd seven hundred men besides women and children upon five ships, and sailing from *Cadiz* with a fair wind, when he came to 28 degrees of south latitude, landed in that part of *America* with five hundred men, and sending the women and children with the rest by sea, travell'd himself by land, almost the same way *Alexius Garcia* had gone before, for 300 leagues, discovering the country, and in the year 1541, happily arriv'd at the city of the *Assumption*, and what is most remarkable, he lost not one soul in all that voyage and journey by sea and land.

Discovery land. As soon as he had taken possession of his command, he sent *Dominick Irala*, the late governor, with three hundred chosen men, ordering him to run up the river *Paraguay* as far as possibly he could towards the west, having agreed in *Spain* with *Vaca de Castro*, governor of *Peru*, that they would use all their endeavours to make that way easy, and fit to be frequented, that *Peru* and *Paraguay* might supply and support one another. *Dominick Irala* pursuing his orders, ran two hundred and fifty leagues up the river in his vessels; and returning, acquainted the governor, that he was of opinion *Peru* might be gone to that way. This affair being laid aside for a while, the governor sent messengers to the barbarous people living upon the banks of the river *Ipana*, to desire them to restore the son of *Alexius Garcia*. The *Ipanensians* having murder'd all the messengers but one, sent the governor word again, that they would never have any peace with him, but if he would revenge the death of his messengers, they were ready for war. The governor, provok'd by this answer, appointed *Alonso Riquelme*, his nephew, to go with three hundred *Spaniards* and a thousand *Indian* confederates, to reduce those inhospitable barbarians: a battle was fought, in which four thousand of the *Ipanensians* were slain, and three thousand taken; of the *Spaniards* four, of the confederate *Indians* a hundred and fifty were kill'd. This victory, obtain'd on the eve of the feast of *S. James* the apostle, patron of *Spain*, induced other people to submit themselves to the *Spaniards*.

The governor goes to discover the way to *Peru*. After the expedition against the *Ipanensians*, the governor resolving to open the way to *Peru* in person, and at the same time observe what places were proper to plant colonies, and find out the mines of rich metals, took aboard his ships four hundred *Spaniards*, attracted by the hopes of enriching themselves, and extending their dominion. By the way he punished the murderers of *Oyola*; and having sail'd two hundred and fifty leagues up the river, came to an island wonderful for the delightfulness and fruitfulness of the soil, its length thirty miles, the breadth, except just at the point, nine. How much this island charm'd the first discoverers, appears by their calling it *Paradise*. It enjoys an equal temperature of weather all the year, and would incline to be hot, did there not daily, at a certain hour, rise a fine westerley breeze; and were not the natural heat of the *Torrid* zone moderated by the moisture of the river, and many springs gushing out, and forming considerable brooks. There is vast plenty of fruit growing wild, yet so various and excellently well tasted, that tho'

wild, they are scarce inferior to the product of the best gardens in *Europe*. The natives, call'd *Aurecones* because their ears are bored, observe no seasons for sowing; they use a drink made of honey. For game there's such plenty, they rather take it as it comes in their way than seek after it: and for fish there's greater store than of wild beasts. The people unacquainted with war, and likewise with fraud, and loving to strangers, far exceed all the others lately discover'd in goodness of temper, inso-much that they seem to have deriv'd their goodness and affability from the very nature of the place. The fleet continued there a long time, which was of ill consequence; for the old soldiers, allured by the deliciousness of the place, began to fall at variance with their commander. What is it, said they, we seek amidst so many dangers, and in these barbarous countries; we have now been toss'd about these ten years, without seeing any thing but deep morasses, uncouth mountains, fierce nations, new diseases, and the death of our companions; let us at last grow wise upon our own and other men's experience, and ceasing to seek after uncertainties, make use of what we have: let young men seek after gold, let us rest our ancient bodies in this place, where there's plenty of servants and provisions. This was chiefly urg'd by the old soldiers; the young ones, tho' they had not parted with their desire of gold, yet were of opinion that a colony ought to be settled in that island, whence there would be an easier and safer passage to *Peru*, than from the city of the *Assumption*. Hereupon they all together repair to the governor, desiring he would grant their request, and order the foundations of a town to be laid in that place. The governor, nothing shaken in his resolution, spoke to them thus: *What's the meaning, fellow soldiers, that like children you are taken with apples, despising, or not understanding the value of gold? How come you to be so infatuated, as to prefer a little honey before the present hope of wealth? Did we come thro' the vast ocean to seek land or gold? Who would forsake the pleasures of Spain, his dear friends, and native country, and run so many hazards, to come and eat his fill of fish, fruit and venison among a barbarous people? But these are your private concerns. 'Tis my duty, who am governor, and yours, who are soldiers, to grow old in the service of the publick, having engaged our lives and fortunes to serve our king and country. I will not disband myself, nor do I think it becomes Spaniards so to do: we must seek for gold. Having spoke these words, he gave order for all to be in a readiness; and the ships to make over to the continent, where leaving a guard with the ships, he travel'd away*

TECHO. away by land to the northward. As they march'd along in good order, many of those inland nations came voluntarily to offer peace and provisions. Some small dispute there was with a few of 'em. When they were come near to the borders of *Peru*, the fore-runners gave advice, that a vast multitude of people was flocking out of a great town, and seem'd to be about five thousand men. The governor had scarce drawn up his, before the *Indians* appear'd, who being frighted at the strange presence of the *Europeans*, and noise of the musquets, betook themselves speedily to flight without engaging, leaving the *Spaniards* an empty town of eight thousand houses. The houses of this town differ'd not from the rest of the country, but in the middle of a great market-place or square there was a round tower made of vast pieces of timber, the top of it being pyramidal, and cover'd with palm-tree bark:

A monster. within it was a serpent of an extraordinary bulk, kept upon a religious, or rather superstitious account, and fed with the bodies of men slain in war. The Devil was reported to give answers by this monster, like the ancient oracles: 'twas twenty-five foot long, and as thick about as an ox; the eyes were very little and sparkling, tho' in a very thick short head; two rows of teeth stuck out of the jaws like ficles; the tail was smooth; the rest of the body cover'd with scales like large platters. The soldiers were astonish'd at the sight of the monster, especially when, being enrag'd with the bullets, it made a hideous roaring, and shook the place with beating its tail. The monster being kill'd, discord, which is worse than any monster, arose between the governor and the king's receivers, because he would not consent that the fifth part of the booty taken by the foldiers should be paid into the treasury, alledging, that it was not customary, nor becoming the king, to receive a part of such inconsiderable things, gain'd with so much peril: but they still insisting upon it, and requiring every fifth deer or fish taken to be deliver'd them for the king, tho' the governor offer'd to make good, out of his own pay, what it should amount to, in case the matter were decided for the king; yet the contention ran so high that, much against his will, they were all forced to return to the city of the *Assumption*, without compassing what they went about. There, at the instigation of the king's receivers, who pretended misgovernment, he was in a tumultuous manner seiz'd by about two hundred of the townsmen who had conspir'd together, and sent prisoner to *Spain*, with the chief of his accusers: but the emperor having heard both parties, not only clear'd,

The governor sent prisoner to *Spain*, and clear'd there.

but gave him a pension of two thousand crowns a year, and he liv'd with honour to a good old age in the council at *Seville*. His accusers fared otherwise; for, being cast into irons by the emperor, and order'd to clear themselves, they died miserably before judgment was given, one of 'em for fear, and another mad, the supreme judge preventing the emperor's sentence.

The emperor keeping *Alvar Nunez* in *Irala* governor of *Spain*, made *John de Sanabria* governor of *Paraguay*, who dying before he set sail, his son was order'd to go in the same post, with a supply of four hundred *Spaniards*; but he being kept in *Spain* by other business, at last the government was by the emperor again confer'd on *Dominick Irala*: he being abroad upon discovery, *Francis Mendoza* being convicted of having used unlawful means to make himself governor, was condemn'd to lose his head; and confess'd on the scaffold that he had formerly murder'd his chaplain and wife in *Spain*, upon very groundless jealousies, upon that very day he was then himself to suffer. Thus, giving glory to God, he shew'd there's no avoiding divine vengeance by flying from one country to another. *Irala's* successors were *Francis Vergara* and *John Ortis Sarate*, who, in the year 1572, brought five hundred *Spaniards* to *Paraguay*, and under whom the race of the *Spaniards* being grown up, many colonies were planted in the province. I'll describe the situation of 'em, as far as concerns the work I have in hand, without observing the order of their foundation.

The province of *Paraguay* was so call'd from the river of that name, and, before 'twas divided into two governments, by taking *Tucuman* from it, contain'd all that track of land which, lying between *Brasil* and *Peru*, runs beyond the mouth of the river *Plata*, a vast extent along the *Atlantic* ocean. 'Tis easy to guess at the largeness by the two rivers *Paraguay* and *Parana*, running almost three hundred leagues each thro' mighty provinces, and receiving into them many other rivers, before they mix their waters; but where they meet two hundred leagues from the sea, they make the river of *Plata*, which falls into the sea thro' a mouth eighty leagues in breadth. The city of *Buenos Ayres* is built fifty leagues above the mouth of the river, in the same place where we gave an account *Peter Mendoza* erected the fort of the same name. The city of *S. Fe*, or *S. Faith*, built almost eighty leagues higher, near the same shore, is very commodious to those that sail backwards and forwards. Much about the same distance is another small *Spanish* town call'd *Corrientes*, built upon the conflux of the *Paraguay* and *Parana*, but far

infes-

inferior to the dignity of those two rivers. Then running up the *Parana* above a hundred leagues, after passing over a vast precipice, is *Guairana*, a province joining to *Brasil*, formerly famous for two little *Spanish* towns, call'd *Villarica* and *Guaira*.

Villarica, and Guaira, Xeres, and another Villarica.

Conception.

Upon the upper part of the *Paraguay* is *Xeres*, and another *Villarica*, small towns, built only to join *Paraguay* on that side to the further provinces. Lastly, the city of the *Conception*, built upon the marshes of the red river, which falls into *Parana*, was for a long time of great use to curb the neighbouring fierce nations. But as for the inhabitants of the city of *Assumption*, the metropolis of the province of *Paraguay*, and those of the other towns here mention'd, I would have them look'd upon as the race of most noble families, and seed of the best names in *Spain*; for perhaps no province in *America* had such a number of persons of birth and quality to plant in it; yet the nature of the place has much lessen'd that nobility, as affording no wealth to support the grandeur of those families: 'tis plain, no part of that new world did so much deceive the expectation of the *Europeans*; for *Paraguay* is quite a stranger to gold, silver and jewels: nor do the natives dig any iron, wherein that country abounds; and as yet the *Spaniards*, except only the inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres* and *S. Fe*, by reason of their trade with *Peru*, know nothing of money, but live still by exchange of commodities, after the manner of antiquity. There are but few places where they make wine, or sow corn, the prime men seldom

Nobility of the planters.

Poverty of the country.

eat bread, or drinking wine. They make bread and drink of *Indian* wheat: all other dainties they seek in fishing, hunting, and shooting, tho' at present their herds of black cattle being encreas'd, they are not sparing of them. For a long time, sugar and cotton, both produced in small quantities, were their chiefest wealth, till the leaves of certain trees growing in marshy grounds, commonly call'd the *Herb of Paraguay*, began to be in esteem: these leaves they dry at the fire and reduce to powder, then mixing it with warm water, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, both men and women, drink of it several times a day, and vomiting it up with all they have eaten, they find it creates an appetite. Many things are reported concerning the virtue of this powder or herb; for, they say, if you cannot sleep, it will compose you to it; if you are lethargick, it drives away sleep; if you are hungary, it satisfies; if your meat does not digest, it causes an appetite; it refreshes after weariness, and drives away melancholy and several diseases. Those who once use themselves to it cannot easily leave it, for they affirm their strength fails 'em when

Herb of Paraguay.

they want it, and can't live long; and so great slaves are they to this slender diet, that they'll almost sell themselves rather than want wherewithal to purchase it. The wiser sort, tho' moderately used it strengthens and brings other advantages, will hardly ever make use of it; and if immoderately used, it causes drunkenness, and breeds distempers, as too much wine does; yet this vice has not only over-run *Paraguay*, but *Tucuman*, *Cbili* and *Peru*, and is near coming over into *Europe*; this herb of *Paraguay* being valued among the precious commodities of *America*. At first the *Spaniards* in *Paraguay* were well pleas'd with their cotton garments and liquor made of honey, but afterwards trade enhancing the value of this herb, covetousness and luxury encreas'd, to feed both which the *Indians* began to be more enslav'd to make this powder: labour made their numbers decrease, and that made the *Spaniards* poor again; to shew us, that very often the same methods we take to gather wealth serve to impoverish us. Thus much of the foundation of the colonies of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plata*.

The kingdom of *Cbili* joining to *Peru*, and running along on the same coast, lies between the *pacifick*, or south-sea, and a continual ridge of mountains parallel to it, from 28 to almost 44 degrees of south latitude, being but thirty leagues in breadth, and sometimes less. The first I know of that invaded this kingdom, was *James Almagro*, with four hundred *Spaniards*, and the son of the *Inga* of *Peru* that was slain, follow'd by a crowd of *Indians*. This was in the year 1536; and the success did not answer his expectation; for, having scarce discover'd the vale of *Coquimba*, he return'd before he had done any thing into *Peru*, to govern one part whereof he was appointed by the emperor *Charles* the fifth. Not long after, *Peter de Valdivia* breaking into that kingdom with some *Spanish* forces, subdued all the whole country, planting several colonies. He built the metropolis, call'd *Santiago*, or *S. James*, afterwards beautified with stately structures after the *European* manner, twenty-five leagues from the sea, in 34 degrees of south latitude. The city call'd *Imperial* he seated in almost 38 degrees of south latitude; which place, *Lipsius* says, was so call'd because the *Spaniards* there found eagles with two heads carv'd, in several houses, and over the doors, as they are drawn in the imperial standards; whence he would infer, that this new world was perhaps formerly known to other nations; but, in my opinion, this is a groundless conjecture, for *Charles* the fifth's eagles had been carried about in *America* for several years before the city *Imperial* was built, which

Techo.

Towns and conquerors of Chili.

Santiago.

Imperial.

TECHO, which the people of *Chili*, trading with those of *Peru*, might have seen. *Valdivia* founded a city of his own name in the latitude of 40 degrees, and in a soil abounding in pure gold, not far from the sea, as also *Villarica* up the inland. *Coquimbo*, or *Sere-*

na, in the valley of *Coquimbo*, and *Angol*, between *Imperial* and the *Conception*, another new town, were also built by him. The kingdom of *Chili* being thus secur'd by building of colonies, the natives of the valleys of *Arauco* and *Puren*, much irritated by being immoderately kept to dig gold, conspir'd together, under the conduct of *Caupolica*, and made a miserable slaughter of *Peter Valdivia* and a great number of *Spaniards*: and the *Spanish* historians relate a cruel action of an *Indian*, who pour'd melted gold into *Valdivia*'s mouth, bidding him glut himself with gold, since he so much thirsted after it. *Francis Villagra*, successor to *Valdivia*, to revenge his countrymen, waged war successfully a long while, till his forces were at last overthrown by the *Indians*. The consequence of *Villagra*'s misfortune was, the abandoning of some new colonies, the *Indians* refusing to undergo such labour as they were unused to. After *Villagra*, *D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, son to the marquis *De Canete* viceroy of *Peru*, went governor into *Chili*, with considerable *Spanish* forces, and several pieces of cannon, which struck such a terror into the *Indians*, that many of 'em submitted themselves: those of *Arauco* and *Tucapelán* holding out, were overthrown in battle, and *Caupolica*, the murderer of *Valdivia*, kill'd. *Mendoza* restor'd the cities *Valdivia* and *Imperial*, destroy'd by the *Indians*: he built the town of *Oorno*, in about 41 degrees of latitude, and gave it to the chief of his men he had brought out of *Peru*, dividing the country about it among 'em: he also built by his lieutenant the city of his own name, afterwards head of two other towns in the province of *Cuioe*, or *Chicuito*, which is a limb of the kingdom of *Chili* beyond the mountains. At length leaving the government of the kingdom to *Roderick Quiroga*, knight of the order of *Santiago*, he return'd with great honour to *Peru*, which he govern'd sometime after as viceroy. *Roderick Quiroga* having govern'd the kingdom with various success in continual troubles, left it to the management of *Alphonso de Sotomayor*, in the year 1579: he having built the fort of *St. Ildephonsus* in the vale of *Arauco*, in some measure curb'd those people, us'd to rebel at pleasure, insomuch that *Martin Loiola*, his successor, receiv'd a kingdom to govern in some measure peaceable and renown'd for twelve *Spanish* cities there were in it. What actions the *Spaniards* perform'd in so many

years war with a resolute nation, does not belong to me to relate, 'tis enough for my purpose to mention those things that conduce to the understanding of the history I have in hand.

This I must add further, that nothing can be more pleasant and delightful, or better furnish'd with all that's requisite for a luxurious life, than is the kingdom of *Chili*. It abounds in all sorts of fruits, and produces on its pleasant hills, banks of rivers, charming plains, and sides of springs, most of those that are dispers'd thro' *Europe* and *America*. There's such plenty of milk and wool, as is possible for sheep and cows to afford in plentiful pasture: it yields as much honey, wheat, and generous wine, as serves for his own use: the strawberries and apples growing about wild are wonderful sweet: the wholesomeness and delicacy of the drinking water, which runs thro' veins of gold, is in great esteem among the frugal *Spaniards*, tho' I cannot deny but the veins of gold themselves are much more valuable to most of the *Spaniards*. No thunder is heard throughout the year; lightening, stormy winds, and such-like storms are not known. The whole country produces no poisonous creature, or hurtful wild beast; only sudden earthquakes sometimes terrifie men lull'd asleep with long intervals of undisturb'd happiness; nor is there any thing that so much awes the planters, whom the deliciousness of the country, and plenty of all things, for the most part rather inclines to luxury than piety. Throughout all *America*, scarce any gold is more valued than that of *Chili*, in digging whereof, if the *Spaniards* had at first us'd justice and moderation, and submitted their avarice to the laws of the catholick kings, they might have continued long happy; but when the kingdom of *Chili* was brought under by building colonies in all parts, private men, in opposition to the catholick kings edicts, began to oppress the natives, whence ensued continual wars, and the wars were follow'd by so notable a depopulating of the country, that there scarce remains any thing of the splendor of that most happy kingdom but the name.

Tucuman lying in the middle between *Paraguay* and *Chili*, on the east partly borders upon *Paraguay*, and partly upon the river of *Plate* on the west; 'tis bounded by the mountains of *Peru*; on the south it borders on vast plains running as far as the straights of *Magellan*, and on the north is shut in by most fierce nations. 'Tis all within the *Temperate* zone, except some part that runs out into the *Torrid*; and, what is most wonderful, that part is subject to immoderate cold, as being full of high mountains, and therefore nobly confutes all the

Descripti-
on of
Chili,

Its beauty.

Fertility.

Wealth.

Tucuman,
how seat-
ed.

Oorno,
Mendoza,
cities.

The natives.

the ancient notions of the *Torrid* zone; but *Tucuman* being about three hundred leagues in length, but varying much in breadth, and ending somewhat like a cone, is, generally speaking, inhabited by four sorts of people. The most southern live in the plains, and on craggy mountains, without any habitation, feed upon what they kill, and carry about mats, to serve 'em instead of houses or tents: the northern people live in the marshes, and feed upon fish. Both nations are equally fierce, the southern are the tallest, the northern the more brutal. Bones of giants have been found there above four times as tall as other men, tho' now there are scarce any to be found that exceed eight foot. Others born to darkness, denying themselves the enjoyment of the air, bury themselves all their life-time in caves they make under ground. The last sort live in small villages about the plains and mountains, after a more plentiful and polite manner, by reason of their nearness to, and trade with *Peru*. They're almost all alike given to sloth and idleness: they make little use of brass and silver, which are not wanting among 'em: I dare rather affirm they have no gold, than that the *Europeans* have neglected to search after it. These people make use of sheep to carry their burdens, which for shape may be compar'd to camels, colts, &c. they are of a great strength, but their wool much finer than ours, of which they make all sorts of garments, much resembling silk. There are also lions, like those of *Africk* in shape, but not so large or noble natur'd, for they are not bigger than a mastiff, scarce so strong or fierce, have no manes, and are terrible only for their roaring; but the tygers are fiercer than in any other country. The chief rivers in *Tucuman* are two, the one call'd *Dulce*, or *Sweet*; the other *Salado*, or *Salt*, from the taste of their waters: both of 'em, tho' many waters fall into them, are rather like brooks than rivers, and not capable of carrying little boats, but only at certain places. Next to these is *Carcarañal*, and some others of note, which having run a short course, as if they were ashamed of their littleness, are either swallow'd up by the earth, or lost in lakes. Some of these petrify sticks and bones, and cause great swellings under the chins of men and beasts like large bladders, which are dissolv'd by the waters of other rivers. The scarcity of rivers is sufficiently made amends for, by the multitude of springs gushing from the woods and mountains, and lakes in the plains, which was the cause that most of *Tucuman* was formerly well peopled: 'tis very well known, some hundred thousands of natives were found by the first *Spanish* planters, in provinces of no

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great extent. That part which lay next to *Tucuman* *Peru* was subject to the *Incas*; the rest, divided into little parties, were under several *Caciques*, less remarkable for their manners than for their variety of languages. 'Twas very rare that two or three of these small parties combin'd to repell their enemies, which was a great help to the *Spaniards* towards subduing them, for they scarce ever consulted the publick good.

The first I know of that discover'd *Tucuman*, was one *Cæsar*, a soldier belonging to *Sebastian Garot*, who in the year 1530 undertaking to find out the way from the river of *Plate* to *Peru*, attended by only three companies, travelling with wonderful courage and success over countries then unknown, and over vast rocks, and morasses, and traversing all *Tucuman*, the borders of the kingdom of *Chili*, and greatest part of *Peru*, at length arriv'd at the city of *Cusco*, at such time as *Francis Pizarro* having taken *Atabaliba* the *Inga* in the marshes of *Cacamarca*, kept him in chains in order to put him to death. In this journey he travel'd two thousand leagues: but because there are many fabulous accounts spread abroad concerning the countries discover'd by that soldier, which, tho' it be an age since, infatuate the minds of some people, who believe that in south *America* there's a country call'd of the *Cæsars*, from this *Cæsar*, not yet found out, but abounding in gold and silver, and remarkable for multitudes of men and political government: I shall forbear speaking any more of him, being resolv'd not to tread in an uncertain by-path whilst I have a known sure road to go upon. The year after, whilst *Peter Mendoza* was building the castle of *Buenos Ayres* upon the banks of the river of *Plate*, two other soldiers with incredible boldness travelling thro' *Tucuman* to *Peru*, fill'd their countrymen with the hopes of a vast empire: therefore, in the year 1540, after *James Almagra* the younger was defeated at *Chupas*, the viceroy *Vaca de Castro*, after pacifying *Peru*, giving new provinces as a reward to those that had serv'd well, *Tucuman* fell to the lot of *John Rojas*, who crossing the mountains of *Peru* with two hundred *Spaniards*, and coming to a battle with the *Indians*, was kill'd in the very borders of his province by a poison'd arrow. After his death, his men taking *Francis Mendoza* for their commander, march'd thro' *Tucuman* to the river of *Plate*, and arriv'd where *Garot* had built a fort, at the mouth of the river *Caracañal*. *Mendoza* designing to go thence up the river, to join the inhabitants of the town of *Assumption*, was stabb'd by his own men, who mutiny'd, refusing to follow him, and return'd the same way they came. In the year 1549,

Of the first discoverers of Tucuman, and founders of cities.

Boldness of two soldiers.

E

after

TECHO. after Pizarro was defeated, John Nunez Prada, by the authority of Peter Gasca, the viceroy, seven of Mendoza's soldiers or murderers advising and accompanying him, he gather'd, upon the hopes of mighty success, a company of brave Spaniards, and piercing into the heart of Tucuman, built the town of S. Michael on the banks of the river Escava, which was first translated to the valley Calchaquina, then to another place, and soon after destroy'd. He also erected crosses in several places, ordering they should be a sanctuary to all that fled to 'em; whence it follow'd that the heathens set up crosses in their villages, and began to give 'em that respect which afterwards became a religious worship. He invited the Indians to embrace the catholick faith, and submit themselves to the king of Spain, by the means of Gaspar Caravagal and Alonso Trueno, Merzenarian Friers. Lastly, coming to a battle with Francis Villagra, who was leading recruits from Peru to Chili thro' Tucuman, upon a dispute about jurisdiction, he was taken by him, and was set at liberty and restor'd to his command, upon condition that Tucuman for the future should be subject to the governor of Chili, and the governors to be appointed by him. Accordingly, in the year 1553, Francis de Aguirre was sent out of Chili with two hundred Spaniards, by Peter Valdivia, then governor there, destroying the town of S. Michael, built the city of Santiago, or S. James, afterwards the metropolis of Tucuman and a bishop's see, upon the banks of the river Dulce, or the Sweet river, and in 28 degrees of south latitude. Roderick de Palos succeeded Francis de Aguirre, and did nothing remarkable. But in the year 1558 D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, son to the marquis De Canete, viceroy of Peru, and himself governor of Chili, gave the government of Tucuman to John Gomez Zarita, who building the city of London, curb'd the Calchaquines and other barbarous Indians. He rebuilt the city of S. Michael, subdued the Diaguitas grown unruly, and the Indians opposite to Rio Roxo, or the Red river, as also most of the inhabitants of the valleys of Famatina, Sanagasta and Catamarca. By his command Julian Sedenno built the fort of Cordova, which in some measure brought the Calchaquines under obedience: then he scour'd the banks of the river Salado and others, spreading the terror of the Spanish name so, that in the territory of Santiago only there were eighty thousand subject-Indians mustered. In short, he was so successful against the Indians, that as a reward the viceroy of Peru gave him the absolute command of Tucuman, delivering it from any subjection to the kingdom of Chili. But about that

time, viz. in the year 1561, Gregory Castaneda, sent by the governor of Peru with a body of men to govern Tucuman, having routed Zarita, sent him away to Peru; whence it follow'd that the town of Cannete and castle of Cordova being destroy'd, most of the Indians revolted: which being known, the viceroy of Peru, in the year 1563, sent Francis de Aguirre with a considerable force into Tucuman, by whose valour and conduct many of the Indians were again brought under subjection, the town of Esteco built, and all things in some measure re-establish'd, till he embroiling himself in several affairs was call'd back into Peru. Afterwards several other colonies were founded or restor'd throughout Tucuman by the succeeding governor's coming with fresh supplies out of Peru; whereof, the rest being destroy'd either by war or their ill situation, there now remain standing, besides Santiago the metropolis, Cordova, the city of S. Michael, Salta or Lerma, Xuxui or S. Salvador, Rioja, Esteco, or Nuestra Sennora de Talavera, London, and a few small garrisons, to which the people of several nations divided into provinces are subject, being for the most part brought under the dominion of the catholicks, by the valour and conduct of the Spaniards, not without the expence of blood.

When I come to speak of particular Concern-places, or of the propagating of the christian faith in them by the society of Jesus, I shall then, as they occur, give an account by what sorts of people that vast tract of land here spoken of is inhabited; of their form, religion, manners, and language; of the soil, climate, and irrational creatures; as also of rarities, and secrets in nature: but 'twill not be to my purpose to inquire whether that part of America was known to the ancients. Cicero, in his dream, dividing the globe of the earth into two habitable parts, places one in the north, and t'other in the south, which he calls *ἀνατολή* from the opposite pole. Pomponius Mela calls the part of the earth opposite to the old world *ἀντίχθονα*, and the inhabitants of it *Ἀντίχθονες*. Besides, the words of Aritus, the orator in Seneca, are well known, who affirms there are fruitful lands in the ocean, and another world and other shores beyond the ocean. Clement, disciple to S. Peter, speaks of the ocean, and worlds beyond it; whence some will infer, that this part of the world had been formerly heard of and seen. But many inquire whence that new world was peopled, with more curiosity than certainty. Lipsius, following Aristotle's conjectures, thinks the Africans sail'd thither. Ferdinand Oviedo will have the islands Hesperides so call'd of Hesperus king of Spain, and that they and the continent of America were

Origin of
the town
of S. Michael.

First preachers of
christianity.

Tucuman
subject to
Chili.

London
city.

Towns in
Tucuman.

were peopled by *Spaniards*. Others affirm the *Americans* are the race of the *Jews* carried into captivity by *Salmanazar*, and placed in countries till then not inhabited, after a progress of eighteen months. Many believe they were carried thither by storm, being *Chineses*, sailing on the pacifick or south sea, or other more northern people: I'll not pretend to decide the controversy, but allowing the possibility of each opinion, own I am a stranger to the certainty of the fact. *Lipsius*, *Acosta*, *Pineda*, *Solorzano*, and other learned men, may be seen, who, after searching all the records of antiquity, shew much erudition, but nothing of certainty concerning the affairs of *America*. I know the memory of a deluge is preserv'd among these people, but whether 'tis to be understood of the universal flood, or of the inundation of some particular provinces, as of that of *Ogyges* in *Achaia*, or *Deucalion's* in *Thessaly*, I leave to others to decide: I therefore leave it to others to discourse upon *Plato's Atlantis*, the reasons of the deluge, *Solomon's Ophir*, the transmigration of animals, and much more to that purpose; for I am willing to lay aside conjectures and fables, having enough of truth to treat of.

The care the kings of Spain have had of the *Indies*.

Peru, and the southern provinces of *America*, seem to me like another *Ophir*, to the emperor *Charles V.* who, like *David*, fought the battles of our Lord; and his son king *Philip II.* following the example of *Solomon*, built the noble temple of *S. Laurence*, call'd the *Escorial*. But, to come to my business, the emperor *Charles V.* the same year the metropolis of *Paraguay* was built, sent over some priests, and in the year 1553 the first bishop of *Paraguay*, furnishing him nobly with all things for the service of the church: afterwards bishopricks were erected, collegiate churches founded, and seminaries built in the kingdom of *Chili*, in *Tucuman*, and the port of *Buenos Ayres*, by the authority of the catholick kings, and at their expence. Besides, throughout their vast dominions, their generosity has maintained priests, founded religious houses, and the viceroys, governors of provinces and towns, and the courts and councils, have always been strictly charg'd, that, forbearing to oppress the *Indians*, they should make the conversion of those people their principal study. In this particular the society of *Jesus* has spread the light of the gospel thro' *Chili*, *Tucuman*, and *Paraguay*, whereof I am to give an account.

The society call'd into *Tucuman*.

At first the condition of religion was miserable, there being only a few priests, ignorant of the *Indian* tongues, and consequently the bishops had but little help. Several *Spanish* towns having no body to

administer the sacraments, liv'd after a very *Techō* dissolute manner; for tho' the *Spaniards* are naturally frugal, yet plenty and abundance of servants, and women, had so debauch'd 'em that they lamented their own misery, seeing many live and die without any spiritual assistance, besides the infinite numbers of *Indians* who were destitute of all instruction. At length the reverend *F. Francis Victoria*, bishop of *Tucuman*, of the order of *S. Dominick*, a man renown'd for piety of life and conversation, thought of calling in the *Jesuits*, and, in order to it, writ to *Joseph Archieta*, provincial of them in *Brasil*, and to *F. John Atienza*, provincial of *Peru*, desiring they would send some priests to his assistance.

In compliance with his just request, the *Jesuits* at provincial of *Peru* sent *F. Francis Angulo* ^{Salta and} and *Alonso Barsena*, priests, and *John de Vil-* ^{Esteeco.} *lagas*, a lay-brother, in the year 1586. These setting out from *Potosi*, and passing the mountains that part *Peru* from *Tucuman*, were receiv'd at *Salta*, a *Spanish* town built three years before, with incredible joy; for till then there was no priest in that town. The city *Esteeco* is fifty leagues from *Salta*, whither they resorted to supply the want there was of priests. They both knew the language of *Quichoa*, and *Bursena* had learnt somewhat of that of *Tonocote*, by which means they began to instruct the *Indians*, till having spent a month in this last place, they were called away by the bishop of *Tucuman* to *Santiago*, the capital of the province.

The fathers we receiv'd out of the town, They re- and conducted to it by the governor and pair to all the people with the greatest pomp, ^{Santiago.} came at so good a time into the province of *Tucuman*, that there were then in it, besides the bishop, only five priests and a few religious men, who labour'd as much as in 'em lay, but few of 'em could speak the *Indian* language. The town of *Santiago* consisted of five hundred *Spanish* families, but in the territory about it there had been eighty thousand bow-men muster'd, besides women and children, whereof, tho' many were destroy'd by the common calamities of the *Indies*, a vast multitude still remain'd without any to instruct 'em till the fathers came. To work the more powerfully on the natives, they applied themselves in the first place to reform the lives of the *Spaniards*, wherein they had extraordinary success; and then applying themselves to the heathens, instructed some converts chosen out from the multitude, whom they employed to help teach the others, who came in mighty crowds to be catechis'd. How many thousands were baptis'd is not known, for no account was kept, but great numbers resorted to confession, and confined them-

TECHO. themselves to one wife, contrary to their former custom.

Conver-
sions at
Esteo.

F. *Alonso Barsena* was sent by the bishop with the lay-brother, to the city of *Esteo*, to preach to the infidels dispersed in fifty villages belonging to the territory of that town, where they spent nine months, undergoing vast labours and toils, during which time six thousand six hundred *Indians* were baptized and instructed, and many thousands lawfully married, which done by order of the bishop, they returned to *Santiago*.

At Cordo-
va.

Immediately both the fathers without any respite, were sent to the territory of *Cordova*, one hundred leagues distant from *Santiago*, built sixteen years before. It was hard to instruct the *Indians* there, because of the great variety of languages; yet five hundred of those in the town were baptized, and three hundred without in the space of a month, besides four hundred converts brought to lawful wedlock. This done, they returned to meet others of the society that were coming from *Brasil*.

The provincial of *Brasil* having received the bishop of *Tucuman*'s letter, sent five fathers in the year 1587, who after many dangers escaped, arrived safe at *Cordova*, where two of them, dissatisfied that they had been fetched out of *Portuguese* province to a place where the *Spanish* fathers of *Peru* were before, returned back to *Brasil*, the other three stayed with the *Spaniards*, where they altogether laboured in the conversion of souls incessantly, baptizing many thousands, and marrying no less number. But father *Barsena* who was to teach the *Brasil* fathers the language, falling sick, they went away to the city of the *Assumption* the capital of *Paraguay*, where having laboured with the same success as they had before in *Tucuman*, two of them travelled through into the province of *Guaira*, baptizing and instructing many thousands. It is here to be observed, speaking of these several parts, that about *Cordova* the *Indians* live in caves they dig under ground, no roof appearing above it, for they are altogether in the earth, and distant from one another as rabbits in a warren.

Thirty leagues from the town of *Villari- ca* in the province of *Guaira*, are a people called *Irirabas*, being not above one thousand men, who lived dispersed upon hunting, a fierce nation and hard to be reduced by force.

Thus far the translation has followed the original pretty close, but must here, as is observed in the preface, omit all things which only relate to the *Jesuits*, and therefore only a few words shall be added out

of the first book which have something historical. Those, these and the last mentioned seem to come in some disorder. *John Ramirez de Velasco*, governor of *Tucuman*, went out with *Spanish* and *Indian* forces to reduce the *Calchaquines* who had revolted. They being a fierce and warlike people, had possessed themselves of the tops and cliffs of the mountains, lying there ready to roll down vast stones upon the *Spaniards* as they marched up the narrow paths to them. Father *Barsena*, ordering the *Spaniards* to halt, durst go up alone, and by the force of his eloquence, so far prevailed with those obstinate people, that they submitted themselves to the *Spaniards*. In the Year 1590, two other fathers came out of *Peru*, one of which, with another of those that had been in *Tucuman* before, went to preach upon the *Rio Roxo*, or *Red River*. This river has its springs in the mountains of *Peru*, and being come down into the plain, swells with the winter rains, overflows every year the country for eight leagues about, except where it finds hillocks, which it converts into islands, all which multitude of waters, gently flow into the river of *Plata*, a little below the great river *Paraguay*. Not far from it on the banks of a lake, thirty leagues from the river's mouth, the *Spaniards* built the town of the *Conception*, to the end an infinite multitude of *Indians* might by degrees be civilized. This city is ninety leagues from *Santiago* the metropolis of *Tucuman*, all over a vast plain, without any water but what it receives from the clouds. The people about this city the *Spaniards* call *Frontones*, because they make the fore-parts of their heads bald to have high fore-heads. At their girdle hangs a club, and quiver or bunch of arrows. They carry a staff set with the jaw-bones of fishes, with their teeth like saws, their bodies naked, and painted to look more terrible. Being full of factions, they are continually at war among themselves about the limits of their lands. They fix the Bodies of the enemies they kill, in rows to the trunks of trees for a terror, that the borderers may not dare to go over to hunt in their liberties. Their houses being made of mats, are easily removed at pleasure. They do not apply themselves to tillage, but live upon what they shoot and fish, and have one good quality, which is, that they keep to one woman. Almost every faction has a several language, so that there are eight several tongues spoke on both sides of the red river.

Fierce In-
dians sub-
mit.

Red river.

Concep-
tion city.

Frontones
their man-
ners, &c.

The nation of the *Mataranians* is much more docible than any of its neighbours. *Alonso de Vera*, founder and governor of the town of the *Conception*, took them from living

living dispers'd after their barbarous manner, and brought them together into a town, causing many of them to be baptiz'd, but still they continu'd very ignorant of the principles of christianity. The place of their habitation was very wretched, for they had no water to drink, but what was muddy and stunk, being only the rain that fell gather'd in ditches cut for that purpose. All their food was *Indian* wheat and pompions. Yet here the fathers preach'd and taught with such success, that in the whole town there was not one heathen left, nor any but liv'd as a christian to the best of his knowledge and capacity. In the year 1593, the *Jesuits* began to preach in *Chili*; they that desire may see their actions in our author.

Revolt of
Chili.

The go-
vernor
kill'd.

Several
Spanish
towns de-
stroy'd.

Having given an account in number seventeen, of the towns built in *Chili* by the *Spaniards*, and a description of that country in number eighteen, let us now look back to see many of those colonies destroy'd, and the *Spaniards* almost expell'd that country. They had, as has been said, built twelve towns at convenient distances, which seem'd to have secur'd the possession of that kingdom, where they found great quantities of the purest gold, and abusing the plenty and deliciousness of the country, liv'd in debauchery and lewdness. Vice produceth sloth and security, which gave occasion to the *Indians* to revolt, and in a great measure to compass their design of extirpating the *Spaniards*. This happen'd about the year 1598, when *Martin de Loiola* being governor of the kingdom, lying abroad in the fields in tents within no works, and attended by a very small guard, was set upon by the barbarous *Chilenians*, and kill'd; which was no sooner done, but they drew all the rest of the country to join with them, and exercise all manner of cruelties upon their enemies. The *Indians* might easily have been quell'd at first, had any good advice been taken; but what could be expected where there was no head? Besides, the suddenness of the misfortune took away all time to consult, or prepare for war, the *Indians* every where falling upon and slaughtering them in confusion. The mischief began by the *Spanish* soldiers abandoning their town of *Millapoa* in a consternation; next follow'd *Angil* and *Chilla*, two neighbouring towns, first plunder'd by the *Indians* and then burnt; only one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* with the women and children saved themselves from the fire and slaughter in the work cast up in haste, where they, with true *Spanish* bravery, several times repuls'd eight thousand natives that besieg'd them, till at length they got off with safety. The city *Imperial* was a whole year besieg'd, so that the inhabitants having spent all their provisions, and

being drove to eat unwholesome food not fit to be nam'd, it bred infections among them, which made such havock, that many more dy'd of sickness than by the enemies weapons. In this distress they patch'd up a boat, in which they sent messengers to demand succours. Accordingly the governor came from the city of the *Conception*, with forces to rescue the inhabitants and carry them away in safety. But the city was left to be destroy'd by the natives, who fail'd not to exercise their fury on the houses, being disappointed of the people. The town of *Valdivia* far'd not so well, for it perish'd with all its inhabitants. When the *Indians* had glutted their rage with slaughter, they sav'd four hundred women and maids belonging to the town, to debauch and make slaves of; this turn of fortune making them servants to those very people they had before kept under. The gold of *Valdivia* is counted the best in *America*, and there the enemies most exerted their cruelty; that, where avarice had most predominated in seeking after gold, there the judgment might fall the heavier. The town of *Osono* follow'd the same fate, but the inhabitants sav'd their lives in a work they had thrown up in haste, and some forces coming to their relief, were carry'd off in safety. It was here remarkable, that a nun of the order of the poor *Clares*, being taken by an *Indian* who would have devour'd her, she us'd such powerful arguments to defend her virginity, that he kept her a whole year in his house among his other women, with the greatest respect imaginable, till he found an opportunity to convey her to the next *Spanish* garrison, and some time after fled himself to the *Spaniards*, among whom he became a christian, living many years in a very pious manner. The revolt ran through the whole kingdom; the enemy, after destroying the *Spanish* towns, being absolute masters for above an hundred leagues. The metropolis or city of *Santiago* was not out of danger, but had certainly fallen under the prevailing rage of the *Indians*, but that the magistrates, being inform'd of the conspiracy, prevented the execution among them, by the punishment of the conspirators. Thus a bloody war broke out between the two nations, which might have been more fatal to the *Spaniards*, had not the catholick king soon after sent over *Alonso Ribera* famous for his good service in the low countries, who, entering upon the government, erected many forts after the manner of *Flanders* in the enemies territories, whence making excursions, he rescu'd several *Spaniards* who defended themselves in small works, and baffled the designs of the enemy.

TECHO. In the year 1573. *Jerome Cabrera*, a gentleman of *Cordova* in *Spain*, founded the city of *Cordova* in a plain, at the foot of vast mountains, a hundred and twenty leagues from the port of *Buenos Ayres*. It does not rain there in winter, but in summer there are thick mists and rains enough to make the land in some measure fruitful. When the city was first built, there were reckoned to be sixty thousand archers in its territory, of which number only eight thousand continu'd in subjection to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1600. the rest were either dead, or being fond of their liberty and ancient way of living, had revolted from the *Spaniards*. In this place the *Jesuits* were at first coldly receiv'd, but soon after all the town vy'd to serve and honour them, building them a church, and allowing them a monastery, which was afterwards the head of the province. Hence the fathers set out to preach to the people call'd *Diaguítas*, where whole towns were converted without any difficulty, only one considerable place objecting, that they would not cut off their long hair, as usually converts did, nor take off the ornament of feathers they wore on their heads when they went into the church; but being inform'd their hair was no obstruction, provided they forbore superstitious practices, they all readily submitted themselves. Other places at the same time freely offer'd to part with their long hair, which was held in such an account among them, sending to invite the fathers to come to them, going out to meet them, and clearing the roads they were to come for three leagues in length. All the heathens were baptiz'd in these towns, and inquiry being made after their ancient worship, it appear'd that the whole nation ador'd the sun, and in honour of him sprinkled bunches of feathers stuck up in their houses with the blood of beasts. They believ'd the souls of their *Casiques* when they were dead became planets, and those of the common sort and beasts, lesser stars. A temple they had dedicated to the sun, which these people, at the command of the fathers, destroy'd, burning all that was in it; and crosses were erected wheresoever such temples had stood. In the midst of this success the deputy governor of *Tucuman*'s son, who was with the fathers, presuming upon their protection, order'd a number of servants to be gather'd out of the valley, which so exasperated that people, believing that religion only a cloak to enslave them, that the fathers were in great danger of being murder'd, and forc'd to haste away whilst they had time to save their lives.

forts to curb the natives; and the success would doubtless have answer'd expectation, had he not been unseasonably put out of the government, when he had gain'd more reputation for his military exploits, than any governor before him. But, as he rais'd the reputation of the *Spaniards* among the *Chilians*, by his courage and conduct; so he lost himself by confiding too much in his own merits. For notwithstanding governors, by the laws of *Spain*, are forbid marrying wives of those provinces they have in charge, lest affinity should make them partial and corrupt; yet *Alonso Ribera* presum'd to marry a noble-woman in *Chili*. Whereupon the king of *Spain* (tho' he was very serviceable) took away his government, lest the example might be of ill consequence, but so moderated his punishment, that by the next letters he was appointed governor of *Tucuman*, a post little inferior to that of *Chili*. After him *Alfonso Garcia Ramon* obtain'd the government, who when he set out from *Lima*, took *F. Luis Valdivia* along with him, in hopes by his means to pacify the kingdom of *Chili*. After escaping fire and tempest at sea, they at length arriv'd at the port of the *Conception*, the residence of the governors of *Chili*, small for number of buildings and inhabitants, and built along the shore of the *Pacific* or south-sea. Its territory towards the metropolis of the kingdom extends it self largely, and grows streight on that side towards the revolted *Indians*; that space *Ribera* and other governors had secur'd by erecting forts at due distances, the garrisons whereof with much difficulty kept the *Indians* under. As soon as the new governor arriv'd, he caus'd the king's proclamation for a general pardon to be publish'd, inviting all that were in rebellion to return to their duty. That done, he set out to visit the forts and villages of *Indians* that continu'd in subjection to the *Spaniards*, either of their own free will or by force, yet the minds of them all were so alienated, that they might well be accounted enemies, and therefore tho' they had the name of friends, no man went among them but what carry'd a guard of soldiers, for there is little confidence to be repos'd in them whom only fear binds to you. The governor was attended by the king's troops; but *Luis Valdivia* was a better security than many arm'd men, because the *Indians* were inform'd, and found by experience, that *Valdivia* had always protect'd them from the insolencies of the soldiers, and being made slaves. For this reason, wheresoever he went, the prime men of the country flock'd about him, calling him their father, protector, and only safety of their bodies and souls; and *Valdivia* laying hold of that favourable opportunity, gain'd all he could to christianity

Cordova
city built.

Conver-
sion and su-
perstition
of the *Di-*
aguítas.

Concep-
tion city.

General
pardon.

New go-
vernor in
Chili.

anity and the subjection of the catholick king. Twenty *Caciques* were met in the fort, they called *Levo*; where hearing *Valdivia* discourse of the immortality of the soul, and other mysteries of faith, they all desired to become christians. All the children were baptized, the men put off till trial was made of the truth of their call. About forty *Caciques* of the *Tucapelán* faction lived about *Paica* a Spanish fort, of whom it was hard to judge whether they ought to be counted friends or enemies, nothing being friendly in them but the name. The governor thinking open enemies less dangerous than false friends, threatened them with war; but *Valdivia* interposed, and prevailed with the *Tucapelans* to enter sincerely into unity with the *Spaniards*. War breaking out in other parts, he ventur'd with five soldiers among those people, and was honourably received by the *Caciques*, where beginning to discourse of the end of good and bad men, one of the *Indians* interrupted him, asking, *Who taught him that doctrine? Valdivia* answering, *It was delivered by the Son of God*. Then said the heathen, *Your God had a wife, if he begot a Son*. This led him to make such a discourse on the mysteries of the blessed trinity and incarnation, that the infidels were much taken and surprized. After this they asked, *How drunkenness could be a sin, since sleep was innocent, and that provoked man to sleep?* Which being answered by telling them, *That drunkenness deprived man of his reason, and therefore was more prejudicial than if it took off a limb?* They next put the Question, *Why it was forbid to have many wives?* To which *Valdivia* answered by asking, *Why women were not allowed many husbands?* Then they alledging custom against the one and for the other, he shewed them that custom neither made any thing lawful or unlawful, and with many other reasons and arguments satisfied their curiosity. Thus they spent the greatest part of the night in discourse, till about break of day twenty *Caciques* came from the remoter villages, whom *Valdivia* embracing and discoursing upon the king's pardon and former kindnesses passed between them, very much inclined to his party. Among the last comers, one *Avila* a *Cacique* had great authority, who understanding that *Valdivia* affirmed the God of the christians was the only Creator of all things, in a great rage cryed out, *He would never allow Pillan the God of the Chilenians, to be deny'd the power of creating*. *Valdivia* inquiring concerning this imaginary deity, *Avila* told him, *That his God did, after death, translate the chief men of the nation, and soldiers of known bravery, to places where there was dancing and drinking, there to live happy for ever. That the blood of noble men slain in battle,*

was placed about the sun, and changed into red clouds, which sometimes adorn the rising sun; but that the common sort and poor people received no regard from their God. What an unjust God is yours, said *Valdivia*, *to be so kind to wicked men, and take so little notice of the innocent; for it is plain that many of your nobles and brave soldiers are guilty of much greater crimes than the common sort*. As they were discoursing, some of the *Spaniards* told him, *They suspected treachery designed against them*; whereupon he withdrew, and slipped away to the next Spanish garrison. This jealousy proved groundless, for those same *Caciques* came to *Valdivia*, assuring him, *The whole nation was much concerned that he should suspect them, and promising, if he would go with them to the inland parts of the kingdom, they would be mediators of peace, and guard him*. *Valdivia* accepted of their offer, and travelling over uncouth mountains, bogs and other inaccessible places, at last came to the place where the enemies leaders were assembled to confer together. There the king of *Spain's* pardon, the manner of settling a lasting peace with the *Spaniards*, the propagating of christianity, and other points, were so handled, that it plainly appeared those people would easily embrace the christian religion, and submit to the king, provided their grievances were redressed. Three commanders of the *Indians*, not far from the place where this conference was held, engaged to submit to the *Spaniards*, and several other *Indians* being reconciled, *Valdivia* returned to his people.

At this time there happened an accident A notable worth relating. After the southern towns accident. of the kingdom of *Chili* were destroyed, as has been mentioned, several Spanish families remained in slavery among the *Indians*, of which number was one *Heredia*, a man of some account, happy in this that he had with him his wife *Marcella Grajal* a worthy woman, and two sons grown up to man's estate, and his master was not unkind, as requiring nothing of them but a certain quantity of their made wine, which they carefully performed, for fear of being put upon worse labour. It happened that *Heredia* falling out with his master, as they were drinking, had very ill language given him, which he not being able to endure, killed his master upon the spot. This done he fled, and tho' pursued, made his escape; whereat the *Indians* were so enraged, that they fell upon his eldest son, and without giving ear to the mother's prayers, or minding her tears, burnt him alive. The mother, with her other son, terrify'd at this sight, fled as soon as it was evening; and to avoid being taken, travelled by night, retiring to caves in the day, and feeding on such herbs as they found by the way.

A Jesuit undertakes to make peace.

Pillan the Chilenian God.

TECHO. way. After three days they came into a wood, near a little village, almost spent, and expecting to perish by hunger, or at the hands of the *Indians*. A woman of the country going out for wood, found them both, and moved by *Marcella's* tears, promised to assist them, provided they were not discovered by the other women that came on the same account. To prevent such discovery she left them hid in a ditch covered with leaves, and returning to bring them some meat, at last fled with them herself, through by-ways, and after three days more, they all arrived safe at *Arauco*, a considerable garrison of the *Spaniards*, where the *Indian* woman embraced christianity, and was charitably provided for. *F. Valdivia* having laboured incessantly to restore peace, and finding that the enslaving of the *Indians* was the cause of all the calamities that beset the country, and that he was not able to remedy that disorder, he applied himself to the viceroy of *Peru*, who finding his authority not sufficient to redress the evil, sent him into *Spain*, to the king to procure the abolition of that abuse.

A settling
of the Je-
suits.

We now come unto the third book of our author, which he begins with the first entering of the *Jesuits* into the kingdom of *Peru* 1568, who prospered so well that about the end of the sixteenth century, that province was grown too great to be managed by one provincial. Wherefore it was resolved to divide it, and in order to it *F. James Torres* was sent to *Rome* to the general, for him to settle that affair, who contrary to what they had contrived and designed in *America*, united the provinces of *Tucuman*, *Paraguay* and *Chili*, into one province independent of *Peru*, and committed the care of it to the said *F. James Torres* as provincial, in the year 1607. This father in his journey through *Spain*, waiting upon the duke of *Lerma*, and being with him at a window, the duke told him that but a few days before it happened they threw a whelp, or young puppy, out of that window into the yard below, which was beset with cages, where lions were kept and let out to walk and feed. As soon as the puppy fell it fawned upon and wagged his tail to one of the fiercest lions, which was taken with it, and carried it to his den, cherishing, feeding and protecting it from the other lions, as long as it kept close to the said lion, as if it had been his own whelp, till some time after the puppy venturing out into the yard along, was torn in pieces by the other lions, which as soon as he that had protected it perceived, he leaped out of his den, and in revenge tore to pieces those that had kill'd the whelp. Then one lion coming out after another, they never gave over fighting till they were

all destroyed. This remarkable passage I thought worth inserting; tho' it may seem from our present purpose. *F. James Torres* being come into *Peru*, had fifteen companions, most of them men of note, assigned him for the erecting of his new province, twelve of which were priests, and had all their charges thither defrayed at the expence of his catholick majesty, one half travelling all the way by land, the rest going by sea into *Chili*. The new provincial and his company were every where received with great honour and affection, every town inviting them to continue and settle there. He visited all the province of *Tucuman*, and from the city of *Cordova* set out to hold a chapter or congregation at *Santiago*, the metropolis of *Chili*. The way thither is a vast cross a plain an hundred leagues in breadth, after which follow the mountains, which rising first in the isthmus of *Panama*, divide the kingdoms of *New-Granada* and *Quito*, and running along the length of *Peru* and *Chili*, to the straits of *Magellan*, like the *Apennine* mountains, divide them from the rest of *America*, and are so high, that the very birds with difficulty fly over them. Some passes there are to go out of *Tucuman* and *Paraguay* to *Peru*, not immoderately high, and easy enough; but out of *Tucuman* into *Chili*, there is only one way, and that never passable but in summer, being impassable the rest of the year, because of the intolerable cold, deep snows, and rapid streams of water. *Tapu*, the *Hannibal* of that new world, and second of the *Ingas*, leading an army out of *Peru* into *Chili*, is said to have found out or made this way; which is not a little dangerous at the usual season of travelling through, being only a very narrow path shut in on the one side by craggy rocks, and bounded on the other by most frightful precipices, and it often happens that beasts slipping fall down with their riders an unmeasurable depth. Being come to the top of these mountains, which is above the clouds, tho' below all be burnt up with the immoderate heat of the sun, yet there the cold is so intense, and the air so sharp, that very often it parches the skin off those parts which are naked. And very often the continual shining of the snow, which here has a sharper reflection than in other places, blinds people for the present, or causes a violent smarting in the eyes. There are also abundance of *Ignis Fatui* or *Will i' th Wispes*, playing about, so that they seem to fall upon travellers, and be hid in their cloaths, which terrifies those that are unacquainted with them. The natives attribute these fires to the devil's endeavouring by that means to frighten travellers; but others, better versed in philosophical speculations, suppose them to be the mat-

A vast
ridge of
moun-
tains.

*Ignis Fa-
tuus.*

ter of thunder and lightning, which being every where hemm'd in with cold, and as it were fetter'd, for fear of its enemy naturally flies to the bodies of animals, in which is something of their natural quality. Whatsoever it is, several persons faint away with it; but what is most to be admir'd, deer, goats, hares and such like creatures, run upon the tops of these mountains covered with snow, as safe as if they were in the pleasantest fields; and to give you to understand that nature has surrounded all things of the greatest value with mighty difficulties, the guanacos, creatures which carry the bezoar stone, live most upon these mountains.

Bezoar stone.

Description of Buenos Ayres.

The fathers having held their congregation, F. John Romero was sent through Tucuman to the port of Buenos Ayres, to be shipp'd off for Europe, and to found a monastery in his way at that port, which gives us occasion to treat of it. The fort of Buenos Ayres was twice built by the first planters of the river of Plata, and their numbers being wasted by plague and other misfortunes, twice destroy'd; till the affairs of Tucuman and Paraguay prospering, in regard to the nature of the soil, the nearness of the river abounding in fish, and that there was an easy passage through that continent to Peru, Chili and Paraguay, these reasons mov'd John Garay, lieutenant to John Ortis Zarate the governor, after routing the natives in the year 1580, to build in the same place where the fort had stood, a city famous for carrying the same name, and for its port, and increasing to this day under the tutelage of the most blessed Trinity. This port, though by the laws it be forbid to trade to it, is yet resorted to by several ships from Europe, Africk and Brasil, on pretence of being put in there by storm, or for fear of pirates. The chief commodity this port affords is hides, and beef dried in the sun; for the country abounds in pasture, and has excellent meadows for feeding of beefs and horses, whereof there are such vast multitudes, that all the country lying beyond the 34th degree of latitude, as far as the mountains of Chili and borders of Tucuman, swarms with herds of wild cattle and horses, belonging to no certain owner, all that vast number being multiplied out of two horses and five mares carried out of Europe. In these fields there are great numbers of ostriches and wild goats. There is also plenty of a little sort of creatures, less than a hare, not unlike it in shape, but of much more variety of colours, and brighter; nothing in nature is more curious, or seems more delightful to man. It is as tame as beautiful, for it fawns upon those it meets, and courts them to make much of it. Yet such is the ma-

Vast increase of cattle.

lignity of this beautiful fox, as the Spaniards call it, that after all this courtship, when least suspected, it sprinkles them that handle it with its urine, which has such an intolerable stink, that it can neither be wash'd nor wore out with time, but utterly spoils the garment so sprinkled with it. Thus we see there is no trust to be repos'd in fawning beauty, which at last will exhale some damp, and infect those that enjoy it with a stench scarce to be wash'd away with the waters of many tears. There are also other sorts of beasts; but I must speak of the manners of the men inhabiting those vast plains, scatter'd about and in a wandering manner. That they were vastly numerous, appears by their encountering 2000 Spaniards when the new fort was first built, and destroying many of them; for besides their number, their weapons and gigantick stature were a terror to the first planters, the people towards the straits of Magellan, being taller by the head and shoulders, and sometimes by half body than the Europeans, wherefore they are often call'd giants. To shew their strength, they thrust their arrows down their throat into their stomachs, and take them out a considerable time after. In fight they fasten stones bigger than a man's fist to a long rope, and having swung them about some time, let them fly with a great force, not as is us'd with a sling, for they let go rope and all. Wherever they hit they shatter the bones to splinters, and at one stroke knock down man and horse; but whether they are fled up the country for fear of the Spaniards, or have otherwise been destroyed, there are very few to be seen at present in that great extent of land, and those live scatter'd about, without villages or houses, feeding upon herbs and what they kill, being cloathed in skins, and lying on the ground, both men and women. Nor have they any other shelter against the rain or heat more than the wild beasts, unless they cover themselves with some little hay; wherever night takes them, there they lie, always roving, and always at home. They have little knowledge of God, and consequently think not of worshipping him; yet after death they say they return to the Creator of all things. They celebrate the birth of their children with abundance of tears, saying, when they are born they begin to die. At the funerals of their kindred, instead of tears they shed abundance of blood. They carefully keep the bones of their relations; nor is there any affront they revenge with so much war and slaughter, as for upbraiding of them that the bones of their ancestors have been lost for want of looking after. They honour their dead caciques by killing their slaves, believ-

TECHO.

Manners of the Indians.

TECHO, ing them to be sent after their masters to serve them. Very few of these *Indians* had been converted since the first coming of the *Spaniards*, and therefore the society could not be well employ'd there, either in regard of them, or of the planters, or of the seamen or traders repairing thither out of *Peru*, *Cbili*, *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*.

The state
of Chili.

After the *Indians* of the valley of *Arauco* had murdered the governor *Martin Loiola*, and destroy'd the towns in the south of *Cbili*, a bloody war ensued between the two nations, and the kingdom of *Cbili* was divided into two parts; one of which lying towards the south, beyond 37 deg. of latitude, as far as the straights of *Magellan*, and the richest in gold mines, is inhabited by the revolted natives; the other lying next to *Peru* and *Tucuman* is wholly subject to the *Spaniards*. But several forts have been built within the borders of those barbarous people to curb their fury, the chief of which is *Arauco*, seated in a valley of the same name, not far from the sea, in 36 degrees of south latitude, with a garrison of 500 *Spaniards*, and a convenient number of *Indians*. The other forts built in the province of *Jumbeline*, near the river *Biobio*, were defended by 600 *Spaniards* and *Indian* soldiers. All the country about those forts was inhabited by abundance of heathens living in small villages, and subject to the *Spaniards*, either by force, or of their own accord. Both natives and *Europeans* liv'd dissolute lives, for generally the best of men did not go over to those remote parts; but if any had been good among them, they were corrupted by ill company, or the country itself; for the plenty and delights of the kingdom of *Cbili* are a great snare to those that desire to live voluptuously. The *Indians* were superstitious, obstinate, and refus'd to embrace Christianity, or converse with the *Spaniards*, for fear of being obliged to work. To remedy these disorders, the society sent three fathers into these parts, whose actions since we do not intend to give an account of, we will proceed to speak of the place. The port of *Arauco*, as was said above, is seated in a valley or plain of the same name, from which not only those that inhabit it, but all the other revolted *Indians* of *Cbili* are call'd *Araucans*, as all the people of the united provinces are call'd *Hollanders*, or those of the *Spanish* provinces *Flemmings*, taking their names from the principal towns. These *Araucans* have made themselves famous throughout the world, being inferior to none of the *Indians* for valour, for they have these many years oppos'd the *Spaniards* to assert their liberty, and still hold out in their full vigour, to the vast expence of the

Valour of
the Arau-
cans.

kings of *Spain*; exercising the *Spanish* troops in those parts, that they may be always inur'd to war, to keep under those vast dominions they possess. The plain of *Arauco*, which is almost twenty leagues square, when first the *Spaniards* enter'd it was inhabited by the following numbers of *Indians*. *Tucupellan* commanded 3000 men, besides Their women and children; *Ongol* 4000; *Caie-* numbers.
culienpec 3000; *Paicave* 3000; *Millarapuc* 4000; *Levo*, *Pure* and *Limoia*, each 6000; *Levopia* and *Goleno* 1000; besides other caciques who had smaller numbers. But the chief of them all was *Petuguitu*, lord of 6000 *Indians*. Of all which number, when the jesuits came into that valley, which was in the year 1608; there were scarce 2000, as *Horacius Beckius*, one of them, testifies. But out of the plain beyond the river *Biobio* there was a far greater multitude kept under by the *Spaniards*, either through fear or affection. What the number of the enemies might be could never be understood, none agreeing in their accounts. The whole nation is of a strong constitution of body, and what is wonderful, fit for war or country labour, though addicted to a thousand vices. Whatever weapon every one chuses Their in his infancy he is obliged to use all his life- manners.
time, and forbid any other, lest by changing their arms they prove expert at none. Being all divided into small parties, when an enemy invades them, the heads consult together whether they shall be for war or peace. A decree once made after three days consultation, fasting all the while, like the ancient *Gauls*, is inviolable. Those that perform any notable exploits are preferr'd to commands, the rest of the soldiers are maintain'd at the publick charge. *Lipsius* tells us, in his political examples, that the *Araucans* used to chuse their leaders only by their strength of body, trying it with a great log of timber, which he that could carry the longest, was thought fit to undergo the burden of government. But this folly is laid aside; for at present being continually train'd in war by the *Spaniards*, they chuse their commanders by the experience they have of their valour and conduct. Though the *Spaniards* before the revolt had spread their colonies throughout all the kingdom, yet very few of the natives were converted. One obstacle there was from the *Europeans*, viz. that the avarice of private men enslaving them, and the ill example of their lives, created an aversion to Christianity. On the *Indians* Obstacles side there were many; first their living dispers'd in the mountains for fear of the war, conversion and not in towns; the multiplicity of concubines they keep; the authority of the caciques, against whose will there is no persuading of their subjects; their wicked custom of revelling

velling to such a degree, that they would invite the country round about, and two or three thousand of them meet at a feast, where they committed all lewdness and debauchery; their fond opinion that baptism was mortal, occasion'd by the custom us'd at first to allow it to few till they were near death, because of their intolerable vices, the confusion of continual war, the great number of wizards or necromancers among them, and their stupidity, occasion'd by their natural indulg'd vices. For the better preaching of the gospel to these people, at the instigation of the fathers, the governor drew the inhabitants of abundance of villages, into large towns, where much good was done upon them, till the *Spaniards* again oppressing them they slipt away and dispers'd as they were before.

Island of S. Mary

Opposite to the shore of *Arauco*, at fifteen miles distance is the small island of *S. Mary*. The inhabitants ador'd a God they call'd *Quequebu*, had general meetings at certain times, which they call *Requets*, where, after much debauchery, they made priests, consulted the devil, and perform'd many detestable ceremonies; *Chiloe* an appendix of the kingdom of *Chili*, is an island opposite to the southernmost part of the said kingdom, fifty leagues in length, and seven in breadth, in the shape of an arm bow'd, contrary to what geographers formerly represented, who made it square. The south part of it is parted from the continent by a very narrow sea, and the continent itself, as if loth to part with the island, makes a bay to receive it. All the country is uneven, mountainous, woody and marshy, subject to extraordinary cold, lying all beyond forty-three degrees of south latitude. The summer season is interrupted by such cold storms, that it is scarce to be distinguish'd from winter. The frosty winds and little warmth in autumn hinder the fruit from ripening. If you turn up the earth a span deep, you presently come to a red sand, so mighty dry that it destroys any seed, and yet the woods produce such tall trees, that *Ovalle* with good authority tells us, several lengths of boards are cut out of them. The soil being unfit for ploughing, was formerly planted. This unfruitfulness of the air and land, makes them think they have a good crop, when they have five for one of an insipid sort of roots. On the north end of this island, some few *Spaniards* that escap'd, being the remains of those towns destroy'd by the *Araucans* when they revolted, built a little town call'd *Castro*, which the *English* pirates plunder'd in the year 1600, when it was but just built, after which scarce thirty inhabitants were left. In another of the neighbouring islands, which we shall soon

Island of Chiloe.

describe, they erected a fort, kept by a gar- Teeho.
rison of eighty *Spaniards*, who being in want of all things, are often burdensome to the poor natives. Most of the people live upon what the sea casts ashore, and therefore before the coming of the *Spaniards*, only the coast was inhabited; but since, for fear of oppression, the islanders betake themselves to the inland, and hide themselves in the inaccessible parts of mountains, living in miserable want on pretence of liberty. They wear about their waist a sort of network made of shells, all the rest of their bodies being naked. When the island was first discover'd there were reckon'd in it fifteen thousand families. One only ship sails thither in a year, sent by the governor of *Chili* to supply the *Spaniards*; all the rest of the year they see none. In those islands they use boats made of three boards, sew'd together with a thick cord, and caulk'd with the bark of trees steep'd in water. There is no going in these boats, which they call *Pyraguas*, without great danger. But the peril is yet greater from the revolted *Chilenians*, who live all along that coast opposite to the island. So that considering the danger of the sea, the climate and nature of the soil, and the poverty of the natives and *Spaniards*, it is not only the farthest part subdu'd, but the miserablest of all that new world.

About the island *Chiloe*, lye forty small islands, not very well peopled, and at a small distance from one another, discovering the high tops of their woods, which look like so many bands of arm'd men placed about to guard the chief island. The sight is pleasant, did not the sudden storms rising there disturb this satisfaction, for it is very dangerous to sail upon the *Archipelagus* of *Chiloe* amidst all those islands. The natives live after the same manner as those of the great island, and follow the same customs, the soil being alike, but that being less conversant with men, they are more stupid. After the revolted *Chilenians* had destroy'd the towns on the continent, eighty *Spaniards* built a fort and settled upon one of these islands. Most of these islands are miserably dispeopled, and the reason the natives give for their being so few, is because they are stole away by pirates, contrary to the known laws, and carry'd over to the continent, as slaves. All the islands are subject to the governor of *Chiloe*.

Because we have often occasion to speak of the oppression of the *Indians*, vulgarly call'd *Personal Service*, it will be proper in this place to inform the reader with the nature of it, and to shew how much it was to the advancement of Christianity and the honour of the kings of *Spain*, that it was abso-

What the personal service in the Indies was.

TECHO absolutely abolish'd and taken away. It is the ancient practice in *America* to reward such *Spaniards* as have serv'd well, by making them chiefs of a greater or lesser number of *Indians* subdu'd by war, or that have voluntarily submitted. This custom, introduced soon after the discovery of the *Indies*, continues till this day. The design of their Catholick majesties was, that the *Indians* should pay some acknowledgment to these men, according to the nature of the place, instead of the tribute due to themselves. This thing was prudently contriv'd by the kings, if the *Spaniards* who are lords over *Indians*, and call'd *Encomenderos*, had made use of their authority with any moderation; and it would have prov'd much more profitable both to the crown and private persons. But many of them abusing that limited power given them by the king, and not satisfy'd with their yearly contributions, oblig'd the *Indians* to serve them in person, with their wives and children, which they call'd *Personal Service*, and the nature of it was such, that those who were forced to it, could get nothing, or say any thing was their own. They were carry'd from their own villages to serve their masters in their country or city houses, without any wages. Nay very often, upon some frivolous pretence they were sold away. For this reason a great part of the *Indians* of *Chili* had revolted, as had the *Calchaquines* in the province of *Tucuman*, and others nation about *Paraguay*. Whensoever the *Indians* were exhorted to imbrace Christianity, they stood out obstinately, alledging it was the way to lose their liberty; and even those that had been converted fled to recover it, hiding themselves in mountains and bogs rather than live in slavery. Whole provinces suffer'd under this calamity, for though the emperor *Charles* the fifth, and king *Philip* the second, sent repeated orders to suppress the personal service, yet some governors for their own interest suppress'd them, and others were not able to oppose the avarice of the *Spaniards*, who obstinately stood up for it. *Philip* the third repeated what his fore-fathers had done, putting out another edict for suppressing it. The first that obey'd were the *Jesuits*, who dismiss'd all the *Indians* given them by several persons, allowing them a competent reward for the time they had serv'd them. Some few conscientious persons follow'd their example, the rest became their enemies, refusing to quit those advantages they made by enslaving the *Indians*, though never so unjustly.

Cuio or
Chicuito
province.

Cuio, or *Chicuito* is an inland dependance of the kingdom of *Chili*, at the foot of the mountains, on the side of *Tucuman*, seated,

as it were, without the walls of the kingdom, two hundred leagues in length, the breadth uncertain. There are in it three small towns, thinly inhabited, the chief whereof is *Mendoza*, seated close to the pass of the mountains that leads into *Chili*, and built by *Peter Castello*, famous for taking *Pizarro's* standard in the civil wars of *Peru*. The name it had from *D. Hurtado de Mendoza* marquis of *Canete* viceroy of *Peru*. The copper of this place is in good esteem. The whole country is famous for nothing so much as for fruitfulness, caused by the melting of the snow in summer on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, and convey'd down at pleasure in trenches to the plain below, which produces such abundance of corn, wine, and other fruits, that it supplies the neighbouring countries. The days in summer are cut very short by the continu'd ridge of mountains, rising up to the skies so close by, which a few hours after noon hide the sun, and are impassable either way, unless when the spring is well advanced, even at which time there is danger in passing them. Yet the natives were forced to travel that way almost naked every year, without regard to sex or age, to serve in the further parts of the kingdom; where many lost their limbs, and others perish'd with cold, besides many other hardships imposed on them, without any care of their souls. The *Indians* of this province live either in marshes, or in the plains, wandering without any certain place of abode, carrying about mats which are all the houses they have. They feed for the most part upon what they kill, they fish, and make bread of the roots of rushes growing in the marshes, dry'd in the sun. They also dig holes in the ground with small mouths like coney-burroughs, to live in. It is usual among them, like the *Jews*, to sell their daughters, and the husbands make use of those they buy, as slaves and wives. See more of them at number 65.

The town of *St. Michael* contended long with that of *Santiago*, about which should be the metropolis of *Tucuman*; for the former of them was founded in the year 1550 by *John Nunnez Prada*, three years before the latter; but having been destroy'd by an inundation not many months after it was built, and the town of *Santiago* successfully rais'd out of its ruins, the superiority remained with this last, and the honour of antiquity, with the other. In the year 1564, *Diego de Villaroel*, nephew to *Francis de Aguirre*, governor of *Tucuman*, rebuilt the town of *S. Michael* in a more lasting manner than it was before, by order of king *Philip* the second. After it was thus rebuilt *Gualan* the most powerful *Indian* in those parts

Of the
town of
S. Mi-
chael.

parts assaulted it, slaughter'd a great number of the inhabitants, set fire to it, and had utterly destroy'd it, but that they say the apostles *St. Simon* and *Jude*, whose festival it was, terrify'd the *Barbarians* with terrible lights, so that they were put to flight, *Gualan* slain, and those apostles ever since have been receiv'd as patrons of the city. Since then it has stood many assaults of the *Calchaquine Indians* without ever being shaken. Its situation is adjoining to those mountains, which run through all *South America*, cutting it in two by a continu'd ridge from north to south. All about it, the tops of mountains, the bottoms of valleys, and the plains are beautify'd with country houses, farms and woods, abounding in all sorts even of *European* fruit; and there is such abundance of all other sorts of fruits of the earth, that the first planters call'd the territory about *St. Michael's* town the *Land of Promise*. But this most delightful country, like the garden of the *Hesperides*, instead of a dragon, has cruel tygers, which often devour men and beasts; that we may adore the wonderful providence of God, which every where gives prosperity and allay of trouble, lest too much felicity should make man forgetful of his misery. Formerly the natives exercis'd themselves in warlike manner, to destroy these tygers, and they that kill'd most, which was made appear by producing their green skins, were honour'd and preferred above the rest. The *Indians* kill them after this manner. They hold a thick truncheon by both ends, and as the tyger comes up to them, give it her to fasten on; and the nature of them is such, that they never quit that they first seize. When it has fasten'd on the truncheon with teeth and talons, the hunter, turning it about, overthrows the tyger, which done, before it can recover its feet he strikes it into the belly, and bowels it. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the town of *S. Michael*, being of peaceable dispositions, are more addicted to gallantry than arms, unless provok'd. They are well dispos'd to piety, and love and honour their pastors, which made them ambitious of entertaining the *Jesuits*, whom they receiv'd with great affection, and built their church at the publick expence. The society had formerly been all over the valley of the *Calchaquines*, a part of this country, where they gain'd few souls, by reason of the barbarity of the people; yet all was quiet till the *Spaniards*, during the peace, baptiz'd many of them without any examination, and then, on pretence of causing them to be instructed in Christianity, sent them away by force into slavery. These wrongs provoking the *Indians*, the war broke out between them and the *Spaniards*.

Nature of the country.

Hunting of tygers.

and spread throughout all *Tucuman*, and *TECHO*. the *Spaniards* themselves being then at variance, it was fear'd the *Indians* might make use of that advantage to destroy them; when the fathers of the society offer'd their service to procure an accommodation with the natives. Two were sent, and so well receiv'd by those people, that in a very few days they converted great numbers, erected eleven chappels in so many villages of the *Indians*, and concluded a peace between them and the *Spaniards*, upon condition no wrong should be done for the future.

Francis de Alfaro, the king's visitor throughout *South America*, by his majesty's order, utterly took away the abuse of personal service, setting the *Indians* at full liberty, and delivering them from all oppression. But because many of the *Indians* of *Paraguay* had nothing to pay as tribute, he therefore order'd, that in lieu of it, they shall serve one month in their year, but if the *Spaniards* would make use of them any longer, they should have them as hired servants, upon their own free will, and paying them their wages. He enacted other laws for the common benefit of the *Spaniards*, which the king afterwards ratify'd, and continue to this day in force, saving only that his majesty allow'd two months service instead of the one we said *Alfaro* had appointed. And to the end the heathens for the future might not be deterr'd from imbracing the faith, for fear of being seized and put to trouble, the country of *Parana*, the *Guaicureans* and *Guaira*, were put under the direction of the *Jesuits*, upon condition the *Indians* being brought unto towns, should not, upon any account, be given to private men, by way, as they call it, of *Encomienda*; that is, to be intrusted with, or rather to lord it over them. The fathers were order'd to be maintained at the king's cost; and it is remarkable, That *Alfaro* assigning every one of those that should be so imploy'd, the same allowance that was given to the curates of the *Indians* in *Peru*, the provincial, *F. James Torres*, oppos'd it, saying the fourth part of that allowance was enough for religious men, who were to live sparingly.

Guaira is a large country, part of the province of *Paraguay*, bordering on *Brasil* eastward, and shut in by the river *Parana* on the west. Its breadth from the plains of the *Urvaicans* in the south, to the woods and inaccessible marshes in the north, is not certainly known, but reaches a vast extent of ground. This country lying for the most part under the tropick of *Capricorn*, is by reason of its immoderate heat and moisture, no less fruitful of provisions than of diseases, the very same causes producing plenty, and fevers. It is much fitter to be

TECHO. the habitation of wild beasts and serpents than of men. Yet if we may credit *Guzman*, when the *Spaniards* first came into *America*, there were three hundred thousand *Indians* in this country, who liv'd for the most part about the river *Huiba*, *Tibaxiva*, *Paranapana*, *Pirapo* and *Parana*. The ruins of abundance of villages, caus'd by sickness, and driving away of the *Indians*, which appear thick and almost contiguous, make this account credible, tho' at this time scarce the fifth part of that number remains. The inhabitants of two little *Spanish* towns are the posterity of those, who being sent into *Paraguay*, settled in this part about the year 1550. The whole nation lives miserably, having no bread but what is made of the root *Mandioza*, or any flesh to eat but that of wild beasts. They kill abundance of elks, whose hoofs are reported to be good against the heart-burning. This province is famous for a sort of stones, which nature, after a wonderful manner, produces in an oval stone case, about the bigness of a man's head. These stone cases lying underground, when they come to a certain maturity, fly like bombs in pieces, about the air, with much noise, and scatter about abundance of very beautiful stones; for they are bright, some of the colour of amethysts, others violet colour, some a grass green, some like glass, some red, and some sharp like diamonds; in fine, such is their beautiful variety, that to see the lustre of the stones one would take those cases for caskets of jewels. But these stones are of no more value than our *Bristol* stones; but before this was known, the new planters of the province of *Guaira*, are reported to have abandon'd their colony, after gathering a great quantity of these stones, with a design to return into *Spain*, hoping to make estates of them. But being stopp'd by the way, they were sufficiently laugh'd at, as they well deserv'd. There are here abundance of trees that yield balsam. The woods produce various sorts of berries and other fruits, as does the rest of *Paraguay*. The most remarkable among the flowers, is that they call *Granadillo*, which represents the instruments of our Saviour's passion, and of it comes a fruit about the bigness of a common egg, most delicious, when the rind is taken off, so that it is an excellent emblem for the mediation of our Saviour's passion, which after the first appearance is wonderful delighting. Next to this the *Cuembe* is a great dainty, being long and sharpish at both ends, and pretty large; when the rind or shell is broke there appear yellowish kernels, like those of a pomegranate, which are good to eat. The fruit is perfectly sweet, unless you chew a very small seed there is within those kernels; for when that

Curious
stones.

Granadillo
flower.

Cuembe
fruit.

is broke it causes a sharp pain in the jaws. An excellent emblem of human pleasure, which yields gall, under the appearance of honey, when close follow'd. The same seed, if it falls upon the tops of trees whose bark is rotten, will send down a sort of winding fibres, like ropes, to the earth, which being fed by the moisture of the ground, take root, and run up again like the ivy, producing abundance of fruit. There are also abundance of dates, not so sweet as those of *Africk*; yet they make a sort of wine of them, and pottage, and eat the pith of the palm instead of bread, for want of better. Among their wild cattle, the swine *Strange* are famous, because, contrary to the nature *swine*. of all other creatures, their navel is on their backs, which if you do not cut off, as soon as ever the beast is kill'd, it all corrupts immediately. There is vast abundance and variety of bees, but never to be brought to the house, their wax can never be made white; the honey is generally good, and fit to make metheglin. The snakes are *Snakes*. here more mischievous than elsewhere, and there being no remedy against them, they destroy many men. Some there are, which darting themselves off the trees, twist themselves about the bodies of men or beasts, and unless immediately cut in pieces, soon kill any creature, and devour it by degrees. These snakes when they happen to gorge themselves, lay their bellies to the sun, which corrupting together with what they have eaten, they find themselves restor'd to their former strength. Another sort of them lye retching their vast jaws on the banks of rivers, casting out foam, which deludes the fishes, whom they thus allure and devour. Lastly, another sort springing from marshes or lakes, catch at a certain sort of birds, which defending themselves, when they find themselves hurt, presently eat a sort of herb call'd *Macagua*, from *Macaguas* which the birds themselves take their name, *birds*. as an antidote, and, as soon as well, return to fight. The battle is pleasant to behold, for the *Macaguas* make use of their wings as bucklers, their beaks as a weapon, and the snakes lie intrench'd in water, securing themselves by their winding motion, so that they do not easily kill, nor are they soon kill'd. The province of *Guaira* has little in it remarkable, besides what has been here mention'd, which are common to the neighbouring countries, and monkeys and tygers. There was very little Christianity in this country even among the *Spaniards*, till the *Jesuits* came among them. From the mountains of *Brasil*, there runs down into this country the river *Paranapan*, almost as great as the *Paraguay*, and falling *Parana-*
pan river. into the river *Parana*, after it has receiv'd the *Tibaxiva*, *Pirapus*, *Itangua*, and other lesser

Loreto
and S. Ig-
natus two
towns.

lesser streams. Both sides of it are cover'd with great variety of trees, but the natives value the cedars most, which are so tall and of such a vast bulk, that there are vessels made out of single trunks of them hollow'd, which carry twenty oars. The *Jesuits* sail'd up this river, till they came to the place where the *Pirapus* falls into it, where they gather'd the natives, and built a town, which they call'd *Our Lady of Loreto*, and four miles from that another, to which they gave the name of their father *St. Ignatius*; a third call'd *Itaberaca*; and a fourth, the name whereof we have not. These places being built, the *Spaniards* resorted thither to carry away *Indians* for their service, but the fathers oppos'd 'em; and the king's visitor happening at that time to come into the country, they obtain'd an order of him to secure the inhabitants of those places from all molestation from the *Spaniards*. This was the original of the towns of *Loreto* and *St. Ignatius*, which continue to this day, and have been the occasion of building eleven more in that province of *Guaira*.

The peo-
ple of Pa-
rana.

About the same time that the *Jesuits* labour'd, as above, to bring the *Indians* of *Guaira* into towns, that they might be the better instructed, which was in the year 1610, those people, that inhabited the country between the city of the *Assumption* and the river *Parana*, opposite to the *Paraguay*, who till then had oppos'd the *Spaniards*, began to shew themselves much more tractable than before; for *Arapizanduvius*, a man in great authority among them, went to *Ferdinand Arias*, governor of *Paraguay*, promising, *If they might have priests sent among them, he with his confederate Caciques would build a town, and submit to the king of Spain.* The governor, overjoy'd at this offer, went directly to the bishop, to demand of him priests to bring those people to the faith and obedience of the Catholic king: the bishop refus'd to send any, because those *Indians* were mortal enemies to the *Spaniards*, and were cannibals, and could by no persuasions be prevail'd upon to alter his resolution. *F. James Torres*, provincial of the *Jesuits*, finding the bishop not to be mov'd, sent *F. Marcellus Lorencana*, then rector of the *Assumption*, and the only one he had that could speak the language, with his companion *Francis Martin*: these having travell'd thirty leagues into the country, passing the marshes with incredible difficulty, stay'd in the first village of the *Indians* they came at, where they gather'd the people of all the neighbouring country, and mark'd out a place for building a town, labouring day and night to bring those barbarians to the worship of the true God; but it was a work of time and

A town
built.

much patience, to change the manners of ^{TECHO.} those harden'd heathens. These *Indians* follow'd their debaucheries in the new town at certain seasons, painting their naked bodies to look the more terrible, and spending two or three days and nights together without sleep, in drinking, laughing and roaring, after such an extravagant manner that the fathers did not question but they should one time or other perish at their hands in these drunken fits. Nothing but patience could conquer this perverse custom, which at length in some measure prevail'd, and many of 'em sued to be baptiz'd, which was not granted 'em till after good trial of their forsaking their barbarous manners. It happen'd that the fame of so many persons being baptis'd spreading abroad, a *Paranian* woman, with her daughter, stole privately from her husband to get an opportunity to be admitted to the Christian religion; the *Indian*, enraged at his wife's flight, and laying all the blame on the priest, stirr'd up his country people to take arms to revenge his quarrel. Being got together, they first vented their fury on the *Mahomas*, friends to the *Spaniards*, and having made a great slaughter of them, drove away a great number of captives, to make their inhuman feasts of man's flesh. *F. Lorencana* hearing of it, sent in the name of the *Spaniards* to complain of that action, and demand the restitution of the prisoners. They answer'd, *They had already eaten a* ^{War a-} ^{mong the} *good number of those Mahomas, and were* *fattening up the rest for slaughter*; threatening the father, and sending him word, *It would be a merry day when they had his skull to drink out of.* This was a sufficient declaration of war, and therefore the converts taking up arms for their pastor, chose *Aniangara* for their commander, which discover'd the pride and arrogance of that nation; for *Aniangara* being a man in great repute among his people, and puff'd up with his election, spoke to them in this haughty manner: *You had good reason, gentlemen, to chuse me for your commander, who am well known far and near to be singularly brave: me all the country about fears and loves for my noble exploits in war; for, who has so often routed the enemy but Aniangara? who has baffled their designs but Aniangara? who has brought away the spoils of their commanders but Aniangara? Aniangara is my name, equally lov'd and dreaded by my enemies; for tho' I have overcome many, yet after the victory I have used such moderation, as to kill none of the prisoners, being no less famous for my mercy when action is over, than for my bravery in war.* This speech was receiv'd with great applause. Soon after a company of *Spaniards*, with three hundred of their confederate *Indians*, came to their assistance,

TECHO. assistance, and *Aniagara* joining them, they all march'd into *Panara*, where they routed a thousand *Indians* without the loss of a man. This done, the *Spaniards* return'd home, *F. Lorencana* refusing to go with 'em as they desir'd, but chusing to remain expos'd to any dangers among his converts. His followers increasing, he built the town and church in a more convenient place, and gave it the title of *S. Ignatius*; but the *Paranians* being inrag'd by their last defeat, and the hatred to Christianity inflaming their rage, studied the ruin of the new town, and joining in far greater numbers than before, their bodies painted after their barbarous manner, pass'd the river, and plunder'd the country about the town. The news hereof being brought, 'tis hard to express what a dread seiz'd all men, for the *Spaniards* were gone, and the enemy more numerous than the townsmen. *F. Lorencana* prepar'd his people for fight and death, performing all the duties of a good pastor, and his converts offer'd themselves to stand by him. In the mean while their spies brought an account, that the enemy, in a pannick fear, had retir'd into their own country. 'Twas remarkable at this time, that *F. Francis*, of *S. Martin*, companion to *F. Lorencana*, was so terrified with the news of the approach of the barbarians, that he ran distracted, but afterwards recover'd.

Guaicureans live dispers'd.

At the same time the society sent missionaries among the *Guaicureans*, of whose manners we'll here give a short account. This nation is divided into two parts, the one call'd *Guaicuru*, t'other *Guaicuruti*: both of 'em live on the banks of the river *Paraguay*, opposite to the city of the *Assumption*, towards the kingdom of *Peru*, dispers'd about, without any settled habitation; but they are most numerous about that part where the river *Pilcomayo*, which comes out of the mountains of *Peru* and falls into the sea. They carry about their towns at pleasure, having no houses but mats, which they set up where they think fit, like pens for sheep. They understand sowing, but will not addict themselves to it, but live by fishing and hunting. They use themselves, from their very infancy, to eat all manner of venomous creatures, and feed on worms, snakes, tygers, and lions, without any hurt. The women are cover'd after a barbarous, but modest manner. The men, to look the more terrible, daub rather than paint all one side of their bodies, from head to foot, with stinking colours: instead of a beard, they fasten a stone a finger long to their chin; anoint their hair with a bituminous matter, make themselves bald by art, pull up all other hairs about their body, and make themselves monstrous by

scarrifying their faces, making deformity the standard of valour. Their chief delight is drunkenness and war; but they go thro' cruel trials to attain to the title and dignity of soldiers; for those that aspire to this honour are to testify their courage to the rest by induring most hideous tortures, boring their legs, thighs, tongues, and other parts of their bodies with an arrow, and if they flinch, or complain the least amidst their sufferings, they're excluded the honour; which that they may be the surer of obtaining, the very children use to run thorns and briers into their flesh for sport and pastime. All their youth they practise running, inure themselves to labour, and are train'd in their way of fighting. They pay a greater honour to their commander ^{Their way of war.} than any of the other *Indians*, receiving what he spits in their hands, standing about him when he eats, observing his least motions, and clearing the ways for him: drunkenness, or the desire of satisfying their natural cruelty, is often the cause of war among 'em: they are continually engaged against the *Chiriguans*, *Alipones*, *Frontons*, and other nations like themselves in manners. Of the prisoners taken in war they sell or kill all that are grown up to man's estate; the younger fry they breed up after their own way. They love dark nights to fight in, having no force but in the fury of their onset, not knowing how to stand together in bodies. Having done mischief by night, they retire to their lurking places, over horrid marshes and bogs, all scatter'd about like tygers; thus, keeping many spies abroad, they not only oppos'd the *Spaniards* during almost a whole century, but very often made great slaughter of 'em, continuing in their ancient superstitions. They pester'd the city of the *Assumption* from its foundation, committing robberies and murders, and wasted all the places about it with continual excursions. They carried away the sister of *Ferdinand Arias* the governor, and several other *Spanish* women, into miserable thralldom. In fine, they did a thousand mischiefs without scarce receiving any, being no less dreadful in peace than war. They were defended and born out in the savage way by the marshes of the country, many rivers not to be forded, thick woods, and bogs full of reeds, where they hid themselves, and by the multitude of vast snakes bred by the heat of the sun in that wet soil. This country, tho' separated from the city of ^{First introducing of Christi-} the *Assumption* only by the river *Paraguay*, had not as yet been visited by any priest, because of the barbarity of the people; however, *F. James Torres*, provincial of the *Jesuits*, ventur'd to send thither *F. Rock Gonzales* and *F. Vincent Griffins*. They pass'd the

the *Paraguay*, and having travelled three days over the marshes, were carried before the commanders of the *Guaicureans* as spies, but he finding to the contrary, defended them from any violence. Being ignorant of the language, they were forced to make use of a converted *Indian* interpreter, all whose words they diligently set down, to learn the language; which those ignorant heathens observing, they concluded they had mark'd down the roads, their strength and other circumstances, to bring the *Spaniards* upon them; for which reason they had resolv'd to murder them; and had done it, but that *F. Gonzales*, by the help of his paper recited to 'em, in their own language, those mysteries of our faith which he had taught them by the interpreter; whereat they were so well pleas'd, that the commander order'd a cottage of mats to be set up for them, and became better inclined towards Christianity. After spending a month there, the fathers proposed the building of a town, which the *Indians* (who love novelty) easily consented to: besides, their captain, upon the publick faith given him, ventur'd himself with *F. Roch Gonzales* into the town of the *Assumption*; and returning from thence, the provincial went with him, being carried over rivers in a sort of boat made of a hide, and over marshes on the backs of *Indians*: at length he came to the place appointed for the town, where the scatter'd *Indians* were gather'd, and set up their huts of mats. The fathers liv'd among them in a miserable manner, feeding upon every thing as they did, except venomous creatures. 'Twas very difficult to curb the vices of those barbarians, for 'twas terrible to hear their drunken cries at night. In the day they would perform some hellish ceremonies, and many lewd lascivious actions in the face of the sun. In fine, the fathers labour'd there long with little success, for all those nations of *Indians* which do not sow, nor dwell in settled places, are more vicious, barbarous and obstinate than the others, and less fit to receive the faith.

The provincial having done such good service about the town of the *Assumption*, sail'd down the rivers *Paraguay* and *Plata* to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where arriv'd nineteen fathers out of *Spain*, sent by his Catholick majesty to propagate the faith in those parts, with orders that all so employ'd should be maintain'd at his cost. About the same time *Ferdinand Arias*, late governor of *Paraguay*, prevail'd with the provincial to settle some fathers in the town of *Santa Fe*, eighty leagues above the port of *Buenos Ayres*. This town was built by *John Garay*, not long before that of *Buenos Ayres* was rebuilt, upon the banks of the river

Town and country about Santa Fe.

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Quiloaisa, just where it falls into the river *TECHO* of *Plata*, for the conveniency of ships coming out of *Europe*. The *Indians* often fell upon the new planters, but without success. 'Twas formerly very remarkable among the other customs of the natives, that the women were not allow'd to paint their bodies with a clay colour till they had tasted human flesh. If they had not prisoners taken in war, they would cut the dead bodies of their own people in pieces, and give 'em to the young maids to eat. They planted trees over the graves of their ancestors, and adorn'd 'em with ostrich feathers, and met there at certain times to lament. Before the coming of the *Spaniards*, they liv'd upon fishing and hunting, but afterwards the herds of black cattle multiplied so fast, that they serv'd not only to feed the natives, but in some measure to enrich the *Spaniards*. It appears upon computation, that from the year 1611 till 1613, a million of oxen were drove from the country about *Santa Fe* into the kingdom of *Peru*, which have yielded a prodigious profit. This is all that was remarkable concerning the town of *Santa Fe*, besides the hopes of bringing those barbarians to the faith of Christ; for on that side next *Paraguay* runs the plain of *Calchaquina*, almost an hundred leagues along the river of *Plate*, and is inhabited by most inhuman people. In this town the fathers settled a small house, and *Ferdinand Arias*, the late governor, with his maiden daughters, carried earth upon their shoulders at the building of the church.

The fathers had now more work upon their hands than 'twas possible for them to go through, by reason of the great multitudes of infidels, and vast extent of the country; besides, many places desir'd they would settle among them, but they were too few to fix in every part. Their chief seat was at *Cordova*, where they settled a college and noviceship, chusing rather to breed up their young religious there than in *Chili*, the delights of which country might render them less able to undergo the toils they were to be expos'd to. Many thousands of infidels were converted in the country about this town, whence the provincial went over the mountains to *Chili*, and in the metropolis of that kingdom, at the request of the magistrates, founded a college for the education of youths, under the care of the fathers. The provincial returning into *Tucuman*, *Luis Quinones*, governor of the province, sent to acquaint him, That certain straggling soldiers having kill'd some caciques of the *Diaguitas*, those people were again revolted; and desir'd he would send some fathers to pacify 'em. *John Darius* and *James Baroa* were appointed to manage that affair, who passing through *Aconguinea*,

A college at Cordova.

Another in Chili.

TECHO. *conguinea*, betwixt the cities of *St. Michael* and *London*, and the places adjoining to the wood of *Joncavil*, converted abundance of infidels. They entering the territories of the *Diaguitas*, the success answer'd their expectation, those people freely condescending to their proposals, and they on their side engaging to have them secured against all outrages of the soldiers. Thus they visited the *Guassans*, *Malleans*, *Haacasses* and *Andalgas*, inhabitants of small towns, baptizing five hundred of them. Those fathers we mention'd before, that had been among the *Guacureans*, having met with very little success, were about to be recall'd, but the commander of those people desiring they might be continued, and delivering up his son, then twelve years old, to be bred a Christian, they were continued, in hopes of bringing those barbarians to more civility: in the mean while the fathers in *Guaira* and *Parana* continued indefatigable in their labours, in the latter of which provinces they found the natives so wild, and unfit for the yoke of Christ, that they thought fit to forbear for some time, till by degrees they could by fair means and good offices reclaim and bring them to something of humanity: in the first, their endeavours sometimes seem'd to answer expectation, but then on a sudden those unsettled infidels would slip away from the towns to their usual lurking places, and fall to their ancient practices, seizing upon such other *Indians* as they could come at, to sell them for slaves, and spending whole nights celebrating their victories, and performing many superstitious acts. F. *Romero*, one of the missionaries there, inquiring into their religion, found that they ador'd the moon, and the constellation call'd *Charles Waine*, and had no other worship. During these transactions, father *Valdivia* had been in *Spain* to solicit for the *Indians* of *Chili*; and having obtain'd all he went about, return'd into that kingdom, where he presently had a conference with fifty *Ulmes*, (so they call their great men) and after a short time concluded a peace with the *Leicureans* and *Pureneans*; *Utablame*, one of the principal *Indians*, answering for the rest. He press'd to have some women belonging to *Aganamon*, another prime leader of those revolted people, restor'd to him, they being then prisoners; it was granted that a daughter, who was an infidel, should be return'd, but for his concubines, and another daughter, who were become Christians, he could not prevail. Peace being settled, *Utablame* took three fathers along with him, to persuade the remoter *Indians* to submit themselves; but when they came to his town call'd *Leicura*, *Aganamon* dissatisfied with what had been done enter'd the said

town by force, killing some *Ulmes* that had been for the peace, and railing at the jesuits because his women had been detain'd, first dash'd out their brains with clubs, and then hew'd their dead bodies with other weapons. Thus died *Martin de Aranda*, *Horatius Bechius*, and *James de Montalva*, for refusing to restore the infidel his concubines. After this murder, most of the *Indians* fell from the peace, many factions, though wholly innocent, fearing they might suffer among the guilty; yet eight thousand *Caracaians* continued friends to the *Spaniards*. Because we do not pretend to write the actions of the fathers, but only what is historical, or relating to the description of those countries, we have pass'd by the greatest part of the fourth book, according as our author divides his work, only relating what is to our purpose, and omitting all that relates only to the society. All we can add out of the said fourth book is, that about fifty leagues from the city of the *Assumption*, up the river, is an *Indian* town call'd *Guaramba*, consisting of about nine hundred families, part Christians and part infidels, and remarkable for nothing but being very unhealthy; and about ten miles from it are two others of about three hundred families each; the names of them are *Pitave* and *Niegua*.

Though somewhat has been said before Country concerning the people of *Parana*, that re- of *Parana*.
lating only to such as live between the town of the *Assumption* and the river of that name, we must in this place add something of that country in general. The river *Parana* runs five hundred leagues, as has been said above, before it falls into the ocean, through a mouth eighty leagues in breadth, and has not undeservedly the name of *Parana* given it, as representing the greatness and majesty of a sea in most parts. This makes me dissent from *Joseph d'Acosta* and others, who reckon the river *Maranhao* the greatest in *America*; though the same *Acosta* affirms the mouth of *Maranhao* is but thirty leagues wide. The *Parana*, as well as the Wood
Silaro in *Naples*, has the occult quality of converted
converting wood into stone, so that it is fre- into stone.
quent to see sticks, as far as they lie under water, petrified. *Ferdinand Arias* the governor set up a pillar thus metamorphosed or converted, in the porch of his house: besides, it every where breeds fishes of a vast bulk; and F. *Ruiz* affirms he has seen some thicker than an ox towards *Guaira*. 'Tis frequent to see sea-wolves swimming in shoals, lifting up their heads above water when a man whistles, and then ducking again, as if they sported. The *Capibara*, an amphibious creature, is often kill'd by people as they sail along. In the middle of the

the river *Parana* lies an island eighteen leagues in compass, all round very high, and incompass'd with lofty rocks, so that it is inaccessible, unless in some places where the land is a little lower, but those parts beset with many dangerous whirlpools. This place was formerly the refuge and fortress of the *Paranensians* against incursions of the *Spaniards*, for which reason the inhabitants, besides their natural fierceness, were of a warlike disposition. Both the shores, as well where they are plain and open as where they are wooded, produce a great multitude of beasts and birds: there are every where great flocks of birds and parrots, but these last are three times as big as those of *Asia*, and their feathers so beautified with variety of colours, that the natives formerly for their sightliness ador'd them as gods; but they are only commendable for their colours, as never learning to talk. That sort of bears is very remarkable which are call'd ant-bears, because of their eating those insects; their head is very long, the snout twice as long as a swine's, and sharper, out of which they draw a tongue like a spear, as it were out of a scabbard, and thrust it into the ant-hills, and draw it back with a great booty of ants sticking to it. These ants, which are as big as the top of one's finger, being toasted over the fire, are reckoned by the natives and *Spaniards* as dainty food. Formerly there were no great towns upon the *Parana*, but the people liv'd dispers'd in villages. Both sides of the river, running a vast extent, are inhabited by several nations, all, except the *Guairanians*, as like one another in manners and barbarity as they are remarkable for diversity of languages. Among them all I think those very remarkable who feed upon a certain sort of earth, dried at the fire, and then dipp'd in the fat of fish: so that there is little cause to admire they should think so little of heaven who find so great a relish in earth. That part of the *Parana* which is next the ocean, for the space of 200 leagues from the mouth, is by the *Spaniards* call'd *The river of Plate*, the reasons given for this name varying; for some will have it to be so call'd from *Garvo's* plate, as was observ'd in its place; others, from the first planters seeing the natives on the shores as they sail'd along in their ships cover'd with white shells, which at a distance glitter'd like silver. Some will have this name given it because the lakes and rivers, on whose banks the silver-mills are set at work in the province call'd *Los Charcas*, in *Peru*, roll down, after a prodigious long run, a great quantity of good silver oar among the dross there wash'd away, which quantity is so vast, that those who know how to judge of metals guess there have

been forty millions of silver so carried away TECHO. by the rivers *Tarapaia* and *Picolmayo*, from the first working in the mountains of *Potosi* till the year 1611. And for quick-silver, us'd in the working of the plate, the quantity is so great as serves to poison the waters of those rivers for a vast space, so that they breed no fish, that venomous mineral destroying all living creatures: but it is a folly to assign this for the reason of calling the river of *Plate* by that name, because it was certainly so call'd before the mountains of *Potosi* were known to the *Spaniards*. Whatever the reason of the name is, the *Parana*, as far as it is call'd the river of *Plate*, that is, till the *Paraguay* falls into it, has three *Spanish* towns on it, which in some measure keep the *Indians* about the shore in subjection. Towards its source, for almost the space of two hundred leagues, it runs through *Guaira*, and other countries in a manner subdued by the *Spaniards*. That part of *Parana* which lies between *Guaira* and the river of *Plate*, and is opposite to the *Paraguay* for almost an hundred leagues, still holding out, chose rather to be harass'd by war than to submit to a foreign yoke. Those people baffled the forces of *Ferdinand Arias*, a brave commander, and other governors, though they consisted of considerable numbers of *Spaniards*, and the choice of their confederate *Indians*. They almost ruin'd the *Spanish* town of *St. John*, seated on the conflux of the rivers *Parana* and *Paraguay*, by their continual excursions. They often invaded and terrified the converts made by the jesuits at the town of *St. Ignatius*. There was no going out of *Tucuman* into *Paraguay* without a guard, the *Paranensians* lying upon all the roads, and killing and robbing all they met. But none so cruel as those, who having been converted, were fallen off; for they being incens'd by the service the *Europeans* requir'd of them, continually set the people of *Parana* against their masters; so that, for several reasons, the name of the *Paranensians* was equally terrible to the *Spaniards* and their *Indian* confederates. No priest had been among them as yet, that is, in the year 1615, except only *Roch Gonzales*, who ventured among them two years before, with no other weapon but the cross, being sent by *Marcellus Lorenzana*, having made way to this mission by founding the first town fifteen leagues from the river. This same year 1615, the same *Roch Gonzales*, after travelling some time through an uncouth country by land, came to a lake call'd *Appupen*, running into the *Parana*, and call'd by the *Spaniards* *St. Anne*. About it dwelt abundance of infidels, with whom he so far prevail'd, that they desir'd him to mark them

Parrots
worship-
ped as
gods.

Bears and
ants.

Name of
the river
of Plate.

Fierceness
of the
people of
Parana.

Techo. them out ground to build a town, which he did, and converted many families; but the *Franciscan* fathers, who had preach'd there before, demanding to have that part left to them which they first took in hand to instruct, he freely quitted it to them, being sensible there was work enough elsewhere for the society. *F. Gonzales* went up the river by boat, though much oppos'd by the *Indians*, who would not hearken to his proposals, about thirty leagues, and came to *Itapua*, where four caciques resided with a considerable number of their followers, who after some difficulty submitted, promising to erect a new town in that place, provided the society would promise to settle among them: he thereupon hastened away to the town of the *Assumption*, to negotiate the sending of some fathers to settle there. As soon as he was gone, the *Paranians* on the upper part of the river, being wrought upon by an apostate, made war upon the *Itapuans*, for having entertain'd *F. Gonzales*, and attempted to pull down a great cross he had set up, but were oppos'd by the *Itapuans*, who though still heathens, stood about it and repuls'd them, though much more numerous.

James Marino Negron, governor of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plate*, being dead, *Francis Gonzales de Santa Cruz*, brother to *F. Roch Gonzales*, was deputy-governor till the king should appoint another. He thinking it would be an honour to him that the province of *Parana*, so often attempted without any success, should be reduced during the time of his government, and by means of his brother, having conferr'd with *F. Marcellus Lorenzana*, the rector, granted a patent in the fullest manner he could, by which he permitted the society to build as many towns as they thought fit upon the rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*; to appoint magistrates, and erect churches. *F. Lorenzana* provided all necessaries for building a new town, and so they dismiss'd *F. Gonzales*, who return'd to *Itapua*, where he arriv'd upon *Christmas-eve*. *Itapua* is a place equally distant from the mouth of the river *Paraguay* and the borders of *Guaira*, being about sixty leagues from each, and standing high on the south side of the *Parana*; a lake that runs into the river makes a port before it. There were *Indians* enough in the country about to make a handsome town. The *Itapuan* caciques, who had gain'd renown by defending the cross, gave *F. Gonzales*, when he return'd, a house made of mud and straw, after the *Indian* manner. He having fitted up one part of it for a chappel, what by his own means, and the assistance of some *Indians* his emissaries, drew a considerable number of the neighbouring people to come and

join with the *Itapuans*. *F. James Boroa* being come to keep *F. Gonzales* company, after he had been there four months alone, they both joyfully mark'd out the ground for the new town, built a house; and church big enough to contain the multitude, made huts for the *Indians*, whom they persuaded more by their example than words, brought clay and straw, cut timber, and made it fit for the work, being in such want of provisions, that they accounted an insipid sort of wild thistles, and bread made of the pith of trees, as dainties; they using to make some pottage of a sort of herbs which only the parrots were wont to eat before, those people in a harmless way of jesting call'd the fathers parrots. The church being built, the dedication was celebrated in the best manner they could; and a picture of the blessed virgin being set up therein, not only the said church, but the town, took the name of *The Annunciation*, under which name it continues to this day. By the contrivance of the devil, it was soon given out that the fathers were no priests, but spies in disguise, to betray the people, under a shew of religion, to the *Spaniards*; and that they brought the plague with their pictures and books. These things alienated many of the *Indians* from them, till being by degrees undeceiv'd, they became more familiar with the fathers. Having built this town, and the other we mention'd before call'd *S. Anne* on the lake *Appu- S. Anne*
pen, which he left to the *Franciscans*, town.
F. Gonzales returned to the city of the *Assumption*, where having given an account of all he had done to *Ferdinand Arias*, who was again appointed governor of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plate*, he endeavour'd to dissuade him from going into those parts as yet, but in vain. The governor therefore, having sent the father before to dispose the *Indians* to receive him, set forwards with fifty *Spanish* soldiers. Being come to the river of *Parana*, he cross'd it in small vessels provided by *F. Gonzales*, and when they arriv'd at *Itapua*, made great rejoicing, the governor saying to his men, *Let us give God thanks on our knees, that by virtue of the cross alone we now tread that ground, which neither my sword, nor the valour of the Spaniards, could conquer in so many years*. Then having appointed commanders of the *Indians*, and charg'd them to be respectful to the fathers, he set out from the port of *Itapua* the same day he came thither, covering his fear with the pretence of business, because the report went that the inhabitants up the river were alarm'd at his coming, and their boats began to appear. As he was sailing down the river, about three hundred *Indians* appear'd on the steep banks arm'd with clubs and

and darts, and had certainly attacked the governor, but that *Gonzales*, by his authority, with-held their commander: his name was *Tabacambius*, who being asked by the governor to accept of a general's staff, in his catholick majesty's name, by which he might be known to be commander of the *Paranensians*, haughtily answered, *He had been their commander before, and should be so still, without a staff.*

Of the
Guairanians.

All the country that lies between the river *Maranon*, otherwise called of the *Amazones* and the *Parana*, which are above a thousand leagues distant from one another, makes almost one half of *South America*, all which country the *Guairanians* inhabit; and, not so satisfied, passing these bounds, possess all that lies between *Paraguay*, *Parana*, and the borders of *Peru*. But within that compass there are several other nations to be found, differing from the *Guairanians* in language and manners, and whom they out of their natural pride call slaves: with them they have continual bloody wars, fattening the prisoners they take, and eating 'em. At these feasts they take new names to express their warlike exploits. They live in little scattered villages, which are under the command of *Caciques*, renowned either for their noble descent or popular elocution. In time of war they chuse a general of known valour; but know nothing of regular troops, keeping their ranks, foreseeing dangers, chusing a proper time or ground, improving opportunities, or laying up provisions. For the most part they fight as chance offers the occasion, being hot the first onset, but cowardly if suffered to cool. In fight they use clubs and arrows, and make their bodies hideous with dismal colours before they engage. They make no use of lime, stone, or tiles; but build houses of clay and straw, either round or long, and for the most part so large that one of 'em makes a village. Matrimony is at will, for every one has as many wives or concubines as he can keep or get. The *Caciques* claim a right to the handsomest maids in their village, whom they easily give up to be deflowered by their followers or friends. To have to do with their daughters-in-law is frequent, and no shame to put away wives, or be cast off by them. 'Tis looked upon as a great crime to turn any stranger whatsoever out of doors. They entertain their guests with weeping, and long praises of their ancestors, but their sorrow ends in laughing and feasting. They cover their nakedness with a very short garment made of shells or feathers put together, the rest of their body is naked. They sow *Indian* wheat, and several sorts of pompions, beans, and roots. When any person, particularly those of any note, among

Their
houses.

Women.

Hospitality.

them dies, 'tis not to be expressed what ^{TECHO.} horrid howling the women make in all parts; swelling their cheeks, they by fits give hideous shrieks; they sometimes cast themselves headlong from high places, tear their hair, batter their fore-heads, turn the dead bodies, embrace and talk to 'em, bow their sides, open their hands, lay the carcases into great pots, and, believing the souls are buried with the bodies, cover the faces of the dead with concave dishes, that the souls may not be stifled, to shew they had the same master, who prayed that the earth might lie light upon those they loved. They adore no God, but are addicted to the superstitions of wizards and such impostors. Their manner of conjuring varies according to the several countries; but they almost all agree in giving the greatest honour to those forcerers who are most familiar with the devil. Those that aspire to the knowledge of their magick arts are to mortify themselves with most severe fastings and other afflictions, which whilst they are performing they live alone, naked, and without washing, in dark and remote places, eating nothing but a sort of pepper and *Indian* wheat roasted, affecting to look ghastly, with their hair uncombed and clotted, their nails grown to a shameful length, and other filthy circumstances, and bring down their bodies with other rigorous practices, till having almost lost their strength and senses with fasting, they call upon the devil and see him. 'Tis their business to do mischief, by darting bones, coals, and hairs undiscovered, which things being depraved by their charms, and piercing the bodies of men, make them waste away, and sometimes die, unless he that did the mischief, take the cause out of the parts so affected. There's another sort of magicians, who do no harm, and only boast of their familiarity with the devil, and pretending they can discover secrets and things done a great way off, to them that ask, which they learn of the hellish fiends. In some countries, if a woman will be a witch, she must pretend to chastity, for if once she proves with child, she's no longer respected. The devil never appears to these conjurers without a hideous and frightful noise. There's also a sort of forcerers who pretend to physick; 'tis also their business to talk much, lye without measure, and for the most part do nothing: they suck the sick bodies, and pretend to spit out some corrupt substance, as if they had sucked out the cause of the distemper. The whole nation minds dreams ^{Superstitions.} and superstitious observations to a madness. They think the touch of an owl will make them lazy, because that bird among them does not fly much, nor build a nest. If a woman eat a double ear of millet, she be-

Witchcraft.

TECHO. lieves she shall be delivered of twins. They exercise a young maid, the first time she has her courtes, after a strange manner; she's put into the hands of a lusty brawny woman to be thus exercised; she's forced to abstain from eating flesh till her hair before, cut off, grows down to her ears. 'Tis a crime for her to look upon men; if she happens to see parrots, they think she will be talkative ever after; she's made to sweep the house, to carry water, walking apace without stepping out of the way, to pound corn in a mortar, never to be idle, and to do all the business of a good housewife. This exercise of theirs *John Rbo* reckons among their many virtues. In short, they are of opinion the young girl will behave herself all the rest of her life as she does about the time of her first courtes. Women with child abstain from almost all sorts of food; they eat no elk, lest the child should be born with a swollen nose; if they eat small birds, they fancy they shall bring forth a small child. They are forbid eating any of those creatures whose qualities they fantastically imagine may hurt their children. The laws the men are to observe when their wives are with child are these; not to kill any wild beast, not to make arrows, clubs, or handles to any other instruments; to abstain from eating flesh fifteen days after the wife is brought to bed; to unbend the bow; not to lay snares for birds; to lie at home idle, and fasting till the infant's navel-string be cut: if they do any thing to the contrary, they must expect some great mischief will follow. When the new-born babe happens to be sick, the kindred, men and women, abstain from such diet as they believe would hurt the infant, if it eat of it. As soon as the children are born, they give them names agreeable to the beauty and imperfections of the body. If it be black or swarthy, they call it crow; if it have a hoarse cry, frog. I omit much more of the same stamp, lest it nauseate the reader. Yet it is found by experience that this nation, notwithstanding this folly and barbarity, if it be well taught, is more apt than any other people of *America* to embrace and retain the christian faith, and to learn mechanick trades, and a good measure of civility.

Childrens
names.

Error of
the Guai-
cureans.

Many following chapters affording but little matter to our purpose, we will only collect out of them, what may be worth relating, giving this advertisement of it, that the reader may find many short relations put together, which have no particular connection among themselves. The fathers of the society preaching among the *Guaicureans* were not so successful, as in other parts, those *Indians* looking upon baptism as mortal to whosoever received it. The

cause of the error was, that by reason of their many vices this sacrament was not granted them till they were in the utmost extremity, and therefore most of them that received it, immediately died; which those infidels imagined to be the effect of baptism. But time and experience undeceiving them, they afterwards came in more freely to embrace the faith. It happened that a forcerefs among them lying desperately sick, and having tried all the arts of their impostors for her cure, and been supplied during the time of her sickness with some better sort of sustenance by the fathers, overcome by their charity, turned off her *Indian* charmer, and desired to be baptized. As the father was about complying with her desires, a multitude of *Indians* flocked about him, begging he would not bestow that favour on the worst of women, who was used to do much mischief; for if he should, according to his custom, bury her in the chappel, she would turn into a tyger and destroy all about her; and therefore it was better to carry out her carcase when she was dead, into some remote solitary place, lest she should do more harm dead, than she had done alive. This they said, because the *Guaicureans* are of opinion, that the souls of wicked persons transmigrate into wild beasts, which are mischievous in proportion as they were when living. But the father undeceiving them, baptized her, shewing that the virtue of baptism was such, when rightly applied, as to make the blackest souls brighter than the sun, and send them into eternal bliss. At *Cordova*, in the province of *Tucuman*, about the year 1516, a monastery of nuns was founded by *Eleanor Texeda*, which was the first in those parts. She designed them for *Dominicans*, and accordingly they wore that habit, and the monastery was erected under the invocation of *S. Catherine of Siena*, but there being none of the order to begin it, nor any book of the rule, they followed that of *S. Teresa* with some little alteration, which afterwards bred great contests; for some would have it that their vows were void, because they were designed for *Dominicans*, and followed the *Carmelite* rule, besides other circumstances that made them a confused sort of an order; but after much debate the thing was referred to pope *Paul* the fifth, who ordered the present nuns should remain for the present as they were, under the rule they had taken their vows to; but for the future others admitted should be reduced to the rule of *S. Dominick*, and so the monastery continue as had been at first designed.

First nuns
in Tucuman.

Great hopes were conceived of advancing the faith, throughout the province of *Parana*, and introducing it into that of *Urvaig* or *Urvaica*, when the governor *Ferdinand* Jaguapua town built.

Ferdinand Arias had like to disturb all, by designing a conquest on the latter of those places, from which all the persuasions of the fathers could never divert him, till the *Spaniards* refusing to follow him in that dangerous and unprofitable expedition, obliged him to alter his resolution. *F. Gonzales* being eased of this fear, which would have alarmed the *Indians*, and utterly destroyed all that had been done for their conversion, went away to a place the *Indians* call *Jaguapua*, where he persuaded a good number of the scattered natives to come together and settle. *Tamboaiens*, Cacique of an island opposite to *Jaguapua*, increased the number of those people, and by his example many more flocked thither out of the woods, who all together built a town, *F. Gonzales* marking out the ground for them. *Jaguapua* is about four leagues from the town of *Itapua*, and twelve from that of *S. Ignatius*; and therefore there being no fathers to settle at *Jaguapua*, those of the other two places took it by turns to go over thither to instruct the *Indians*, where they made very many converts. At this time *Arapizanduvius* the Indian commander of the town of *S. Ignatius*, taking some disgust at the fathers, gathered a number of malecontents, and stirring up the *Paranen-sian* infidels, went away to join *Tabacambius*, who, we said before, had refused to accept of the general's staff from the governor of *Paraguay*. These two great men retiring into a peninsula made by the river and a lake, called by the natives *Mara-canais*, struck a terror into the new towns of *Parana*, and the fathers were much afraid lest they should by their great authority draw many converts to abandon the faith. Therefore *F. John de Sales*, before they were settled in their designs, ventured to go from the town of *S. Ignatius* to them, to persuade them to peace, where he had doubtless been killed, had not an old woman put them in mind that the *Spaniards* would revenge his death, which made the infidels hold their hands; and the father taking that opportunity to speak to them boldly, his words had such force, that *Arapizanduvius* immediately begged pardon, and drawing together his followers, forsook *Tabacambius*, returning to the town of *S. Ignatius*. At the same time *F. Joseph Cataldinus* attended by a small parcel of converted *Guaicanians*, ventured through the country among the *Piropoensians*, among whom he spent ten months, and having converted seven hundred of them, caused them to remove out of their woods, and build a town not far from that of *Loreto*. Very little good was done among the *Guaicureans*, their obstinacy and stupidity prevailing above all the labours of the fathers,

and therefore many advised they should be given over; but father *Peter Romero*, who had spent some years among them, and brought them to live together in a town, was for overcoming them with christian patience and kindness. The plague raging among them, they all dispersed and fled to the woods, many of them that had taken the infection dying by the way. *F. Romero* never ceased following them, and prevailed with some few at the last gasp to receive baptism, and when the virulency of the plague was over, brought back those that had escaped it to the town. They abusing that health they had been restored to, according to their natural inclination, presently engaged in unjust wars, making slaves of the prisoners they took, spending the nights in hideous cries, giving up themselves to drunkenness, and celebrating their new moon festivals with superstitious madness. This year 1617, *F. John de Viana*, who had been sent procurator to Rome, arrived at the port of *Buenos Ayres* with thirty-seven fathers he gathered by the general's order, for a supply to the province of *Paraguay*. This addition made the province so flourishing, that the provincial now settled nine colleges in it, and seeking which way he might enlarge either among the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, soon found an opportunity, the *Spaniards* of *Esteco* and the *Calchaquine Indians* admitting the fathers to settle among them. *Esteco*, otherwise called *Nuestra Senora de Talavera*, is a small town, very conveniently seated for the relief of those that travel out of *Peru*, to the river of *Plate* and *Paraguay*, through *Tucuman*, and it had increased beyond all the other cities of *Tucuman*, but that the unwholesomeness of the air, which is hot and moist, obstructed its thriving. This place being in want of priests, made provision for and received five of the fathers.

Thirty-seven Jesuits arrive at Buenos Ayres.

Esteco town.

The valley of *Calchaquina* abovementioned running thirty leagues in length, from north to south is but of a small breadth, and almost inclosed on both sides by the high ridges of mountains that make the borders of *Peru* and *Chili*; the two angles of it look, the one towards *Salta* the other towards *London*, two small towns of *Tucuman*. Many monuments of the conquest make it still appear, that the inhabitants of this valley were formerly subject to the *Ingas* kings of *Peru*; and those people, to this day, have a veneration for the very name of the *Ingas*. It is most certain, there are mines of rich metals in this valley, but as yet they could not be discovered, those *Indians*, for fear of being forced to dig, concealing the gold and silver, which have been the cause of so much mischief. It is reported, that in the night

Valley of Calchaquina.

Trecho. night there is a sort of creature seen there, which casts a mighty light from its head, and many are of opinion that light is caused by a carbuncle; but as yet this creature could never be taken or killed, because it suddenly baffles all the designs of men, leaving them in the dark by clouding that light. The natives of this valley, ever obstinate from the first coming of the *Spaniards* of *Tucuman*, have defended themselves and their families with such resolution, that the women have been seen to force their husbands back to fight, driving them with fire-brands, when they saw them give way or fly; and when their strength has failed them, rage still prevailing, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies, they have either run upon their swords, or cast themselves headlong from the tops of mountains. *Alonso Barfena* had formerly pacified these people, which peace they had often broke at pleasure without regard to articles, either running into open rebellion, or doing harm under shew of a false peace. During those intervals of peace, such as they were, some fathers of the society made several excursions among them, wherein they found much more difficulty than success. But these excursions for a short time turning to no account, it was believed their obstinacy might be overcome by continually inculcating the doctrine to them, or at least it would be some curb to their frequent revolts. Therefore *F. James Torres* having this year 1617 obtained an allowance of six hundred pistoles a year from the viceroy of *Peru*, for the support of the society, he resolved to fix two constant seats of the society in this valley, and accordingly sent four fathers with full power from the governor and bishop, to build towns and churches, and do all other things for the well governing of those people as they should think fit. The *Indians* were willing enough to entertain the fathers, not so much for the sake of religion, as because their numbers being much diminished during the late wars, they now thought themselves inferior to the *Spaniards*, and therefore were glad to have an honourable opportunity offered them of putting an end to the war. For this reason the principal men went out to meet the fathers, offering their assistance towards building of their houses; and having carried the fathers about the neighbouring villages, diligently built a chappel in a convenient place, with cells made of mud and straw. This place in gratitude to cardinal *Ferdinand Borromæus*, was dedicated to *S. Charles Borromæus*. After some time *Christopher Torres*, who was superior of that mission, leaving two fathers there, went away with a companion to the further part of the valley, where he settled another mansion, un-

Fathers go
to reside
there.

der the invocation of the blessed virgin *Mary*, the *Indians* assisting as the others had done. From these two seats they were in continual motion over all the valley, endeavouring to propagate the faith, but with very little success, the customs of those barbarous people being too opposite to christian religion, and therefore it will be proper in this place once for all to give an account of their manners. It was suspected that these *Calchaquines* were descended from the *Jews*, because at the first coming of the *Spaniards* among them, many of them had the names of *David* and *Solomon*; besides, the eldest among them affirmed, that their forefathers used to circumcise themselves. It was also a custom among them to raise seed to their dead brothers; and their garments hanging down to the ground gathered up with a girdle, shews something of a *Jewish* custom. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of *Joseph d' Acosta* and other writers, who affirm the *Americans* to be descended from the *Jews*. The whole nation like the *Jews*, is superstitious even to madness. They frequently adore trees adorned with feathers, so that what was said formerly of the synagogue may be well applied to them, *Thou didst fall down under every flourishing tree*. They worship the sun as their prime God, the thunder and lightning as next to him. They pay an honour to heaps of stones, which are the monuments of their ancestors, which is a further instance of their *Jewish* extraction. They give much honour to forcerers, whom they use as physicians and priests, being most notable impostors. These men live in solitary hermitages, conversing with the devil, or at least pretending so to do. It is the duty of these priests to bring up others to their hellish practices. They practise all sorts of extravagancies with these novices, and are as mad and abominable in these their filthy debaucheries, as can possibly be imagined from the worst of men, inflamed with continual drunkenness and rage. When they are heated with wine, they fall upon one another in a riotous manner to revenge past injuries, battering one another's heads with their bows. In these drunken frays, it is an everlasting shame to shun a stroke, or put it by with the hand; but it is reckoned the greatest honour to receive several wounds, to shed much blood, and to have their faces made hideous. In the heat of their madness, the priest muttering many words, consecrates the skull of a hind, stuck full of arrows, to the sun, praying for a good harvest; this done, he delivers the skull to another, who receiving it becomes head of the next mad revels. Thus the prime men of the nation giving the token round, spend their lives in raving mirth. At their sacrifices

Customs of
these people.

Their funerals.

fices they are daub'd with the blood of beasts by the forcerer. But they are never so mad as at their funerals. All the kindred and friends repair to the dying man's house to drink together day and night, as long as the distemper lasts. They encompass the sick man's bed with abundance of arrows stuck into the ground, that death may not dare to approach for fear of them. As soon as the party is dead, they bewail him with the loudest cries they are able, place all sorts of meat and wine about the dead body, which is seated on a chair, make fires, and burn a sort of leaves instead of frankincense. To move compassion, both men and women shew the dead person's goods to the multitude; whilst others, dancing and leaping after a distracted manner, clap meat to the mouth of the dead carcase, as if it were to eat it, and then swallow it themselves. Having spent eight days in these and such like follies, they bury the body, casting into the same grave with him, his dogs, arms, horses, and other goods, besides abundance of garments offer'd by his friends. This done, they burn the house he died in, that death may never return thither again. Having spent a whole year in mourning, they celebrate the anniversary with the same ceremonies. Instead of mourning cloaths, they paint their bodies black. That nothing may be done amiss, they make use of a master of the ceremonies. They believe no body dies a natural, but all violent deaths, which error makes them always full of jealousies and fighting; the devil, to promote war, sometimes whether truly or falsely laying their deaths at some persons doors by the mouths of their forcerers. They think the souls of their friends after death are converted into stars, whose brightness is proportionable to the high post they had in this world, or the brave actions they perform'd. On festival days they make themselves crowns of feathers of several colours. Their hair, which reaches down to the waist they wreathe with ribbons like women. Their arms are cover'd as high as the elbow with silver or copper plates, which is useful for shooting with their bows, and some ornament to them. The chief men of the nation wear a silver or copper ring within a diamond or coronet of some other matter about their heads. Youths are forbid having to do with women, till they are emancipated or made free by their forcerers. Maidens wear cloaths of several colours, which, when they have lost their maidenheads, are chang'd into one colour only. The factions among them are almost continually destroying one another in warlike manner. The women are most powerful to reconcile the two jarring parties, and produce peace, those most barbarous peo-

Gross errors.

Garments.

Women peace-makers.

ple easily granting any thing at the request of those that bore and suckled them. It was reported there were at this time about thirty thousand natives living in abundance of villages; but I find even those that went to instruct that nation differ about the number. But this they all agree in, that the *Calchaquines* are easily induc'd to imbrace the Christian faith, as they are afterwards ready without any cause to renounce it. Not one of those, who had been formerly baptiz'd, liv'd at this time like a Christian, but resided promiscuously among the heathens, following the customs of their forefathers. For which reason the fathers agreed, that for the future none should be baptiz'd, but at the point of death, or after several years trial. Infants were more easily admitted to baptism. Because the ancient deprav'd customs of the *Indians* were to be abolish'd, before the laws of Christianity could be introduced, therefore the fathers spared no labour, but, without regarding the danger of death, cast down idols wheresoever they came, exclaim'd against their funeral rites, and hindred their being performed about any body that had been baptiz'd. Besides, they took much pains to dissuade many from the opinion they held that nothing was a sin, and therefore they had no need of confession. But tho' the fathers gain'd few proselytes among that perverse people, yet it was a comfort to them that they often baptiz'd dying infants, and sometimes others grown up, and kept that nation from revolting openly against the *Spaniards*, and warring among themselves. Besides the usual allowance for the subsistence of the fathers, the king sent bells and church-stuff for both those mansion-houses.

We now enter upon the sixth book of our author, and find nothing in his two first chapters, but little excursions of the *Jesuits*, and therefore wholly omitted; in the third we find this following account of a *Brasilian* impostor, who repaired to the town of *Loreto* in the province of *Guaira* attended by a man-servant and a woman. All the way he came this forcerer had practised his frauds, and as soon as he arriv'd at *Loreto*, the residence of *F. Cataldinus*, he there gather'd the multitude by the river side, and putting on a garment of feathers used by forcerers, and shaking a sort of rattle made of a goat's skull, crying after a mad manner, he proclaim'd himself absolute lord of death, seed and harvest, that all things were subject to his power; that he could destroy all things with his breath, and create them again; that he was three in persons, and but one God. For, said the blasphemous wretch, *I begot my companion* (that was his man) *with the splendor of my*

TECHO.

Punishment of a forcerer.

TECHO. *my face, and this young woman proceeded from us both, whom we equally love, making use of her by turns.* This monster of a man astonish'd those ignorant people, and he, the more to terrify them, roar'd after a hideous manner, that he would make a mighty slaughter, and presuming to rave before *F. Cataldinus*, shaking his rattle, skipping, repeating his blasphemies against the Blessed Trinity, and declaring, if they durst attempt any thing against him, he would destroy their converts and their priests. The father justly provoked, order'd those that were next to seize him, and being deliver'd to the officers, the sham God was well whip'd; and tho' he cry'd out after a few stripes, that he was no God, nor any thing different from any other vile fellow; that all his divinity was vanish'd, and he had no power in his breath; yet the lusty converts who had him in hand left not off, till they had given him an hundred lashes by tale, the boys laughing and making sport at him. The two following days he was again publicly scourg'd, that he might three times abjure his being God three in persons. This punishment brought him to a right understanding; for his man and woman being detain'd at *Loreto*, he was banish'd the province for a time, which being expir'd he return'd and became a Christian.

Plague.

This happen'd about the year 1618, at which time a raging plague ran through all the province of *Guaira*, which abundance of the new converts believing would be less contagious if they were dispers'd, they fled in shoals from the new towns, into their ancient woods, so that the last of the three towns erected in that province was utterly ruin'd. The heathens, to whom some of them fled, endeavour'd to persuade them quite to abandon the towns, and restore themselves to their ancient liberty; adding threats to their persuasions, and declaring there was nothing they so earnestly desir'd, as to have one merry bout at drinking out of a priest's skull. Howsoever, when the plague abated, the fathers, with the assistance of the most faithful of the converts, began to gather up those that had surviv'd out of the woods and marshes, some travelling one way, and some another; and having brought together all the converts, they by continual labour drew a great number of infidels, which more than made amends for what the plague had destroy'd. The converts, who were continually searching out the wild *Indians* between the rivers *Parana* and *Huibaio*, light upon a sort of men more fierce than generally the *Guairanians* are. Many of these had fastened three or five little stones in their lips, which stuck out, and made them look hideous. They liv'd in cottages not so high as them-

A wild people.

selves. All their food was dates, the pith of the palm-trees, some little venison and roots. Having no iron, they supply'd that want with sharp stones and bones fix'd to long wooden handles. They had no name to express God, but worship'd the thunder as their only Deity. The fathers brought seventy-three of these men at one time to inhabit the town; but being us'd to feed upon such things as grew naturally, and to live in shady woods, they all but four dy'd within a year, having been first baptiz'd. About this time some of the planters of *Brasil* that went about to take *Indians*, came to the new towns of *Guaira*, reporting they had cross'd a vast country as far as the river *Marannon*, and telling many wonderful things they had seen, which, their authority not being very good, we shall not impose upon the reader, as not becoming the authority of this history. Among other things, they said they had found some memory among those people of *St. Thomas* having preach'd there, of which, because I find some account from better hands, I will here say something.

Of *S. Thomas* the apostle's being in the Indies.

F. Joseph Cataldinus and *Simon Maceta* being employ'd about reducing the people about the river *Parapana* to live in towns, *Maracana*, a powerful man among those *Indians*, and several other heathens, told them, *They had a tradition from their ancestors, that St. Thomas (whom they call Zume Brasili, as the Guairians do in their language) formerly travel'd thro' Guairania, and prophesy'd to those country people, that it would come to pass in process of time, that all their nation should be reduc'd to two towns, by men carrying crosses in their hands; which they said was fulfill'd, by building the towns of Loreto and St. Ignatius.* Seven years after, the same *F. Cataldinus* preaching the gospel to the *Pirapoensians*, and after him other fathers in several parts of *Guaira*, found the same memory and prophecy of *St. Thomas* still preserv'd; which is confirm'd by part of a letter written by *F. Emanuel Nobrega*, visitor of *Brasil*, in the year 1552, whose words are these. *The natives, (says he) that is, the Brasilians, have some knowledge of St. Thomas, and have it deliver'd down to them by their ancestors, that he travel'd this way, and affirm his footsteps are still to be seen near a certain river, which that I might be more certain of, I went myself, and with my own eyes beheld the impression of four feet and the toes made pretty deep, which are sometimes cover'd by the swelling water. They report those impressions were made as St. Thomas fled from his persecutors, who would have kill'd him, and that the river divided itself, through the midst of which he pass'd without wetting his feet, and went away to India. They also recount, that the arrows shot at him, return'd*

Account of him in Brasil.

return'd back upon those that shot them; that the woods through which he pass'd made way for him; and he promis'd he would some time return to visit those countries. Thus far Nobrega. Nor is what Orlandinus relates in his history of the society unlike this. There is a path still to be seen by such as travel out of *Brasil* to *Guaira*, to which the natives have given the name of *St. Thomas*, believing the apostle travel'd that way. This path continues much the same all the year about, the grass growing on it but low, and quite different from the adjoining fields, which are very full of grass, and looks like a way made by art; which the fathers teaching in *Guaira* affirm they have often seen, but never without astonishment. Besides, near the metropolis of *Paraguay*, there is a sharp rock, having a small flat space at the top, on which there is still the prints of mens feet in the stone, and the natives affirm, That from thence the apostle *St. Thomas* us'd to preach the law of God to the multitude resorting to him from all parts; adding, That he taught them to plant the *Mandioca*, of which they make their sort of wooden meal. *Laurence Grado*, bishop of *Paraguay*, and afterwards of *Cusco*, as also *Francis Alfaro* of the king's council, affirm, They found footsteps of the same apostle in the province of *Misqua*. The *Peruvians* shew a seamless garment of an unknown stuff, found among the ashes of a burning mountain, a pair of shoes of a most fragrant smell. As *James Alvarez de Paz* affirms, Prints of feet upon stone with exotic characters, and a path through the reeds on the marsh of *Titiaca*, are still plain to be discern'd. And men of authority are of opinion all these things belong to *St. Thomas* the apostle, because of the memory there is of him among the *Indians*, who call him *Tume*. *Torribius*, archbishop of *Lima*, renowned for sanctity of life, caus'd that rock on which the prints of a man's feet are, to be inclos'd with a chappel; and before the coming of the *Spaniards*, *Colla Tupa*, tutor to *Guarcar Inga* in his youth, caus'd that rock to be worship'd. In the province of the *Cachensians*, there are rocks still to be seen, scorched with fire from heaven, sent down to punish the people's attempting to kill a certain man that taught the law of God; which man the *Colla*, another people of *Peru*, held in such veneration, that they call'd him the Son of the universal Creator. But nothing makes so much for my purpose, as the cross at *Carabuco*, famous through all *Peru*. *Carabuco* is a small town of convert *Indians*, upon the lake of *Titiaca*, under which, upon information receiv'd from the *Indians*, *Sarmiento*, curate of the place, after much digging, found a cross, soon after famous for working many

miracles; among which one very remarkable is, its growing up again as fast as bits of it are cut out to satisfy people's devotion. It is a receiv'd opinion that this cross was formerly erected at *Carabuco* by *St. Thomas* the apostle. The devils at the same time declaring, they would give no answers by their oracles, till it was taken away, and therefore the *Indians* cast it into the adjoining lake; which they having often repeated, and finding it still swimming on the water, and that no fire would consume it, at last they dug deep under that lake *Titiaca*, and bury'd it, laying a vast heap of earth upon it. The signs of their having in vain attempted to burn it, are still visible upon it. But there being no such wood as this cross of *Carabuco* is made of, to be found either in *Peru*, or the adjacent countries; *Anthony Ruis* guesses the apostle carry'd it through the provinces of *Guaira* and *Paraguay* out of *Brasil*, where, he says, there are many trees of that sort, which he hath seen himself. But if any body should object the weight of it, which is above three horse-loads, they may as well refuse to give credit to *Orosius*, who affirms, That at *Malepur* or *Meliapor*, a town in *Cambeia*, where the apostle's tomb is to be seen, they to this day shew a piece of timber miraculously brought thither, which is so vastly big, that a great number of oxen, or, as *Mendoza* says, several yoke of elephants cannot stir it out of the place where it is. If any man make a question, which way the apostle sail'd into *America*, let him read *Navarcha's Asiatick* epistle, where he proves that might be done without any miracle. I am not ignorant how many stories of *St. Thomas's* travels are counted as apocrypha; for as it is certain the sound of the apostles was spread throughout the earth, so it is doubtful which way every one went. Therefore I rather relate than affirm what has been here said, lest by omitting it, I seem to contradict the opinions of grave men; or by asserting, to deliver conjectures for certain truth. Let us proceed to what is better known.

The fathers sent to convert and instruct the people of the *Archipelago* of *Chiloe*, on the coast of *Chili*, before spoken of, built among those islands eighty little chappels, and spent the whole year sailing from one to another to assist those poor people. The fathers *Melchior Vanegas* and *John Baptist Ferrusin*, sent thither by the provincial *F. James Torres*, were by him order'd to inquire diligently into the manners of the *Chunians* and *Huillans*, inhabiting near the straights of *Magellan*, and to send him an account if there was any hope of propagating the gospel among them. *Delco*, the chief man among the *Chunians*, satisfied their

In Paraguay.

In Peru.

TECHO.

TECHO. their desires. He being used to come from his country to the islands of *Chiloe* on account of trade, trafficking with the *Spaniards*, found the precious stone of the gospel, and having taken the name of *Peter* in baptism, desir'd nothing so ardently, as that his son might receive the same grace. He repairing to the fathers, then busy among the islands upon this account gave 'em very great comfort. He brought along with him in five vessels, besides his own family, a numerous train, and one well skill'd in the language of *Chiloe*, who serv'd for his interpreter; and after a courteous reception, being ask'd concerning the manners of the *Chunians* and *Huillans*, he deliver'd himself to the fathers to this effect; 'Three days journey (said he) from the *Archipelago* of *Chiloe* is *Guatana*, the first island of the *Chunians*; all the way thither is thro' a sea subject to continual storms, which is not very dangerous to the islanders, who by continual practice are perfectly acquainted with the sea and winds; but if strangers go thither, the hazard of being cast away is almost inevitable, by reason of the shoals and narrow channels. The whole nation lives partly on the continent of *America*, and partly in an infinite number of islands not far distant from the shore, but these so thinly peopled, that none among 'em, except *Guatana*, contains above three or four families. The soil is all barren, stony, and wild, scarce bearing any grain. The trees, as to greenness, are much more dismal than those of *Chiloe*. The natives live upon fish and what the sea casts up, the women diving to the bottom, and soon after coming up with great store of fish in baskets hanging about their necks; their greatest want is fresh water. They press an oil out of sea-wolves, which they drink, and know of no other wine or delicate liquor. Having drank a great deal of that oil, and gorg'd themselves with eating unreasonably of fish, they vomit it up, and so celebrate their bacchanals with motions like drunken men that they may not seem to be outdone by the neighbouring nations, whose drunken feasts are their principal merriment. Yet at present the *Indian* wheat, of which drink is made, grows indifferently well in the island of *Guatana*, my native country. The natives are for the most part red-hair'd, of an olive-colour complexion, and of a mild disposition. In the remoter islands they breed dogs with long hair and manes, whom they trim, and of their hair make garments, so short, that they cover nothing but the shoulders and breast, covering their nakedness with seaweeds, or leaves of a vast bigness grow-

Their
food.

Drink.

ing in the sea, and harden'd in the sun.' *Delco* deliver'd himself much to this purpose; 'The condition of the *Huillans*, who are near the straight of *Magellan*, is much more miserable, and their disposition more barbarous. They live in almost 50 deg. of south latitude, in a very cold climate, and stark naked, build moveable huts of the barks of trees, in the shape of a cone or sugar-loaf, eat nothing dress'd, and nothing but raw fish and oysters. Their skin's almost black, and their hair so harsh and upright, that it looks more like a bush than man's hair. Their number is small, and they give no other reason for it, but that the nature of the country, and the incursions of their enemies, suffer them not to increase, for the *Chunians* hunt after the *Huillans* as if they were wild beasts, and either keep 'em as slaves, or sell 'em in the islands of *Chiloe*, or else give 'em away; and they are still happier in slavery than in their own country. They rather make a noise than talk. They're of no use in the world before being transported. They learn the language of *Chiloe* but to drive the birds from their corn-fields, like scarecrows, being equally fit to fright and to be frightened.' By the help of the interpreter, *John Baptist Ferrusin* in two days time translated the ten commandments, some principal prayers, and the *Confiteor*, into the *Chunian* language, so successfully, that the poor *Indians* were besides themselves for joy. *Delco* earnestly begg'd his son might be baptiz'd, but he being not sufficiently instructed, and the *Chunians* obliged to return home, 'twas put off till another opportunity, those people most humbly intreating the fathers to go along with them, which could not be granted, to the great sorrow of those distress'd converts, who had no other comfort, but that *F. Melchior Vanegas* promis'd he would let slip no opportunity of procuring the health of their souls. Yet, for ten years following, those nations had no help but what some few of 'em receiv'd, who came to the islands of *Chiloe*. Till this year 1619, the aforementioned *F. Melchior Vanegas* and *Matthew Stephanus*, with great danger and trouble sail'd over to the island *Guatana*, where *Delco*, being inform'd of their coming, had built a chapel after the manner of those of *Chiloe*, and gather'd as many of his people as he could, that they might be baptiz'd and receiv'd into the number of the faithful. Thence they pass'd over to the continent and other islands, where they found abundance very desirous of learning the Christian doctrine; yet baptiz'd only two hundred and twelve, because they could not be longer absent from their own province.

The Huil-
lans.

Their
houses.

Let

Urvaica
river and
province.

Let us return from the south sea towards the *Atlantick* and *Brazil*. The river *Urvaica* of the first magnitude, rising out of a small spring in the mountains of *Brazil*, carries but a small stream for a long way and without any considerable name, till having swallowed many streams and considerable rivers on both sides, and by that means increased its store, it becomes equal to, if not greater than the *Paraguay*, and falls into the river of *Plata*, a little above the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where losing its name and channel, as it were for a punishment of its presumption, it is hurried away into the sea. For when it has once left *Brazil*, running directly up the inland, it gives a turn and runs continually parallel to the river *Parana*, not much inferior to it for greatness. Great stones and rocks lying in it at certain distances, make it incapable of ships of burden; but when it has received the winter floods from the rains and other rivers, swelling over its shoals, vast rocks and both banks, unless where confined by mighty topping shores, it spreads its waters like a sea. It runs two hundred leagues from its source with a mighty noise, being straightened by continual ridges of rocks and woods, till having with much struggling rid itself of those troublesome obstacles, it glides more gently along the plains. The woods, which abound in monkeys, tygers, parrots and other sorts of creatures, differ but little from those of *Parana*. Formerly nothing was to be seen in the fields, but ostriches, lions and several sorts of goats and deer; at present all that vast extent of land on both sides the river is pasture, covered by an infinite number of cows and horses; as if these beasts had succeeded in the place of men, who formerly in great multitudes inhabited these plains, but are now very thin considering the largeness of the country. The province *Urvaica*, so called from the river of that name, reaches as far in length as the river. On the east it has *Brazil* and the *Atlantick* ocean, on the west *Parana*, on the north *Guaira*, and on the south the river of *Plata*; and is divided into several provinces distinguished by as many barbarous languages. Among them all the *Guaraneans* far excel the rest, both in number and aptness to be civilized and become christians. The first *European* I can find that attempted to discover this province, was *Ramon* or *Raimund*, sent thither by *Garot* the discoverer of south *America* for the emperor *Charles V.* in the year 1526. He sailing up the river in a frigate, was slain in battle by the *Charvoes* a most fierce people, with many of his companions. Afterwards, in the year 1557, an hundred and twenty *Spaniards* were sent by the governor *Martin Irala*, to build a

First discoverers of
Urvaica.

town near the mouth of the river *Urvaica*. But the very first year of their settling there, the natives tired them out with such continual attacks, that they were forced to abandon the colony. As they were sailing back to *Paraguay*, a most dismal accident befel them; for many of them being gone ashore at noon to dine, the high bank on which they sat, on a sudden opening and sinking under them, drew those persons that were dining, after it into the river, making so great a commotion in the water, that one of the ships being overset, stuck its mast in the bottom of the river, not one of those that went out to dine escaping. But the ship recovering, brought up a woman alive after she had been many fathom under water. About the year 1610, the governor *Ferdinand Arias* made his way with some *Spanish* troops to the province of *Urvaica*; but hearing of the great multitudes of natives there were in those parts, retired ingloriously without doing any thing; for the *Barbarians* had secured themselves by spreading the terror of their name far and near, in so much that the *Spaniards*, as covetous as they were to make themselves masters of those vast countries, so famous for the fruitfulness of the soil, plenty of pasture, and conveniency of their rivers, yet despaired of ever subduing the *Urvaicans* by force of arms. This great work was resolved to be performed by the preaching the gospel, and the first that attempted it was *F. Roch Gonzalez*. Whilst he and *F. James Boroa* were teaching the law of God upon the river *Parana*, some of the *Urvaicans*, attracted by the fame of the new religion, came several times to the new town of *Itapua*, under pretence of trade, and were there courteously entertained by the fathers, hoping the christian faith might be propagated in their country. The small number of preachers obstructed it for a long while, till the provincial *Peter Onate* being re-inforced, appointed *F. Roch Gonzalez* for this great work. He set out attended by a small number of converts, and having travelled through dismal places as far as the brook *Aracuta*, which runs into the river *Urvaica*, found there a great number of *Indians*, who had notice of their coming by their spies, and were there naked, armed with clubs and bows, haughtily commanding him to proceed no farther, because it would certainly cost him his life. His companions terrified by their threats left him, but he lay in a wood all night with only two boys that served at mass, and the next morning *Quaracipucutius*, a *Cacique* of note came to him, promising his protection against his country people. By his solicitation several *Caciques* met, and resolved to hear the father, who having declared to them the cause

TECHO.

Manner of
introducing
Christianity.

TECHO. of his coming, so far prevailed, that *Nieza*, the most powerful of all the *Caciques*, invited him to his village. The river *Urvaica* was two leagues from this village, whither he went with *Nieza*, and gathering a multitude of *Indians*, set up a cross of a mighty bigness on the bank of it, teaching those people to pay a devout veneration to it, for having expounded the mystery of the redemption, and thereupon kissed the cross, all the heathens fell down and worshiped it. There is a place a league distant from the river *Urvaica*, called *Ibitiraqua*, where several of the *Caciques* assembling upon the day of the conception of the virgin *Mary*, *F. Gonzalez* marked out the ground for a town, to which he gave the name of the *Conception*, and abundance of *Indians* from all parts resorted to inhabit it; so that it afterwards became the metropolis of the province of *Urvaica*. Some *Indians* beyond, and others upon the river, at first threatened the new town, but were soon appeased by *F. Gonzalez*. He by the provincial's order, set out with a few converts to discover all the river down to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, which the *Indians* beyond the river being informed of, and imagining he went to bring in the *Spaniards*, now he was acquainted with their country, they pursued with a resolution to murder him, but he let them pass by in a dark night, and returned to the town of the *Conception* without daring to proceed further. Being disappointed of this design, he applied himself to build another town, which, that it might be done with less danger of his life, he caused the converts to appoint a general hunting, as they call it, to which the *Urvaicans* dwelling in all the neighbouring plains were invited. The manner of those general huntings is thus. The *Indian* hunters beset a large field, encompassing it with their multitude; then upon a signal given, they contract, drawing equally into a less circumference towards the center, whither all the ostriches and wild beasts retire for fear of the men; having shut them up in a very narrow compass, they give a shout for joy, and fall to slaughtering the game, which they dress and feast together: The *Indians* used to resort to this sport from far and near. *F. Gonzalez*, under pretence of seeing this sport, hoped to gain an opportunity of finding a fit place to build a town, and become acquainted with the heathens. Both these things he performed, yet could not for the present attempt the erecting of the town. Besides, at his return from the hunting, he found the plague in the new town of the *Conception*, which made the converts dislike, and found him and his companions work enough to follow them into the woods and plains, that they might not die without

General
hunting.

help. After the plague followed famine, which was so sharp, that what had escaped before, fled to remote places, eating any filthy food they met with. The forcerers gave out, this punishment was for embracing the christian faith; and the *Paranenians* were not wanting to blow the coals, but still the patience and resolution of the fathers prevailed, and they brought back the *Indians*, and restored the town.

In the year 1620, the provinces of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plata*, which, till then, had been subject to one governor and one bishop, were divided into two several governments and bishopricks; the river *Parana* being the boundary of both their jurisdictions. The first new governor of the river of *Plata*, brought over with him from *Lisbon*, contrary to the known laws, a considerable quantity of merchants goods; whereof information being given at court, the king sent over a judge with power to examine the matter. The town of *Buenos Ayres* favoured the governor, and contrived to expell the judge, who, at the same time, happened to offend the fathers at that port; whereupon some crafty friends of the governor, advised the rector to appoint a judge conservator to assert his and the society's right: The rector, who was a plain harmless man, took their advice, and appointed a judge over the king's judge: This person so appointed, being set on by the governor's emissaries, gave sentence against the king's judge for the wrong done to the society, and sent him back by force into *Spain*: The king's council in *Spain* complained of this affront to the general of the *Jesuits*, who, besides other religious punishments inflicted in private, declared the rector for ever incapable of the fourth vow of the order, and of any dignity or preferment in it. The king, on the other side, sent one of the council of *Peru* to punish the abettors of that insolence, who is said to have fined them in eighty thousand pistoles: Discord at this time, like a plague, ran through the whole province, and particularly the towns of *Sancta Fe* and the *Assumption*. About the same time a *Spaniard* being abroad in the field, was set upon by a tyger, which had broke through a ring of *Indians*, and with much difficulty escaped alive, but much torn; which accident was very remarkable, because it is the nature of tygers ever to assault the meanest creature first: Thus, if it meets a man on horse-back with a dog, it first falls upon the dog, then the horse, and last of all the man; nay, it goes further, and makes choice of men, so that if it meet an *Indian*, a *Black*, and an *European* together, the *Indian* is first attacked, then the *Black*, and next the *European*: Even among *Spaniards* it makes a distinction,

Nature of
tygers.

Exequies
of the
Guaicure-
ans.

tion, and picks out those first that have most mixture of *Indian* blood. This section being composed of several matters, as they occurred in the author; tho' we have elsewhere treated of the *Guaicureans*, we will here insert the manner of their performing the funeral exequies. F. *Joseph Oregius* had baptized their chief commander, who was always a friend to the society, but would never be reconciled to christianity till a little before his death: Whilst the father was burying the body after the christian manner, the *Indians* made a dismal howling lamentation, and rending and breaking into pieces all his garments, ensigns, garlands, bow, and all his other goods, scattered them abroad in the air: Some blooded themselves at the calves of their legs in great abundance, others expressed their grief by mad motions, killing all the dogs, parrots, and other creatures their commander delighted in; and had certainly murdered and thrust into his grave, a woman and her son to serve him, as they fancied, in the other world, had not F. *Oregius*, by his authority prevented it: His son *James Francis* succeeded him in the command, who being a christian, gave great hopes of propagating the faith; but the fierceness of the people disappointed that expectation, and very few were gained the following years.

Of the
baptism
of the
Blacks.

Tho' it may seem something foreign to our purpose, yet because our author thought fit to insert it, and the curious reader may for variety sake be pleased with an argument concerning a nice point in matter of religion; I have resolved not to omit a controversy that arose about baptism, and 'twas whether the baptism of the *Blacks* brought from *Angola* was valid or not; some being of opinion, that the said *Blacks* newly brought over, ought to be baptized conditionally, others denying it: Those who were against rebaptizing, argued thus. That it was not allowable to call in question what the prelates on that coast of *Africk*, which was subject to the catholic king, did in relation to conferring of sacraments: That if scruples were started on that account, the ignorant *Blacks* throughout *America*, seeing their countrymen rebaptized, will never rest till the same were granted them. That to prevent an evil which might very rarely happen, there would be a snare laid to an innumerable multitude. That it was not denied, there might sometimes be defects in the baptism of those people, but for the most part they were not such as touched the validity of it. That even among hereticks, baptism was not duly administered; and yet it was rare that hereticks converted were ever rebaptized. That the baptism of the blacks had

never been called in question for so many years past, and therefore such an innovation, tho' never so much palliated under the shew of religion, would be suspicious. This they said that opposed it; the other party alledged, that it would be no reflection on the prelates of the coast of *Africk*, if those defects which they desired to correct, but could not, were rectified in any other part of the world. That it was not to be called a niceness or scruple to secure the salvation of so many souls, which was otherwise dubious. That the *Blacks*, who had once been examined, would easily be pacified. That it was improper to instance the baptism of hereticks, who rarely do any thing to invalidate it; but yet in those things wherein they erred, the errors were cautiously to be rectified; but as for the point of innovation urged by the other part, it did not at all make to the purpose, because it is certain, there daily arise disputes started by ingenious persons upon several matters, which, as circumstances vary, alter from the former state they were in. Thus they argued on both sides, but the time of starting this doubt, and cause of it, was as follows. In the year 1605, F. *James Torres*, who was then laying the foundation of the province of *Quito*, observing that many thousand *Blacks* were every year brought out of *Africk* unto *America*, by the way of the port of *Cartagena*, he committed the care of them to F. *Alonso de Sandoval*, who afterwards composed a very useful book, about restoring the *Blacks* to a state of salvation, and dedicated it to the same F. *James Torres*. He often inquiring after *African* traders, after what manner the *Blacks* were baptized at *Loanda*, and finding by several years experience, how ignorant most of them were of the mysteries of christianity, thought he would do a very good work, in composing a small book, and directing it to the archbishop of *Seville*, shewing it was his opinion, that the baptism of most *Blacks* brought out of *Africk* into *Europe* and *America* was void for want of catechizing them; and that therefore they ought not to be admitted to other sacraments, till they were conditionally baptized. The book pleased the archbishop, who caused it to be examined by learned men, not only of the society, but of other orders, who all were of *Sandoval's* opinion. By their consent the archbishop passed a decree, ordering all *Blacks* brought into his diocese, without exception, to be examined by able men; and those that they had any scruple about to be conditionally baptized. The bishops of *Mexico* and *New Granada* soon followed his example, and appointed examiners of the *Blacks* in the sea-port towns. The news hereof being brought into *Tucuman*,

TETCHO. man, F. James Torres laboured to introduce that examination there, with much opposition from the adverse party. Whilst the controversy was depending, he received letters from F. Jerome Bogado, rector of the college of the society of *Angola*, whom F. Torres had sent to consult upon the matter, the very words were these. F. James Torres, *Your reverence is in the right in questioning the baptism of the Blacks sent out of Africk into other parts; for, in my opinion, they are not baptized, and ought, at least, to be conditionally re-baptized, because they receive baptism without being scarce catechized: For the day before they sail, they are carried in troops to the vicar; by whom, being asked all together, whether they desire to be made christians? and a few words more said to them, they are baptized, and have christian names given them, before they understand what faith they embrace. I have often charged the vicar generals with this great neglect, in the presence of the bishops, but to no purpose; for though at first when they have been checked, they are more careful of their duty, yet they soon relapse into their former negligence, and serve those poor wretches after an undue manner. The bishop thinks he had sufficiently cleared his conscience, if he lays some punishment upon the vicars that are accused of such neglect.* Thus F. Bogado. When these letters were read, the controversy ceased, and all the fathers applied themselves to the relief of that miserable nation. This may suffice, as to the matter of the baptism of *Blacks*, which I thought worthy to be inserted, being a curious point which may give the reader satisfaction.

Town of
Corpus
Christi.

The plague continued to rage in the province of *Parana*, in the year 1622, yet the fathers supplied the places of those that died in their town, with new converts brought out of the woods, and were so successful as to build a new town. The *Indians* are fifteen leagues distant from the *Itapuans* up the river, and had been earnestly solicited by F. Gonzalez for some years, to join with the *Itapuans*, but either the natural fierceness, or the natural love of their country, had still made them refuse; yet, at this time, they became so well inclined to christianity, that, of their own accord, they asked for fathers to be sent among them. F. James Borca and F. Peter Romero went and found all things to their mind; so that very few opposing it, they applied themselves to build a new town, upon the banks of the river *Inian*, which falls into the *Parana*, giving it the name of *Corpus Christi*, under which it flourishes to this day. Not far from it are the rivers *Tibiapo*, *Pirapo* and *Caapibari*, whence many inhabitants have been drawn to the new town, and in the year 1670 there

were computed five thousand souls to have been baptized there: About the same time this new town was built, a number of wild *Indians*, of the province of *Ibitaranbeta* in *Brazil*, came to the woods of the town of *Loreto* in *Guaira*, to fetch wood to make their arrows; some few of which nation had been among the converts at *Loreto*, and told them that their country swarmed in men. F. Cataldinus laid hold of this opportunity, in hopes of converting those people; and having, by means of their converts, entertained many of them lovingly in his town, desired he would take them along with them, to teach them the christian religion. *Nambabaius* their *Cacique*, said he was willing enough to do it, but that he feared it might cost them both their lives. The father being willing to expose himself to the danger, went along with him, and they travelled a month up the river *Tibasica*; but as soon as they came near the borders of *Ibitirambeta*, the *Cacique Nambabaius* stole away before the people knew of his bringing the father: He thinking it a rashness to go on, sent two youths to invite the *Caciques* of *Ibitirambeta* to come to him, but they with threats prevailed with one of those youths to marry among them, tho' he was married before, and renounce christianity; the other, rather than comply, suffered himself to be cut in pieces and eaten by them. Whilst these things were doing, F. Frances Vasquez, who had been sent procurator into *Europe*, arrived at the port of *Buenos Ayres*, with a supply of twenty-one fathers. The F. John Vas had taught sixteen converts musick, which played and sang so well, that they gave extraordinary satisfaction. These new fathers brought over the catholic king's, and pope Gregory the fifteenth's letters patent for erecting universities in the province, and accordingly the city *Cordova* in the province of *Tucuman*, and that of *Santiago* or *S. James* in the kingdom of *Chili*, had that honour conferred on them. There were now in this province of the society, eleven colleges, two residences, one noviceship, and thirteen small houses among the *Indians*, and in them a hundred and ninety fathers.

Nicholas Durandus, the new provincial Town of of the *Jesuits*, in the year 1623, erected a *Salta*. college of the society at *Salta*, a small *Spanish* town, built in the year 1582, not far from the borders of *Peru*, and at the very entrance of the valley of *Calchaquina*, to curb that barbarous nation, by *Ferdinand* of *Lerma*, governor of the province of *Tucuman*. The town furnished all necessities for building the house and church; and the provincial perceiving the fathers, who had been sent into the valley six years before, and settled there, did reap no fruit worthy

A pleasant
dance.

The Ta-
rosians.

worthy of their labours, called them away, thinking it enough for the present, if they made some excursions at times from the town of *Salta*. The news being brought into those southern parts, that *S. Ignatius Loiola*, and *S. Francis Xaverius* had been canonized the year before, there was extraordinary rejoicing in most costly manner, not only in the *Spanish* cities, but even in the *Indian* towns. The pleasantest sight, for its novelty, was in the town of the *Assumption*, where a number of *Urvaican* boys, lately made christians, and brought thither by *F. Roch Gonzalez*, were divided into two troops, the one in the *Indian*, the other in the christian habit, and represented a battle, dancing very dextrously to the musick: The *Indians* distinguishable by the variety of their feathers, were armed with clubs and bows, the Christians with long crosses. It was diverting to see them sometimes all mixed, and then presently parted; sometimes fiercely attacking one another; sometimes falling into two ranks, and then mixing again, as if they would destroy one another: And after they had thus fought a considerable time, the christians got the day, and the musick following to another tune, they led the *Indians* as their prisoners, and presented them to their bishop and governor, to express they became subjects to the church and catholick king. At this solemnity *Quaracipucutius* a *Cacique*, and twenty-three more *Urvaicans*, brought to the feast by *F. Gonzalez*, were baptized. Soon after, a controversy arising between the society and bishop of *Paraguay*, he sent complaints against them into *Spain*, and took from them their schools in the town of the *Assumption*; but it was not long before he was reduced to restore them, and be reconcil'd. The governor of the river of *Plate* had desired of the last provincial, to send *F. Peter Romero*, who was skilful in managing the *Indians* upon the river *Urvaico*, to try whether the *Tarosians* might be brought under, and a new town built at the mouth of the said river. Though the mouth of the river *Urvaica* be not far from *Buenos Ayres*, yet no body had dared to venture up it, the numerous *Indians* on both sides, all of them fierce people, and speaking several languages, having refused all commerce with strangers. Among them all, the *Tarosians* and *Charuans* were most obstinate in adhering to their ancient customs; living dispersed, utterly strangers to husbandry, and any form of government; and so very barbarous, that they cut off a joint of a finger at the death of every one of their kindred, so that there are several of them who have nothing left but the bare palm of their hand. Before the coming of the *Spaniards* they lived upon ostriches, o-

ther fowl, venison and fish: At present ^{Techno.} they ride about the plains, there being vast herds of oxen and horses: They feed, for the most part, on beef half raw, generally use slings, and are so expert at them, that they often hit birds flying, and knock down the largest beasts. *F. Romero* ventur'd among them attended only by one *Spaniard* and a few *Indians* that rowed: Wheresoever they went, they met fierce men, with their bodies anointed, their hair hanging below their shoulders, their limbs deformed with much pricking of them, and formidable for their hideous voices. These being exhorted to embrace religion and civility, positively refus'd admitting any alteration of their ancient manners. Nevertheless the father proceeded till he came to the first villages of the *Guaranians*, an hundred leagues distant from the mouth of the river *Urvaica*, and was very desirous to make his way through, to that part of the province *Urvaica*, where *F. Gonzalez* four years before had founded the town of the *Conception*; but the *Indians* would not permit, threatening immediate death if he did not turn back. Therefore finding none of those people ripe for the gospel, he returned to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to give an account of what he had seen to his provincial and the king's governor.

The provincial immediately sent him ^{The Guai-} back to the *Guaicureans*, two hundred ^{cureans} leagues up the river of *Plate* and *Parana*, ^{instructed.} where he employed all his talent with his companion in reducing that nation; but the barbarity of those people frustrated the labours of those fathers. Three months after his arrival there, the commander of the *Guaicureans*, and his mother, attended by a great number of *Indians*, met the provincial, then going and visiting the college of *Assumption*, intreating him to afford their people his presence. The manner of inviting him was thus; there went before a woman singing and expressing the desires of the nation in tune, declaring in many words, how acceptable and beneficial it would be to that miserable nation to enjoy his presence; when her song was ended, the whole company, with confus'd cries desiring the same thing, oblig'd the provincial to cross the *Paraguay*, and repair to the place where the *Guaicureans* had set up the cottages of mats, about the chappel of the society, in the form of a town: The provincial articulated with the commander, that in case he would have the fathers stay amongst them, they should settle in the town and forbear unjust wars; because it was not fit that those, who had so many years since put themselves into the hands of the society, should be no ways civiliz'd. They, in appearance, submitting to the conditions, re-

TECHO. ceived some gifts from the provincial; yet very little credit was given to their promises, because many years experience had shewn, that they would not stay long in a

Customs of theirs. place, their inclinations to war being such, that they change their habitation every year almost, to find out new enemies. When they return from war, they bring home to their wives in triumphant manner, the skulls of their enemies slain; which skulls the women on festival days, bring out in great pomp, with the commendation of the people, as it were to insult over their enemies. Nay, they are sometimes so mad, as to

Madness. contend with the elements. When a storm arises, and there is much thunder or wind, they all go out in troops, as it were to battle, shaking thir clubs in the air, shooting flights of arrows that way from whence the lightning comes; and believing this shew of resolution hinders the spirits or devils, whom they look upon as the causers of all tempests, from doing any mischief. They have also some festivals in which they represent battles. There is no time of so much joy among them, as when the north winds begin to blow in that hemisphere; for then, without any regard of age or condition, they fill the air with cries, beating one another with their fists, computing the year would prove plentiful, or otherwise, according to their madness. Therefore the provincial, tho' he had but small hopes of converting those people, left the fathers there to try the utmost, who continued three years longer, and then utterly abandoned the place, when they had been in it sixteen years, without reaping any fruit among those hardened barbarians, but only the baptizing some infants, and a very few at men's estate, at the point of death. At the same time the plague raging through the province of *Parana*, made mighty havoc in the new towns of the converted *Indians*, but more especially at *Jaguapua*, where the fathers had been eight years a gathering a considerable number of *Indians*, and bringing them into the church. Here the distemper was so virulent, that after the greater part of the inhabitants had perished, those few that remained went away, some to *Itapua*, and some to other places. As soon as the infection ceased, the fathers, with infinite labour, searched all the woods, mountains and marshes, to bring fresh supplies of inhabitants to the towns. Having mentioned the town of *Itapua*, I will not omit a more than manful act of a woman of that place. A cruel tyger had seized a boy of ten years of age in the presence of the father and mother, and close by them, which the fierce beast made away with, throwing the child over its shoulder, as the fox does with a fowl. The father, astonished at the accident, fled, but the mother, whose love was tenderer, forgetting the danger, ran after the tyger, and recovering the boy, brought him back to her husband, that fierce creature never attempting to oppose her; the husband ever after confessing his wife had more courage than he.

Plague.

A brave woman.

nished at the accident, fled, but the mother, whose love was tenderer, forgetting the danger, ran after the tyger, and recovering the boy, brought him back to her husband, that fierce creature never attempting to oppose her; the husband ever after confessing his wife had more courage than he.

Something was said before of the *Ibitirambetans*, concerning whom we will add what remains in this place. Tho' the attempt made before upon them proved unsuccessful, this did not discourage the fathers *Anthony Ruiz*, *Joseph Cataldinus* and *James Salazar* from making another effort to bring them over to the flock of Christ. The whole province of *Guaira* is divided into two parts, the woody and the champain. The woody had been under the direction of the fathers for several years. But as yet they could not get into the champain, because of the inhumanity of the people, who cruelly devour strangers, and resolutely defend themselves against any foreign invasion. *Ibitirambeta* is a wooded mountain, which separates these two parts of *Guaira*, so called by the natives, because at a distance it looks like a man's head, with a rock sticking out of the chin, instead of a beard. About this mountain were abundance of villages of heathens, which being brought together would make a populous town, and be a good step towards the champain country. A year before this, as was mentioned above, the inhabitants of this mountain, cruelly slew the youth sent them by *F. Cataldinus*, and had roasted and eaten several of the people of the woody country at their feasts; for they reckon man's flesh their greatest dainty. When the fathers, after passing the rocks and precipices of the river *Tibaxiva*, came near to their borders, the converts attending them began to be seized with fear, and chiefly because *Taitetus*, a man famous for cruelty among the *Ibitirambetans*, had met a little before, and assured *F. Ruiz* that if he durst proceed he would meet with many enemies. Yet some offered to hazard themselves in carrying a message to those people. But the fathers *Ruiz* and *Cataldinus*, leaving *F. James Salazar* to look to the boats, with orders if they were killed to fly down the river, went on themselves with a few *Indian* converts by land. Having wandered a long while, without knowing the way through the woods, they at last met with a man more like a painted devil than an *Indian*, who acting the part of an angel, undertook to introduce the fathers into his village, provided they would let him go before, to dispose them to receive their guests favourably; assuring them it would be very dangerous to go without he made way for them. The fathers thinking it safer to stand the brunt of coming upon those people

A town built among the Ibitirambetans.

people suddenly, than to give them time to consult together, followed the *Indian* guide close at the heels, and that same day boldly entered the first village of the *Ibitirambetans*, the people whereof, tho' they forbore acting any cruelty, yet shewing their mistrust, declared they would not allow the fathers to stay among them, lest after them should follow the rovers that went about to carry the *Indians* into captivity. As they were in this condition, the *Cacique* of another village promising F. Ruiz his protection, gave some hopes of success. Having therefore called away F. Salazar from the river, they marked out the ground for a town, fell to build a church, and abundance of people flocking thither from the neighbourhood, ordered a form of government. As they were thus employed, news was brought, that several factions had conspired together, and particularly those that the year before slew the youth sent by the fathers, all unanimously agreeing, that the strangers were to be made away, lest they should bring some mischief upon the province; and that they would taste whether the flesh of priests differed in taste from that of other men. The enemy being within less than a mile of the town, F. Ruiz came to F. Cataldinus, then busy about building the church, to acquaint him with the danger, who answered, *As the will of heaven is, so let it be*; and went on with his work. The enemy being told of this resolution of the fathers went off without attempting any thing, fearing some great misfortune might befall them, seeing those strangers make so small account of death. This storm being blown over, there ensued such a calm, that they had leisure to build the town in peace, and dedicate it to S. Francis Xaverius. Not only the neighbouring people, but even those that before had been enemies, and others from remoter parts, resorting to inhabit this town, it came to contain fifteen hundred families. Here F. Cataldinus was left alone, and so continued a year among those barbarous people.

Taiaoba's territories.

The other two fathers Ruiz and Salazar undertook a new dangerous expedition into the lands of *Taiaoba*, whereof I find the following account. *Huibaius*, a river in *Guaira*, falling into the *Parana*, under the tropick of *Capricorn*, has on its banks *Villarica*, a little *Spanish* city, thirty leagues from its mouth, and eight *Indian* towns not far from it, and under its jurisdiction. Above this town the river falling from a precipice hinders any vessels going farther up. This precipice was a boundary and intrenchment to *Taiaoba*, and his confederate *Caciques*. All this nation is so barbarously greedy of human flesh, that when they want enemies, they inhumanly kill and eat

Canibals.

their own people. Some of them wear *Techo* their children with man's flesh, and make the heads of their arrows with men's bones, making the monuments of their brutality the instruments of fresh cruelty. Which makes me admire *Ransonierius* should write, that in this part of *Guaira*, there are no tygers or wild beasts, whereas there are almost as many wild beasts as natives; for the old saying fits no nation so exactly, *viz. Man plays the wolf with man*. The reason why this country took its name from *Taiaoba*, was, because he being the most powerful of all the neighbouring *Caciques*, was by his people called the *Great*. Take this account of him. Some years before this Of *Taiaoba* we now write of, an *European* commander, ^{oba.} famous for his hatred to the *Indians*, coming from the metropolis of *Paraguay* to *Villarica* with a power, pretending friendship, sent to invite *Taiaoba* to come to him, promising him much courtesy and some presents. Upon publick faith given, *Taiaoba*, and three other powerful *Caciques*, come to *Villarica*, full of hopes of what they were to receive, but there instead of gifts, they met with threats, stripes and bonds; that commander terrifying them with death and tortures, if they did not bring a number of *Indians* to *Villarica*, to be made slaves. Three of the four *Caciques*, rather than betray their people, starved themselves to death in prison. *Taiaoba* alone escaping with his fetters into his territories, for the future was so strict in hindring any resort to his territories, that he not only kept off the *Spaniards*, but tore to pieces and devoured the *Indians* sent to him at several times to settle peace. The *Spaniards* have often invaded him, but never came off without much loss; insomuch that there were no further thoughts of subduing them. Thus stood *Taiaoba*, when F. Ruiz entertained thoughts of converting those people. When his design was known, every body affirmed he went in great danger of his life; but he set out and travelled eight days difficult journey with F. Salazar, a resolute man, to the borders of *Taiaoba*, and leaving his companion in the towns about *Villarica*, he passed over the precipice, and got to the first village of *Taiaoba's* party; and perceiving how great the danger was, those man-eating *Indians* flocking about from all parts, he prepared himself and fifteen converts that attended him, for death. As he was so employed, the *Canibals* and forcerers gathered about him, to whom he declared the cause of his coming, which was to teach them the way to heaven through Jesus Christ, and how to avoid eternal torments. Scarce had he spoke those words, when the *Indians* gave him the lye, declaring him guilty of death for denouncing eternal torments to them

TECHO. them, and were just ready to fall upon him.

John Guiraius a convert persuaded him to fly, which, as they did, the arrows flew about them so thick, that seven were immediately killed, and *Guiraius* perceiving they all aimed at the father, who could not fly so well as the rest, clap'd his gown and cap on him himself, that the *Indians* might mistake him for the priest, and aim at him. Thus they both escaped into a wood, with seven more of their companions, whence with great sorrow they made their way through the bushes and brambles, down to the river, and there found a boat two old men had brought from a village that was in amity, hearing of the danger they were in. This boat carried him down the river to the towns about *Villarica*, where he found *F. Salazar*. In the mean while the cannibals having divided the booty *F. Ruiz* left behind him, made a feast of the bodies of the convert *Indians*, nothing troubling them, but that they had missed of the priest's flesh, and could not drink about in his skull. *F. Salazar* was left in those towns of converts about *Villarica*, that being near at hand, he might endeavour by kindness to win *Taiacoba's* people, but nothing succeeded for a year and a half. *F. Ruiz* went away to the town of *St. Xaverius*, which he found much increased by a great number of converts; and having afterwards been to give an account of his actions to the provincial, returned into the province of *Guaira*, where, attempting to reduce the *Tucutiensians*, he found the success answerable to his expectation. The people lay in the mid-way between the old towns of *Guaira*, and the new colony of *St. Xaverius*. It was therefore very convenient to settle a new colony among the *Tucutiensians*, that there might be a direct way and commerce between the aforesaid towns and colony, because before the way was very troublesome, being far about, and along the rocky river *Tibariva*, besides the danger of leaving barbarous enemies behind. The *Cacique* of the first village the fathers came to, offer'd them that place to build the town, but that being unhealthy, they chose another, to which two hundred families immediately resorted out of the neighbourhood, and soon after six villages came over to it intire. The church and town had the name of *S. Joseph* given them. Having settled this town, and left *F. Simon Maceta* in it to instruct the people, *F. Ruiz* undertook to open a way thro' the woods and mountains to the colony of *S. Xaverius*, and tho' he met with almost insuperable difficulties and hardships, being several days without water, and forced to suck the moisture of a certain branch that runs up the trees like a rope, for drink, and feed upon leaves, he at length prevailed, and

got safe to the town, to which he had made this new road. I have follow'd *F. Ruiz* in all these travels to come to the conclusion of what we are to say of *Taiacoba*, with whom we began this section, and am now drawing near to bring them together that the relation may not be dismembred, as it is in our author, who has divided it too much for the conveniency of the reader. *Suruba*, a *Cacique* in great authority, had been the main obstacle for a long time to the conversion of the *Taiatensians*, a people of the territory of *Nivasinguia*, opposite to the plains of *Guaira*, he being an obstinate follower of the customs of his fore-fathers, and a professed enemy to christianity. He, tho' his people were well inclined to the faith, kept them from any communication with *F. Ruiz*, because he was resolved to have no town built within his liberty. This *Suruba*, attended by several *Caciques* and their followers, all enemies to the *Spaniards*, went into the lands of the great *Taiacoba*, to gather the herb of *Paraguay*, in which they take great delight, and whereof an account has been given before. Among them was *Pindovius*, a powerful man among his people, who the year before lay in wait for *F. Ruiz*, to have eat him, and afterwards would have had him come to erect a town in his territories. *Taiacoba* the great, dissembing his hatred to strangers, gave them free passage through his lands, to gather the herb, but laying an ambush for them as they returned, slew *Suruba* and all his company, securing their bodies to make a feast. Only *Pindovius* making the best use of his weapons, broke thro' a company of bow-men, with three followers, and made his escape. *Suruba* being thus taken off, *Pindovius* considering to what a peaceable condition the *Ibitirambetans* were reduced by the society, from their former confusions and disorders, by erecting the town of *S. Xaverius*, and that he had enemies whom he could not withstand, unless he joined the christians, sent three *Caciques* of his faction to *F. Ruiz*, to desire in his name he would come and build a town. The inhabitants of the town of *S. Xaverius* hearing of it, severely reprimanded his messengers, hindring them from the speech of the father, alledging that was one of *Pindovius* his usual frauds, to draw the fathers to him, that he might devour them. Yet *F. Ruiz* taking the messengers apart, promis'd to go with them in three days, notwithstanding any thing that might threaten. They thanked him for giving credit to them, rather than to those that gave so ill a character of them, and promis'd they would be as zealous in protecting him and his, as the *Ibitirambetans* had been. After the three days *F. Ruiz* and his companion set forward,

The *Tucutiensians*.

Town of *S. Joseph*.

ward, and the fourth day of their journey came to the place of *Pindovius* his residence, by whom they were received with triumphal arches made of boughs, amidst the noise of drums and trumpets, and throng of people flocking from all parts, and so conducted to a chappel built for them. *Pindovius* promis'd to use all his endeavours to gather inhabitants for a populous town; he gave the fathers a house that was fortified with a trench and palisadoes, against the attempts of a certain *Cacique*, who had taken and eaten *Pindovius* his own mother, as *Pindovius* had done by several of his friends; and not long before the coming of the fathers, that enemy had taken three boys in *Pindovius* his party and roasted them, and killed some *Indian* women, whose bodies *Pindovius* recovered, and among the rest, one that was shot through, having life left, was baptiz'd and recovered. The place pitched upon to build the town, was a field very commodious by reason of the river running along it, and abundance of fir trees close by. There a cross was erected, and the names of many saints being put into an urn, they drew to give a name to the town, and missing *All Saints*, took out *The Incarnation*, as the place is still called, which soon contained fifteen hundred families.

Incarnation town built.

F. Christopher Mendoza was left in the new town of the *Incarnation*, *F. Ruiz* repairing to other parts. Whilst he was absent, the *Indians* of the plain rose in arms against *Pindovius*, for having received the society, resolving to kill *F. Mendoza*, and destroy the town. Having gathered their forces, they sent a youth to discover the strength of *Pindovius*. This youth being taken was put to the rack to discover the designs of the enemy, which still he resolutely refused to have any knowledge of, till *F. Mendoza* taking up his breviary to say his office, he believing that book discovered all secrets to the *Europeans*, of his own accord revealed all that could not be extorted from him before, declaring that the enemy desired nothing more than to gorge themselves with the flesh of the Priests, and had resolved to ruin the town, and slaughter all its inhabitants. Upon this intelligence *Pindovius* led out his men with all expedition against the enemy; but they being disappointed by their spy, fearing some treachery, retired to their own lands. But to return to the great *Taiaoba*, from whom the continued series of these affairs have diverted us, he being now somewhat mollified by the fame of the society, sent two of his sons in a disguise with the *Cacique Maendius* to the town of *S. Xaverius*, to discover whether all was true that was reported of the society. They having lived concealed some days in the

Taiaoba reconcil'd.

town, were at last discovered by a servant of theirs to *F. Francis Diastanius*, who then had charge of the *Ibitirambetans*. The father hoping that opportunity might serve to oblige *Taiaoba*, sent for the two youths and *Maendius* in an honourable manner, and asked what was the design of their coming; who ingenuously answered, they came as spies to pry into the manners of the christian priests and their converts. Next he asked, how they liked the religion? To which they unanimously replied, they lik'd it well, and would persuade *Taiaoba* to admit christianity in his dominions. This done, they were handsomely clad and sent back. *F. Ruiz* being informed hereof by letter, hastened to the town of *S. Xaverius*. *Taiaoba* hearing of his approach, went out to the borders of his territories to meet him with a great retinue, and embracing him with great demonstrations of joy, said, *Behold me here, O father, receive me as your son, and instruct me what I am to do*. His wife, in no less obliging a manner, set before him her three little children, whom *F. Ruiz* lovingly embracing, wonderfully obliged both the parents. For nothing so much takes with the *Indians*, as to see their children beloved by strangers. Being conducted through arches made of boughs, with great noise of trumpets, into *Taiaoba's* lands; his first care was to chuse a place to build a town, and having pitched upon it near the river *Huibaio*, with the assistance of three hundred *Indians* he erected a cross, laid the foundation of a church, marked out the plat for the town, created magistrates in the name of his catholick majesty, gave the chief command to *Taiaoba*, appointed his eldest son captain of the forces, honoured the other *Caciques* with several titles, baptized twenty-eight small children of *Taiaoba's* by several wives, and gave hopes to those that were grown to mens estate, that they should be received into the number of the faithful, as soon as they had learnt the rudiments of christianity. The forcerers, enraged at this success, stirred up all the neighbouring people against *Taiaoba*, who setting out gave strict command that no harm should be done to *F. Ruiz*, their design being to take him alive, and kill him with solemnity at a feast. *Taiaoba* and his confederate *Caciques* being much inferior to the enemy in number, and sensible of their danger, went late at night to *F. Ruiz* desiring to be baptized, and promising, *If that favour were granted them, to die manfully in defence of the faith*. The father considering the present circumstances, instructed them the best he could for that short time, and made them all christians. Before break of day the enemy, having divided their troops into four parts,

TECHO.

attacked

Techo. attacked *Taiacoba's* forces. At the first onset several of the enemies and two of ours fell, many on both sides, and among them *Taiacoba's* son being wounded, and his whole party put to flight. *F. Ruiz* ordered *Taiacoba* to stay in the place designed to build the town, with the *Cacique Piraquatia*, till they could have an opportunity of retrieving that misfortune. The people of *Villarrica* hearing of what had happened, sent five hundred converts well armed against those revolted *Indians*. These coming to a battle, and being overpowered by the multitude of the enemies, were forced to secure themselves within palisades. Where the fight being renewed, they must have perished, had not *F. Ruiz* advised them to receive all the enemies arrows without shooting any, because both sides make use of the enemies arrows, and when they have none left they certainly fly. By this means our men having received all their arrows without any harm, soon put them to flight, which done they returned home. It happened in this expedition that our men, having put the enemies to flight, brought away a pot full of flesh, whereof *F. Ruiz's* hunger pressing, and believing it to be venison, eat a little, but was struck with horror, when at the bottom of the pot they found a man's head and hands, and above all when it was found to be the flesh of his own clerk, who being taken in the former flight, had been reserved for a solemn entertainment. Concerning the ceremonies of their feasts of human flesh, because we have often occasion to mention them, take this short account. The men-eaters of the province of *Guaira* led any prisoner they took in war to their village, allowing him all manner of dainties they could think of, that he being fatted might fatten others with his flesh. During the fattening time, it was a crime to refuse him any thing he had a mind to. On the day before the slaughter was to be, the inhabitants of the village calling in the neighbours on all sides, made a mighty appearance. First went a great number of armed men two and two, and women in the same manner; one maid in the midst of the procession richly adorned with feathers and garments, carried a club, the instrument of their cruelty, and a fine dish; and another dressed like her, a crown or garland for the intended victim. Lusty brawny women led the prisoner, bound about the middle with slack ropes and his arms loose, throwing sticks and stones at all about him. If the prisoner happened to hurt any body, all the multitude applauded his valour and dexterity with great shouts and acclamations. The procession of the eve being ended, they spent the night in confused noise, dancing and drunkenness; cramming the prisoner with meat and drink. In the morning they led him in the same manner as the day before to the place of slaughter, where having repeated all the same follies, the prisoner being crown'd by some powerful *Cacique* and curiously adorned, was knocked down with the club. When down, all there present struck him, leaving their old names and taking new ones, and even the little children having names given them by their mothers, were forced to strike the body with their hands. When it appeared he was dead, all the company broke out into immoderate laughter, and danced about before the inhuman feast. Then they boil the carcase, cut in pieces and eat it, sending some pieces to the neighbouring villages, that they might taste and take new names. This barbarity was look'd upon as a glorious death, and therefore very few prisoners made their escape, though they might easily do it. Things not being yet ripe for building the town, because the enemies were too powerful and the friends but few; *F. Ruiz* retir'd from thence to visit the other parts of *Guaira*. Having performed that duty, he returned with greater resolution, and though all people dissuaded him, alledging, *He would infallibly be devoured by the barbarous Indians*, nothing could alter him. He therefore sent before *Nicholas Taiacoba*, with orders to gather all the force he could to oppose the enemies, whilst he had recourse to God for aid. About the same time an hundred of the bloodiest of those *Indians*, who had formerly eaten the seven converts that attended *F. Ruiz*, came and submitted themselves to him; and news was brought that seven *Caciques*, who were mortal enemies to christianity, had been beaten to death with clubs in the woods, and many others of that stamp slain in the same place, yet it could never be known who had made all that slaughter. So many obstacles being removed, *F. Ruiz* set forward, and within a few days was met by *Taiacoba* and *Piraquatia*, with whom he went to the place designed to build the town, where he found very few *Indians*, because the followers of the *Taiacoba* and *Paraquatia*, understanding the other *Indians* had again conspired against them, durst not assemble. *Guiravera* a *Cacique* was the most inveterate of canibals, who now threatened *F. Ruiz* should not escape him, and therefore called together all the *Caciques* of his faction, who agreed to put his design in execution, which was thus disappointed. Among the rest was *Ararundio*, who, in the former attempt against *F. Ruiz*, commanded their forces; him *Guiravera* upon some suspicion murdered with his own hand, and laid him before

Ceremonies of killing men to eat.

Town of the Seven Archangels built.

before the rest to be eaten, designing to make a feast of all his followers. Accordingly *Chicacabio* another cacique, who had formerly promised his concubines to treat them with F. Ruiz's legs, was shot through. These murders bred discord, and so the enemies' forces were divided, and *Tataoba's* party so considerably increased, that of eighty caciques that were in that part of the country, sixty favour'd Christianity with *Tataoba*. F. Ruiz, encouraged by this success, fell to work on building the new town, gave it the name of *The Seven Archangels*, and settled the form of government. There he baptized 500 persons before he left that populous town to the charge of F. *Peter Spinosa*, to go himself into the plain, where we shall speak of him again hereafter.

Of the people of Cuio, or Chicuito.

Though some account has been given before, at number forty, of the province of *Cuio*, or *Chicuito*, we will here add a farther relation our author gives out of a letter of F. *Dominick Gonzalez*, rector of the college of *Mendoza*, the capital of that province, who labour'd much for the conversion of those people, and writing to the provincial, says thus of them. *The Indians* (says he) *among whom I have been, inviting one another from several villages, have often solemn revellings. I saw the places of their mad drunken meetings, which the lord of the village and master of the feasts incloses with straw making them round, with gaps at certain distances, and in bigness proportionable to the number of the guests. There all the men pass three or four days in dancing and singing, without sleeping. The women are not to come within these inclosures, only when they bring their husbands wine, which they do with their eyes shut, and their face turn'd away; if through any neglect they look upon the men when they are revelling in that ring, the punishment is death; which law is so rigorous, that neither the husband forgives his wife, nor the father his daughter. The reason they give for this superstitious cruelty, is, that they have found by experience, as they pretend, that some of the revellers die presently, and sometimes are openly kill'd by the devil, if they are seen by women in that inclosure. The devil before call'd upon, is present at these dances, and the way of raising of him is thus. An old fellow standing in the midst of the dancers, beats a drum till he visibly appears with a mighty noise, in the shape of a man, dog or fox. When come, the devil does not refuse to drink: then having made a speech to the company, the parents offer their children to him, whom he marks as his, drawing blood from them with his nails. At other times, those that desire to devote their children to the devil, carry them to certain old men appointed for that purpose, who tear the children's skin with*

their nails, and pierce their heads with a sharp bone till they bleed plentifully; the blood which runs they receive in their hands and scatter it in the air, believing the children consecrated by this ceremony. Having thus blooded them, they make them fast in some retir'd place, remote from all other company, by which misery they pretend they become strong. All the nation adores the sun, moon and morning star, hoping for all health and prosperity from them. Thus F. *Gonzalez* of the people of *Cuio* or *Chicuito*.

Let us look back a little into the province of *Parana*, where some attempts had been made to introduce Christianity among those people inhabiting on the banks of the upper part of the river; yet at length some of the caciques had been so far obliged by frequent courtesies, that it was believ'd there might be a probability of building a town. F. *James Boroa* and *Claudius Ruiz* undertook this work in the year 1624, setting forwards in *March*, with a company of select converts. The mouth of the river *Acarai* is thirty leagues from the town of *Corpus Christi*, whence they set out. About that river dwelt several caciques, one of whom of his own accord assign'd a place in his liberty to build the town. The report whereof being spread abroad, drew many caciques thither to confer, who departed so as was believ'd they had been gain'd over to the faith. The fathers therefore built a sort of chappel for present use, and gave the new town the name of *The Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, taking all possible care to attract all the neighbouring people to come to inhabit there. F. *Claudius Ruiz* was left there alone, and endur'd very much, there being scarce a man in the town but what fell sick; as soon as they recover'd, he drew over the inhabitants of two villages. But his main design was upon *Quaracipucatus*, an apostate, who hearing the father was coming to him, assembled the neighbouring caciques to murder him; but the father wrought so powerfully upon him by his words, that he furnish'd him provisions, and some time after join'd the other converts. At this time and others the fathers brought several *Indians* to his town, but they, out of their natural laziness, neglecting to build their houses, were so frighten'd by a tyger that us'd to come into the town at nights, that they fell to work in their own defence, and with wonderful celerity built substantial habitations to defend them from danger. Soon after the tyger was taken in a gin. This place was long subject to be so infested by tygers, and had another plague, which was a multitude of gnats breeding in that low hot ground, that day and night were a continual torment to the inhabitants, yet the town

The town of the Nativity built.

TECHO. town prosper'd, and continues to this day.

W Jaguapinus, a cacique of this province of *Paragua*, was a great hindrance to the progress of Christianity, and persuaded the heathens of *Urvaica* to build a larger town near to that of the *Conception*, to the end they might with united forces make war on the Christians, and obstruct their increase. The converts of *Parana* having notice of his design, drew together and fell upon his town, where they took him, and sent him into banishment; which prov'd a double advantage to the towns of *Parana* and *Urvaica*; for Jaguapinus became a Christian, with all his followers, and afterwards many more towns were built. Yet amidst all this prosperity, no little trouble was rais'd by one John Quaracius, a wicked forcerer, famous for many villanies, who being born in the province of *Guaira* came into that of *Parana*, suffering himself to be baptiz'd, that he might, being the less suspected, do most harm. He travelling into several countries, spread every where his damnable superstitions, endeavouring to dissuade all he could from embracing Christianity. In the town of the *Assumption*, being convicted of heinous crimes, he was condemn'd to be hang'd, but sav'd by some indiscreet persons, and banish'd to the town of *Santa Fe*. Making his escape from thence up the river *Parana*, he privately got into the town of the *Itatinsians*, subject to the *Franciscan* fathers. Being a crafty fellow, he persuaded the people to conceal him, and by insinuating discourses prevail'd with those credulous *Indians* to repair to him in great numbers at night. The doctrine this night-doctor taught was this, "That they should take heed of the Christians and their priests, who were devoted to the ruin of the *Indians*. That they persuaded the converts to confession, that they might make an ill use of the knowledge of their sins. That the salt they use in baptism, was a sure poison sooner or later to infect the bodies of infants or men. That the holy oils serv'd only to cause deformity. That the Christian priests forbid the having of many wives maliciously, lest the *Indians* multiplying too fast, should be too hard for the *Spaniards*. That therefore he, by the power he had in him, commanded them all not to be satisfied with one wife for the future, but to keep as many as they could get." Live (said he) and drink after your ancient manner, making merry with dancing and drunkenness; celebrating the memory of our ancestors. Give no honour to the images of saints, but look upon me as your only deity. If you do otherwise, I will deliver you up to be swallow'd by the *Parana*, transform'd into

frogs and toads. To these blasphemous doctrines he added a leud example. For besides keeping seven concubines constantly to satisfy his lust, he would have to do with any others at pleasure. Having thus done much harm by words and example, in a short time he so perverted the *Itatinsians*, that they look'd not like the same people. For instead of respecting, they revil'd the priests. Instead of frequenting the sacraments, they were fallen to their former vices so openly, that a revolt of the whole town was fear'd. F. John Gamarra, a *Franciscan*, well skill'd in the *Indian* language, and in the way of managing those people, was then chief there, who inquiring into the cause of this sudden change, was a long time before he could make any discovery, till at last a boy made some discovery. For having a particular kindness for him, and asking him, *Whether he lov'd him?* The boy answer'd, *Indeed I love you, father, but John Quaracius lies privately in town, whom I love better than you.* Quaracius's name was well known, and therefore having heard this account, he made no question, but that was the cause of all the mischief. But he being more earnest in that business than was proper, Quaracius making his escape with his concubines up the river *Parana*, got away into *Maracana*, the refuge of wicked men for many years. Then making some looses from thence, spreading his venom in all parts, he infected our converts, and sail'd to the villages of the *Upper Parana*, to persuade the infidels not to embrace the faith. F. Gonzalez observing the change in the converts, and not knowing the cause whence that mischief proceeded, having receiv'd letters from F. Gamarra, giving an account of Quaracius's escape, gather'd a company of the most faithful of the converts, and with them hastened to *Maracana*, but before he could get thither, the impostor had betaken himself to his lurking places in the marshes, where-with he was well acquainted, and would never have been drawn thence, had not one of his concubines betray'd him. When found, the converts bound him fast, and after shewing him in the town of *Iitana*, conducted him down the *Parana*, and up the *Paraguay* to the city of the *Assumption*, where he was hang'd, and so deliver'd the provinces of *Parana* and *Urvaica* from imminent danger.

About this time, that is, the year 1625 or 26, the kingdom of *Chili*, which had been a part of the jesuits province of *Paraguay*, by reason of the vast extent of the said province, and the vast mountains which part those dominions, and are passable but at certain times in the year, was divided and made a vice-province, subject

River I-
guazu,

to that of *Peru*, which I mention here, because this history treating only of the fathers province of *Paraguay*, we shall for the future have no more occasion to speak of the said kingdom of *Chili*. Upon this separation, all the fathers born in that kingdom retiring to it, there began to be a want in *Paraguay*, to remedy which *Gaspar Sabrino* was sent procurator to *Rome*, to bring new supplies out of *Europe*. There we will leave him and return to *F. James Boroa*, who being chosen rector of the college in the city of *Assumption*, beg'd of the provincial, that before he entered upon that dignity, he might have leave once more to try to bring the *Iguazuans*, a people bordering on *Parana*, among whom he had been before with imminent danger of his life, to build a town and embrace the faith; which having obtained, he set forward with all necessaries for his design. *Iguazu*, which signifies *Great river*, falls into the *Parana* with a mighty noise, at an almost equal distance from the town of *Itapua* and borders on the province of *Parana*, in about twenty-four degrees of south latitude. A craggy rock lying quite athwart the river four miles above its mouth, renders it innavigable, and rolls down from a great height such a vast quantity of water, that the noise of its falling is heard three leagues off, and the violence of its dashing, forms as it were a cloud ever visible from the *Parana*. This precipice had till this time been as a bulwark, to secure them against all foreigners. The whole nation differs in nothing from the rest of the *Guaranians*. Before the coming of the *Jesuits* among them, the women went naked. They reckoned it dainty diet to feed on the flesh of their enemies. No *Spaniard* had hitherto been among them, nor was there any hopes of entering by force of arms. Three years before this *F. James Boroa*, attempting with a few converts to introduce the christian religion among them, was forced to retire by the natives in arms. Two years after having passed the same precipice, and gained the good will of some *Caciques*, he was again expelled by *Taupá*, the most powerful of the *Iguazuans*, and returned to *Parana* with small hopes of reducing those people. But being of a spirit that still struggled against all difficulties, he again went upon the same expedition better provided than before, with *F. Claudius Ruier* for his companion. Their design being known, the *Iguazuans*, according to their custom, held a consultation at a solemn feast, to debate, whether the preachers of a new law ought to be admitted. That the business might be performed with the greater solemnity, they with horrid ceremonies killed a youth they had prisoner, dressed, and eat him. What is wonderful, amidst these a-

bominations, when the matter was put to the vote, they all unanimously agreed, that *F. James Boroa* was to be admitted, because from the time they had resisted him, God had punished them with famine and pestilence; most of those, who were the chief cause of expelling him, being taken off by the plague. As soon therefore as they heard that the father had set out of *Acarai*, they sent boats to the precipice, which, when he had passed, they received him in their first village with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness. The following days *Taupá* himself, and other *Caciques*, came very readily to submit themselves. Several strove to have the new town built where their villages stood, but the fathers without regard to private interest, chose the most convenient place for the publick. A great cross was erected, and the plat being marked out, abundance of people from all the neighbouring parts, destroying their villages, came to settle there. The new colony was called *S. Mary Major of Iguazu*. After four months the *Cacique Paravera*, at the instance of *Taupá*, brought over two hundred families to the town; after whom, none refused to embrace christianity, so that a hundred and fifty men and women were baptized on the feast of the *Assumption*, and above five hundred of all sorts within a few days after, all the rest coming in by degrees, to the number of eight thousand six hundred, at the time when the author resided there. The house and church were five months building; during which time the fathers dwelt and taught under mats; living so poorly, that insipid roots were their chief dainties; for the country of *Iguazu* being all woody, has not pasture for cattle; and the river being shut up by the precipice, has no fish, so that all the people feed on snails and some inconsiderable fruits of the earth.

F. Roch Gonzalez was no less successful upon the river *Urvaica*. He had been confined for seven years to the town of the *Conception*, built by himself, not being able to set his foot beyond the river, because of the obstinacy and jealousy of the *Indians*; but many obstacles being now removed, passing the *Urvaica* with a few converts, he went as far as the place where the small river *Piratin* falls into it. Having found a place fit to build on, two leagues from thence on the banks of the said river, he summoned the neighbouring people to a conference, and having gained their affections, on the day of the *Invention* of the cross, he erected one, and laid the foundation of a town, which, in honour of his provincial, *Nicholas Durand*, he called *S. Nicholas*; and the *Indians* resorting to it, in a short time it grew populous, so that above seven thousand were baptized in a

Town of
S. Mary of
Iguazu
built.

S. Nicholas town
built.

TECHO few years. In the mean while, *Luis de Cespedes*, governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata*, thinking it would gain him reputation, and be a matter of merit with the king of *Spain*, if the province of *Urvaica* were reduced to admit of towns during his government, used all possible means to open a way from the port of *Buenos Ayres* to the town of the *Conception*, founded by *F. Gonzalez*. But despairing of ever subduing such vast nations by force of arms, he concluded the only way to compass it, was to encourage the society with supplies from the king to continue that expedition. To this purpose, having purchased the friendship of the inhabitants, he prevailed with *Ferdinand de Sa*, a *Spaniard*, well acquainted with the language and temper of the *Indians*, partly by his authority, and partly by hopes of reward, to venture to sail up the river *Urvaica* a hundred and fifty leagues, and carry his letters to *F. Gonzalez*, then in the town of the *Conception*. *Ferdinand de Sa*, escaping many dangers, performed the journey, and delivered the letters to *F. Gonzalez*, by which the governor signified, that it would be a great service to God and the king, if he would discover along the river *Urvaica*, and come down to him to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, that they might consult about the best means of reducing the province of *Urvaica*. *F. Gonzalez* rejoicing that the means was offered him of doing that, which he had so earnestly desired, taking along with him the boldest of the inhabitants of the *Conception*, and their commander *James Nieza*, set out with *Ferdinand de Sa*. By the way he persuaded four hundred *Indians*, that came to meet him in warlike manner, to return peaceably to their homes. Where-soever he went, the people along the shores, remarkable for their diversity of languages and barbarity, ran out to have a view of him. In twenty-five days he came to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to the great joy of the governor, who, understanding that the chief of the *Urvaican* converts came along with him, thought it might be of grandeur to instill into those ignorant people a respect for the Catholick king and *Spaniards*. To this purpose, on the day appointed, he marched out with all the prime men, and a good number of horse: Next him followed his eldest son, captain of a troop of horse, and another son that was captain of foot, exercising their men, the cannon in the mean while roaring from the walls. Thus were the *Indians*, astonished at that terrible noise, conducted in state, first to the governor's, and then to the bishop's palace; and the governor having kissed his hand, and speaking to him some time on his knees, taught those strangers what re-

spect was paid to prelates. Then *James Nieza*, in the behalf of all his people, took an oath that he and they would be subject to the Catholick king, and obedient to his governors; and take care that none should obstruct the execution of his majesty's commands; and begg'd that they might not be obliged to serve private men, or be governed by any but the fathers of the society. The conditions being granted, and homage received for the province of *Urvaica*, the governor appointed *James Nieza* commander over his people, and having presented him with his own coat, and several other things, advised him to continue faithful to the Catholick king, as he had sworn, and be obedient to the fathers. The bishops did the same, and then gave the fathers full authority in spirituals, as the governor did in temporals; delivering, at the same time, to *F. Gonzalez*, bells, church-stuff, and other necessaries at the king's expence; and knowing there might be more towns erected, besides the two already built on the banks of the river *Urvaica*, if there were fathers to supply them, he sent *F. Michael Ampuero* back with *F. Gonzalez*, and writ to the Catholick king, extolling the proceedings of the society, and begging that thirty of them might be sent to serve the province of *Urvaica*; which letters were of good effect at *Madrid*, for obtaining the fathers that came two years after to *Paraguay* with *F. Gaspar Sabrono*. *James de Vega*, a rich *Portuguese*, gave considerably towards priestly vestments and other church-stuff, and promised to send for all sorts of iron tools for the service of the new towns, which he afterwards performed, and was of great use. Having spent ten days in concluding these important affairs, *F. Gonzalez* returned the same way to the place whence he came; and having again viewed the shores of the river *Urvaica*, found there was little hopes of founding any town, for an hundred leagues from the port of *Buenos Ayres*, because the natives were of that sort of people, who, wandering about all their life-time, would not be brought to till the land, or settle in one place. Beyond that, he encouraged the *Japevians* to build a town; and twenty leagues further, prevailed with the *Jaguaraitians* to do the same, whereof we shall soon give an account. This done, he returned to the town of the *Conception*.

This was the posture of the province of *Urvaica*, when the provincial *F. Nicholas* ^{Two ways from} *Durand*, having resigned the kingdom of *Tucuman* ^{to Guaira,} *Cbili*, resolved upon visiting *Guaira*, where no provincial as yet had been. There were two ways out of *Tucuman* into *Guaira*; the one had been used for many years past, which was up the rivers of *Plate* and *Paraguay*,

guay, and the rest by land. But his was much about, and almost five hundred leagues in length; besides, that it was infested by the *Paiaguans*, the most inhumane of the *Indians*, and famous for the slaughter of many travellers. The other way was much shorter, which was sailing up the *Parana*, and had never been attempted before the society erected the towns above spoken of, for fear of the infidels, and because of a vast precipice running quite athwart the *Parana*, near the borders of *Guaira*. Most of those people being now brought into towns, the provincial hoped he might take that way. *F. Anthony Ruiz* being informed of the provincial's design, sent several messengers one after another, to discover that new way; the last of whom making his way through into *Tucuman*, satisfied the provincial, that he might go up the river to *Guaira* with very little danger. He set forward from *Cordova*, and travelled sixty leagues to the college of the town of *St. Fe*; thence a hundred and fifty leagues to *Itapua* on the river, and fifteen further to *Corpus Christi* town, and so thirty more to the new colony of *S. Mary Major* of *Iguazu*, wherein were already two thousand inhabitants. He held on his course to *Acarai*, and thence towards the precipice, which was forty leagues further. Drawing near the precipice, he began to be sensible of the force of the water that fell; the little vessel that carried him being much battered; and another, in which were *F. Martin Marinus* and *Mendiola*, priests going to assist in *Guaira*, beaten to pieces against a rock, but the passengers saved. This obliged them to travel by land. *F. Anthony Ruiz* had laid bridges over the clefts of the precipice, and opened a way through the impassable parts of the woods; yet they were forced very often to lay planks over from rock to rock, going over them in great danger of their lives, if their feet had slipped, being sure to fall a vast depth into the rowling waters. Very many fabulous stories have been made concerning this precipice, which I will not take notice of. Most certain it is, that many have lost their lives, being dashed by the falling waters against the rocks; and I know not whether there be any thing in the world more wonderful of that kind; at least in *America*, there is nothing more dreadful, or more spoken of; for a little above the precipice, the river *Parana*, which is two leagues over, draws into so narrow a compass, that the breadth is not above a stone's throw. When it is at this narrowness, it tumbles most impetuously from a prodigious height, down a descent of twelve leagues, the stooping channel being full of hideous rocks, against which the water violently beating, flies up a wonderful

The wonderful precipice of *Guaira*.

height. In many places the channel is obstructed by mighty rocks; but as soon as the waters, thus stopt, get a head again, they make most dreadful whirlpools. In other places, the falling waters, after making their efforts against the rocks, slip away out of sight through private passages, and having been long concealed, piercing through the rocks, break out again at the bottom of them, and spread abroad with a frightful noise, as if it were out of inexhaustible springs. In fine, so great is the violence of the waters, tumbling headlong down that inclining channel, that there is a continual foam of an iron-colour for all the twelve leagues the descent lasts, which being reflected upon by the sun, dazles the eyes of those that behold it. The noise of the waters falling and beating against the rocks, is plainly heard four leagues off. Not far from the foot of the precipice, the water seems desirous to rest in a smoother bed; and having made, as it were, a sea, looks more like a standing pool than a cataract. But that calm is mischievous, for almost every hour there arises a great noise from the bottom, the cause unknown, and throws up the water many cubits high, perpetually giving warning, that there is no confidence to be reposed in its counterfeit stillness, which every now and then grows boisterous to the destruction of many. There are fishes there of a prodigious bulk. *F. Anthony Ruiz* affirms he has seen one as big as an ox, swimming with half its body above water. It is reported, as a most certain truth, that an *Indian* was swallowed by one of these fishes, and afterwards cast up whole on the shore. They spent six days with unspeakable toil in climbing the mountain; for though the way, if it were streight, would be but twelve leagues, yet the many windings make it almost double. Besides, it is all along an uncouth rocky shore, divided by lakes, brooks, woods and scorching sands. No part of the world would be hotter, did not the woods at small distances make a shade; and yet that very thickness of the trees, which does not give free passage to the air, is very tiresome to travellers. Where they were to lie at night, the *Indians* set up a little cottage, the walls and roofs whereof were made of leaves orderly placed, which being bound together with roots instead of cords, kept out the rain.

TECHO.

When they came to the top of the precipice, *F. Peter Spinosa* met the provincial with boats from sixty leagues further up the province of *Guaira*, and entertained him and his company with a plentiful provision of the country fruit; this meeting at the top of the precipice, being in some measure an emblem of those, who, ascending with much difficulty to the pitch of virtue, taste there the

The provincial's travels.

TECHO, the sweet fruits of their past labours. Two leagues beyond the precipice, the chief men of *Ciudad real* came out to meet the provincial, receiving him with the greater honour, because, till that time, no bishop, governor, or provincial had been in *Guaira*. After the reception, they desired of him that he would erect a college in the city, which he could not grant, because of the small number of fathers, but promised he would appoint some to take care of the city, and to see the *Indians* performed their two months service, according to the king's order, and suffered no further oppression. Thence he went to *Loreto*, where the converts, to honour his coming, represented a fight among themselves on the river, which was all covered with boats, re-sounding with musical voices and instruments. The church he found adorned with such curious inventions, that he declared he thought them a sufficient reward of all his labours. The town of *St. Ignatius*, entertained him with no less tokens or affections; and he departing from it left the river *Parana* on his left hand, and went up the *Tibaxiva*, which being very shallow in many places, he had much ado to make thirty leagues in fifteen days, to come to the town of *St. Xavierius*, containing fifteen hundred families, under the direction of *F. Francis Diaslanius*. Hence he sent *F. Christopher Torriano* some days journey by land to *Villarica*, to restore the residence of the society in that city, that it might be a check to some who oppressed the *Indians*, and assist them in their spiritual concern. In his return upon the river *Tibaxiva*, the vessel that carried him was cast away, and many things lost. Wheresoever he went, he bestowed shirts, hooks, pins, needles and glass beads among the *Indians*; insomuch, that he is said to have spent to the value of two thousand pieces of eight among the *Guaicureans*; which liberality was not ill bestowed, for the fame of the great father's gifts (as they called him) gained the hearts of abundance of the infidels, and encouraged the converts. At his departure, he ordered *F. Anthony Ruiz* to build three towns more among the *Inianians*, and in the countries of *Taiaoba* and the *Coronadas*. When he came down the precipice of *Guaira*, he went to see a vast rock, which by contraries they call *Petra pobre*, or the poor rock. This rock is of several colours, and so bright, that the sun beams striking upon it are reflected, as it were from a glass; which makes the ignorant multitude believe it to be all of some rich metal, if not of gold; but they are deceived, for it is known to be meer stone, so rub'd and polished with the sand of several colours drove by the wind, that it looks at a distance like glass. It is report-

The poor
rock.

ed that thirty *Spanish* boats were formerly lost going near to view this rock. Thence the provincial proceeding through the province of *Parana*, drew away the two fathers that were among the *Guaicureans*, there being no hopes of the conversion of those people, tho' the society had been sixteen years settled among them. At *Itapua* the inhabitants petitioned the provincial, that he would suffer the blessed sacrament to be placed in their church, and the best instructed among them to receive it, which he granted; whereupon they kept a festival with such solemnity, that the nicest *Europeans* who beheld it were struck with admiration. Let us return a little to the province of *Urvaica*, which not long since we left in a good posture towards being reduced.

The too hasty eagerness of the governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata* bred much disorder and confusion there. This governor sent from the port of *Buenos Ayres* *Ferdinand de Sa*, *Peter Bravo* and *Paiva*, all *Spaniards*, to be corregidors or governors of the new towns the fathers had or should erect for the king of *Spain*. *F. Gonzalez*, tho' he foresaw the ill consequence of that unseasonable resolution, yet not daring to withstand the king's governor's commands, permitted *Ferdinand de Sa* to act as corregidor in the town of the *Conception*; *Paiva* he sent to the *Jaguaraitians*; and *Peter Bravo* to the *Japeivians*, people of *Urvaica*, who had desired of the society to be gathered into towns: But it was not long before this precipitate project did much harm; for tho', out of respect to the fathers, the converts for some time bore with the strange governors, yet it soon appeared that could not be lasting, which was tolerated so much against inclination: for the news being spread abroad, the *Itapuan*s, a people of *Parana*, sent a messenger to threaten the *Ibitiraquans* with war if they did not cast of the yoke of that foreign governor; and the infidels inhabiting the opposite shore of *Urvaica* gathering into a body, fell upon a party of *Ibitiraquans*, and plundering them sent them home with many reproaches and a declaration of war. *Ferdinand de Sa*, by his imperious carriage, added fuel to the fire, provoking the people, not used to be under command, by his threats and arbitrary practices, and by giving a box on the ear to a youth who had powerful relations, for not obeying his orders immediately. The *Ibitiraquans*, impatient to be upbraided and provoked by this action of *Ferdinand de Sa*, besides some jealousy of his lust, ran to arms in a tumultuous manner, beset the fathers house, and demanded to have the new governor to be delivered to them to suffer death; and had done it, but that *F. James de Alfaro* interposing

Tumults
in Urvaica
on account
of Spanish
governors.

posing his authority, in some measure appeased 'em; but *Ferdinand de Sa* durst not go out of the House, or presume to exercise any command. Not long before this happened, *F. Gonzalez* had got together as many of the *Jaguaraitians* as were sufficient for a handsome town, which they had begun to build. *Paiva* coming thither, had with his threats so incens'd those people, that *Potirava*, a powerful *Cacique*, contriv'd to kill him; and had done it, but that *Tabaca*, the *Indian* commander of the new town, obstructed it. *Potirava* being disappointed of his design, for fear of being punished, fled to his ancient lurking places, drawing along after him about a thousand of the inhabitants of the town. *Paiva* for fear hid himself in the woods. Upon this news the provincial, with some companions, hastened to the province of *Urvaica*: as he came in, to the town of the *Conception*, the chief men of the town flocked about him, rather demanding in a tumultuous manner than intreating, that he should interpose his authority, unless he would have the church perish there; for the *Urvaicans* were all agreed, *That the faith could not be propagated among them, if any other governors came among 'em but those of the society, under whom they would obey all the king's commands.* The provincial having heard their complaints, deferred giving them an answer till the next day, when he told 'em, *'Twas not in his power to displace the corregidors sent by the king's governor general, but that he would send one of the fathers to him, and did not question but he would remove the causes of their troubles.* The people were satisfied with his answer, and he presently sent *F. Michael Ampuero* down the river *Urvaica*, to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, who obtained of the governor not only the removal of those corregidors, but new supplies for the support of the fathers in that province. The provincial then continuing his visitation, proceeded to the town of *S. Nicholas* on the river *Piratin*, and thence to the *Japevians*, where he forwarded the building of a town already begun, and called *Los Reyes*, or *The three Kings*, which made way to the conversion of the *Jarosians*, *Membaquas*, *Charuas*, *Guenoas*, and other fierce nations till then untouched, which hope is since much advanced by the building of the town of *S. Andrew* among those people. Here let us leave these people, ending this section, to proceed upon other variety of matter.

Ibicuit, or Purification town built.

The river *Ibicuit* falls into the *Urvaica* an hundred leagues from the port of *Buenos Ayres*, on the opposite shore among the people called *Japevians*. 'Twas requisite to bring the people dwelling on its banks to the faith of Christ, in order to open a way to those other nations that inhabit the

great continent between the river *Urvaica* ^{TECHO.} and the *Atlantick* ocean. To this purpose *F. Gonzalez*, with great danger of his life, venturing up the river *Ibicuit* in a boat, with only a few *Indians* to row, ran forty leagues, till he came into the country of *Tabaca*, a powerful *Cacique*, by whom being friendly received, he found the beginning of his attempt easier than he had imagined; for *Tabaca* having heard the doctrine of Christ, took upon him to gather as many infidels as would suffice to make a considerable town. The father thus assisted presently erected a cross, built a chapel to serve for the present, and marked out the plan of a town, to which he solemnly gave the title of the *Purification*, otherwise called *Ibicuit*: which done, he return'd to the river *Urvaica*, promising to send them a priest with all possible speed, to reside there. When he was gone, the people further up the country conspired, and thinking he was still there, came armed in great numbers to sacrifice him and demolish the new town. At first onset they threw down the cross, burnt the chapel, threatened the supporters of the new religion with death, and destroyed all they found. The news being brought to *F. Gonzalez*, he set out with *F. Romero*, contrary to the advice of all the *Japevians*, who affirmed he was running to most certain death. Having ran up the river *Ibicuit* twenty leagues, his spies told him he could not possibly escape if he advanced: nevertheless sending *F. Romero* back, he ventured alone with only a few men that rowed, to the place where the town had been destroyed. There he was informed by *Tabaca* and the neighbouring *Caciques*, that the thing had been done in their absence, and that tho' they had been there, they could not have opposed such a multitude of enemies. The father having sent for some of the *Caciques* of the upper country, by his authority and rewards prevailed with them, tho' much against their wills, to convey him into the country of the *Tapensians*, to retrieve what had been lost. Being there, as he was examining all things, and disposing the *Indians* to build a town, news was brought that the further people were marching in great numbers to kill him. The *Caciques* his friends gave some check at first to their advance, but being pressed by too great a number, and almost lost, *F. Gonzalez* made use of his wits to shun this threatening danger, fetching out a great boat and a saw he carried with him to cut down timber. The enemies spies being terrified at the sight of those things, ran back to acquaint their people, *That F. Gonzalez brought along with him an iron instrument full of teeth, which he said could with great ease cut in*

TECHO. *pieces an infinite number of men; and, that he talk'd with a parcel of leaves put together, which certainly were able to destroy whole armies.* The Indians hearing this account, being very apprehensive of the power of books, and not knowing the power of the saw, were struck with a pannick fear, and fled. F. Gonzalez finding matters were not yet ripe there for his design, returned to *Urvaica*: but it was not long before an opportunity offered to attempt it again, for the chief of the *Piratinians* informed him, that above the river *Piratin* there was a place called *Caasapamin*, very commodious to build a town, and that the people thereabouts (if 'twere put to 'em) would easily be brought to embrace the faith. Upon this hope F. Gonzalez taking F. Romero along with him, entered the borders of the *Caasapaminians*, whereof about two hundred met him in arms, threatening in case he did not retire; but these very men being persuaded by the fathers, promoted their design, encouraging their country people to embrace the faith, so that F. Gonzalez laid the foundation of a town, calling it the *Purification*, as he had done the first time, the care whereof he committed to F. Romero, under whom it prospered so well, that there were three thousand souls reckoned in it the first year, and above seven thousand had been baptized when the author was there.

Famine. The country of *Iguazu* was now miserably afflicted with famine, the fathers in the town of *S. Mary Major* being reduced to extremity, and the *Indians* for the most part dispersing, of whom F. Ruiz afterwards, with much difficulty, gather'd four hundred. A tyger having tore to pieces a young girl that lay in the woods, F. Ruiz laid a snare for and caught it that same night, which gained him much reputation among the *Indians*, and thereupon many of them returned to the town: but their natural fierceness prevailing, they broke out into war with some neighbouring people their enemies, and having taken a number of prisoners, slew some, and designed to butcher the rest, and would have relapsed into eating of man's flesh, had not F. Ruiz boldly seized the promoters of it, and forced 'em to release the prisoners. Yet many hundreds there, and in other parts, were converted by degrees, and became religious christians. At this same time F. Maceta

Town of S. Paul. founded the town of *S. Paul* among the *Indians*, a people lying between the town of the *Conception* and the lands of the great *Taiaoba*. The *Cacique* *Guiravera*, a great man-eater and sorcerer, used all possible means to obstruct the increase of this town, which nevertheless in a short time grew to four thousand inhabitants. But we may have occasion to speak more of this matter hereafter.

About this same time the *Indians* of the plains, so called because they inhabit the vast champaign country above the town of the *Incarnation*, found the fathers new employment. They are also called *Coronados* and *Cavelludos*, that is, *Crowned* and *Hairy*, because both men and women wear their hair down to their shoulders, but the top of the head shaved round, like religious men. These people seemed to have excluded all hopes of being brought to civility ever since, as was said before; they attempted to destroy the town of the *Incarnation*, and murder F. Maceta, yet now they began to be better inclined, upon this account: the *Tupies*, a people of *Brasil* (of whose fierceness *Orlandinus*, in his history of the society, makes mention) breaking into the territory of the town of *S. Xaverius* in great numbers, were driving away some converts into slavery, which were recovered by the industry of the *Jesuits*. Another company of them had made prisoners some townsmen of the *Incarnation*, whom F. Mendoza rescued, pursuing the robbers with *Pindovius* and a parcel of converts. And being further informed, that a village of the *Coronados* had been plundered by the same people, and many carryed away, he surprized them, and recovering the booty and prisoners, sent them back well reprimanded into *Brasil*. The *Coronados*, obliged by this kindness and some gifts he bestowed on them, were dismissed, promising, to send their country people to the fathers to be informed in matters of religion, which they performed. Not long after, ten *Caciques* of the *Coronados*, moved to it by *Taiaoba's* example, sent to desire of the fathers some one to instruct them in the christian doctrine. Hereupon F. Ruiz hasting out of the country of *Taiaoba* to the town of the *Incarnation*, took F. *Diastanius* with him and set out towards the *Coronados*. When they had travelled eight days over rocks and marshes attended by thirty converts, they met some of the *Coronados*, who told him, That *Guabair*, a powerful *Cacique*, bearing of their coming, had drawn over several villages to his party, and by common consent lay in wait for them in the next wood, where they would undoubtedly all perish if they presumed to advance. That they themselves had been summoned to have a hand in that business, but being mindful of the kindness received from the society, were come a By-way to give them intelligence. The fathers thanking them, consulted whether it were safe to proceed, and finding it was not, turned back and put off that expedition till the next year.

It is time we should say something of the Province of *Chagua*, under which name is of *Chagua* compre-

comprehended all that part of *Paraguay*, *Tucuman* and *Rio de la Plata*, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Santa Cruz*, or the holy cross, in the mountains, and the archbishop of *Chagua*, which is a vast extent of land. It is divided into several parcels by rivers rising in the mountains of *Peru*, and falling (after a run of many leagues) either into mighty lakes, or into the rivers *Paraguay* and *La Plata*. Upon the first coming of the *Spaniards* into those parts, abundance of the natives of *Tucuman* and *Peru* retired thither for fear of those new guests, as appears by those that still use the language called *Amiarra*, proper to the *Peruvians*. The most noted nations among them are the *Tamivians*, formerly inhabiting one hundred eighty-eight villages, the *Tents*, *Mataguais*, *Agais*, *Mafobies*, *Jopitilagans*, *Churumatans*, *Tonocotas*, *Abipones*, and several other factions of *Indians*, differing more in languages than customs. There is no supream power among them, they are subject to *Caciques* like the other barbarous people, whose power extends not beyond a house or village. Every particular person among 'em, superstitiously chooses a fish for his patron and protector, and worship it so religiously all their like-time, that they will rather starve than eat any of that species. They are continually at war with their neighbours, being more dreadful to strangers for their cruelty than valour. Some governors have endeavoured to open a way through these people into *Peru*; but that road has been forsaken, because those barbarians have at several times murdered many *Spaniards* in their way from *Paraguay* to *Peru*, till in the year 1628. *Martin de Ledesma*, governor of *Tucuman*, conceived some hopes of performing what had been in vain attempted before, by subduing the province of *Chagua*, by the way of *Xuxui*, the last town under his government, near the borders of *Peru*. Having therefore first sent a body of men, he writ to F. Duraud the provincial, earnestly intreating him, To assign some Priests to preach the Gospel. The provincial well knowing that soldiers commit many insolencies, when they enter upon new conquests, lest he should render the society odious to those *Indians*, answered, He would send fathers into the province of *Chagua*, when he could see any hope of settling there. But when he understood that the governor with his *Spanish* forces had pierced into the province of *Chagua*, and having built a castle, laid the foundations of a town, in that part where the river *Loba* runs through, the most fertile soil, and most frequented by *Indians*, he then sent F. Gaspar Oforio to look to the spiritual welfare of both *Spaniards* and *In-*

dians. He being a comely and sweet tempered man, soon won the affections of all men. Several *Caciques* of sundry factions resorted to him, with whom he agreed, that they should fell timber in three places to build as many new towns, after the manner of the people of *Parana*. These were reported to be above fifty thousand, whose language he endeavour'd to make himself master of. There were reckoned thirty thousand of the language of the *Mataguais*. Nor did he neglect the tongues of the *Tobas*, *Mocovias*, and *Zapitalaguas*, very numerous nations, as well because many of them desired to become christians, as because there were hopes of making a way through them to many other populous nations. He also studied the language of the *Churumates*, so called perhaps, because they often use this syllable *Chu*, *Chu*. *Martin Ledesma*, the governor, being gone to found another town on the banks of the river *Solotano*, F. Oforio stayed among the *Tobas* to mark out the plan of another town; whence he writ to the provincial, acquainting him, that three towns might be founded in the territories of the *Tobas*, *Mocovias* and *Zapitalaguas*, if there were fathers enough. He added, that the *Indians* up the country were so tall, that he could scarce reach their heads with his hand. The first year the *Spaniards* sowing, found the soil fit to bear all sorts of *European* grain, and what pleased them best, the *Indians* were reported to conceal mines of gold and silver. Yet there were some, who feared these easy beginnings would end unhappily, through the avarice of the new planters. At this time F. Gaspar Sobrino who had been sent procurator to *Rome*, returned to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, bringing with him forty-two fathers to be dispersed through that vast continent, to carry on the work so well begun. They were received with great joy, and the more for having narrowly escaped being taken by pirates, who appeared in the river of *Plate*, presently after their landing, and were known to be *Dutch*, who to poison the people, and excite them to rebellion, left on the shoar under a chest, a parcel of *Spanish* books but printed in *Holland*, tending only to follow their example in falling off from their obedience to their lawful king. But of this enough, for we must confine ourselves to affairs of the *Indies*.

There F. Gonzalez traversing the province of *Urvaica*, endeavoured to find employment for the new-come fathers, the news of whose arrival was spread abroad. First, he made his way into the woods of the *Caaroans*, knowing that the inhabitants of them were in some measure disposed to receive the faith, by the example of their neighbours

TECHO.

TECHO. neighbours and persuasions of F. Romero. Sixty *Caciques* dwelt in these woods, most of whom he persuaded to sow their grain not far from one another, in hopes of building a town; and promising them one of the society should come speedily to instruct them in the christian faith, he went away to the *Jivians* through the country of the *Piratinians*. The *Jivius* more like a brook than a river, having fallen down some easy descents from its source, runs directly into the *Urvaica*, a little above the *Ibitiraquans*. On both its banks and the adjacent plains there are woods, inhabited at that time by about five hundred families and their *Caciques*. The chief among them was *Niezuvius*, who by his nimble tongue and forcery had prevailed with all the neighbouring people to follow him as their leader. He was a fierce, but crafty man, cunningly flattering strangers, that he might have them in his power. Abundance of *Indians*, offended at our converts, had fled from the town of *S. Xaverius* and other places, to that monster of a man, allured by a licentious way of living; all whom *Niezuvius* kept about him and maintained, requiring them all to worship him, as a God. His disposition was naturally fit for any fraud or villainy. This man must have proved very troublesome to the affairs of the converts, had he persisted in his wickedness; therefore F. Gonzalez putting in execution the design he had long entertained of going to him, made no account of the man's cruelty, or the danger of deserters and renegadoes that lay in wait, and appearing unexpectedly before *Niezuvius*, prevailed so far by his eloquence that the inveterate enemy seemed to be reduced the first encounter. Therefore the more to oblige him, he brought him to the next town of *St. Nicholas*, where he was conducted to the church with great state. This shew of honour so far inclined him to the society and christian religion, that returning home he built a house and church for the priests that were to come, and brought over many of the neighbouring *Caciques* to follow his example. This was a difficult province, and required a prudent and resolute man; for it was feared, that *Niezuvius*, who was so easily brought over, might soon relapse, being known to be much given to forcery, to affect divine honour, and even at that time to keep a great company of concubines. F. John Castillo was left there, and F. Gonzalez going away to the river *Tabatio*, which runs into the *Urvaica*, found that another town might be erected on its banks, as was afterwards done, and therefore he promised the *Tabatians* an instructor, as soon as there were fathers enough. Then hear-

ing that ten fathers were coming up the *Parana*, he went to meet them, and having detained and dispersed them, returned through the territories of the *Jivians* and *Caasapaminians*, into the country of the *Caaroans*. This country lies about ten leagues from the river *Urvaica* towards the inland, nothing unlike to the other parts lately civilized, but that it seems to be somewhat more populous; nor would it be any thing more remarkable than its neighbouring people, but for having signalized it self in a base action, and afterwards in making amends for it. One great cause of reducing this country to christianity before any other, was its bordering on the lands of the *Caasapaminians*, as those do on the *Jivians*, and these on the *Piratinians*, who are parted from the *Ibitiraquans* only by the river *Urvaica*; and it was hoped, that these people, among whom the fathers had founded towns, being so linked together, would easily defend themselves against their enemies, and make the passage easy to those lands which lie between the river *Urvaica* and the *Atlantick* sea. F. Gonzalez being come with the *Caciques* to the place appointed, erected a cross, marked out the ground for the church and town, to take the name of *All-Town of Saints*; appointed magistrates, baptized All-saints. infants, instructed the men and women, and began vigorously to carry on their work. As things were thus going on prosperously, *Potirava*, a bold man, fit for any mischief, who had fled from the town of *S. Xaverius*, being hardened in his old superstitions, went privately to *Niezuvius*, and telling him he would soon be no better than a slave to the *Jesuits*, and must quit all his concubines, easily stirred him up to conspire the death of the fathers. Having drawn his people to consent to the murder, he sent the *Cacique Cuniaragua* to carry the design among the *Caaroans*, directing him to put the *Caciques Caarupe* and *Caabure* upon murdering F. Gonzalez and F. Rodriguez, which done, they were to go to execute the same upon F. Romero; whilst he put to death F. Castillo and other fathers about the river *Piratin*. All things were disposed as *Niezuvius* had order'd, so that F. Gonzalez having called together the *Indians* to hang a bell, that was to call them to be catechized, they were all ready, but upon another design, for *Caarupe* had underhand commanded them to be privately armed, and make no discovery, till he gave the signal to *Marangoa*, who was to execute the murder. They were all *Jesuits* thus assembled, and F. Gonzalez stooping murdered. to put the rope into the ring of the bell, *Caarupe* thinking that a fit opportunity to strike, made the sign to *Marangoa*, who, with

with all his force, struck the father on the head with a club that had a great stone fixed at the end, and at one blow knocked out his brains and left him dead, yet another seconding, the head was quite bruised to mass. Then all the company gave great shouts of joy, which alarmed father *Rodriguez*, who was at his prayers in a cottage hard by. As he was coming out, the cruel executioners beset his door, and in the same manner with their clubs batter'd him to death. When they were both dead, a continual cry followed, but not all of a piece, some rejoicing at the murder, others (for they had not all consented) expressing their grief, in doleful lamentations. The barbarians not yet satisfied, cut the trunk of *F. Rodriguez* his body from the limbs, mangling them with many wounds, dragging them about the church, and at last burnt them and the church together, tearing and breaking all that belong'd to it. Then sending an account of what they had done to *Niezuvius*, they all fell to feast together, where, as they were boasting of this action, as if it had been some honourable enterprize, an ancient *Indian*, father-in-law to *Guarobaius*, a great admirer of the society, though not yet baptiz'd, had the courage to reprimand them for their insolence, whereupon they all furiously fell upon, and tore him to pieces. Two youths, who serv'd *F. Gonzalez* at the altar, being taken, it was consulted whether they should destroy them, but their advice prevail'd who would have 'em sent home, lest it might be a provocation to the *Indians* of *Parana* to make war upon them. These being accordingly sent home, discover'd the whole manner of the slaughter.

The next day, being nothing more fedate after their night's sleep, they repaired in throngs to the place of the murder, where finding the fire had not consumed the trunks of the bodies, they kindled the fire again, and cast them in. Whilst they were thus employ'd, one of the youths we said they had sent away home, passing in his way through the territories of the *Caasapaminians*, acquainted *F. Romero* with the slaughter of his brethren; which being spread abroad, those people, according to the custom of their country, first kept a doleful silence, and then broke out into dismal shrieks, to express their sorrow, till their grief turning into anger, they ask'd leave of the father to revenge the murder. He dissuaded them from seeking revenge, but said he should look upon it as a great testimony of their affection, if they durst bring away their dead bodies. *Membacaba*, a man in repute among his people, immedi-

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ately chose about two hundred out of all the multitude, and ordering them to arm themselves, set forward with speed; and came the same day to the place where the mischief had been done, where they took the bodies half burnt, and return'd with them in despite of their enemies, and put them in a coffin, as the time would permit. Not long after, the wicked *Caarupe* came unexpected upon the *Caasapaminians*, three hundred armed men, to sacrifice *F. Romero*, whom, because he liv'd single, in scorn he call'd the old woman. The townsmen, according to their custom, were abroad in the fields about their country affairs, so that there were but ten young men in town, who being led by an old man, went out with their bows and arrows against that great number, and behaved themselves so gallantly, that they stopp'd them, till the *Caasapaminians* flocking out of the fields, put them all to flight, killing some, without the loss of a man. *F. Romero* himself appearing on horseback with two converts, contributed much towards gaining this victory, and so daunted the enemy, that they durst never make a second attempt. Before these things were done, that is, the next day after the slaughter of the two fathers, *Niezuvius* having receiv'd the news of their death, and rejoicing at the bloody fact, put on his garment of feathers, and all the other ornaments us'd in their prophane ceremonies; and ordering one of his concubines to be dress'd after the same manner, call'd all his people about him; it was night when they all met, and he making use of the darkness, for all lights were put out, after rattling some strange words in his throat, and making a hideous noise with an empty calabash, at last when he had fill'd all the company with horror, declar'd to them that *F. Castillo* was to be taken off. They all consented, resolving to manage it dexterously, lest he should make his escape, and therefore they took along with them some infidels that were come to be instructed in Christianity. At break of day they came to *F. Castillo*, then at his prayers, firing him to admit those who desir'd to be inrolled in the catalogue of Christians, and to bestow some small present on them, according to custom. The father receiv'd them with all possible affection; but as he was busy, and suspecting nothing, they fell upon, buffeted, and threw him down. If it be for these little things I bestow, said he, that you exercise your cruelty on me, take all, and keep me as your slave. They answer'd, it was his death, and of all the fathers throughout *Parana* and *Urvaica*, which they sought; and to make short, they bound him with a long rope, and thus

R

dragg'd

TECHN.
The dead
bodies re-
cover'd.

A brave
action.

F. Castillo
de-kill'd.

TECHO, dragged him half naked out of the town, over briars and stones, scoffing at him and shouting. By the way they hewed his face, pierced his body with arrows; a slave of *Niezuvius* every foot cruelly battering his belly with a club. At last they covered his head, all deformed with blood and mud, under a heap of stones, casting the body into the woods to be devoured by tygers; which done, they returned to give *Niezuvius* an account of their exploits. He putting on F. *Castillo's* priestly vestments, and over them the old garment of a forcecer, assembling his people, told them, they had no cause to fear their fields would lie waste; that they might now safely, after the manner of their ancestors, keep as many wives as they pleased, and again bestow divine honours on him. Then causing the children that had been baptized, to be brought to him, as if he could take off the baptism, washed their heads with hot water, scouring their tongues with sand, and scraping them with a shell, to wipe away the exorcised salt that had been laid upon them. Having performed many more extravagant ceremonies, he burnt the church, and ordered his men to be ready to march the next day, to kill the two fathers that were among the *Piratinians*. The news of their design came thither before them, and the fathers prepared themselves for death; the *Indians* in the mean while, tho' few in number, because most were abroad in the fields, making ready to defend their teachers; hearing that the enemy was very near, and numerous, the converts forced the fathers to fly into the woods, and the rebels, being too numerous for the *Piratinians*, broke into the town of S. *Nicholas*, seeking the fathers, and exercising their cruelty against the houses and goods, till the *Piratinians*, that were abroad, could be called home, and then renewing the fight, put those bloody barbarians to flight, killing sixteen of them, and wounding many more, without the loss of one man.

Courage
of the Ibi-
tiraquans.

In the mean while, F. *Alonso de Aragon*, and F. *Francis Claviso*, were forced to fly in great distress to the town of the *Conception*, among the *Ibitiraquans*, whither the news was already brought of *Niezuvius's* cruelty; and F. *James de Alfonso* had called together the chief men of the town to consult what was to be done. Their commander, *Nicholas Nienguir*, delivered himself thus. *Nothing will do, father, but to make use of our weapons with expedition; the enemies designs must be speedily prevented, lest they run us down whilst we lose time in debating. I would have you entertain that opinion of me and my followers, that we will not return to see our wives and friends, till having repulsed the enemy, we revenge the*

death of our dear masters with much blood of theirs. This said, he ordered two hundred of his best men to arm and follow him, whom he led into the territories of the *Piratinians*, thinking it enough if he put a stop to the progress of the enemy, till supplies could come from further parts. The news of the murder of the fathers being spread into other towns, caused great sorrow and consternation, which was increased by a report spread by the enemy, That the inhabitants of all places had conspired to slaughter their teachers. But when a further account came of the death of F. *Castillo*, and that *Niezuvius* was stirring up the *Indians* towards the *Atlantick* ocean to war, that he might overpower the converts, the terror was beyond measure. Therefore expresses were sent to the *Spanish* cities, and *Indian* towns far and near, to make known the numbers of the enemy, how few there were to oppose them, and how great the danger was. In the mean while, a company of soldiers was sent to the *Caasapaminans* to bring away father *Romero*, who was next to the enemy; but the *Caasapaminians* declared they could not part with him, unless he would have all the converts return to their scattered habitations, being forsaken by their pastor; but if he stayed, they would defend him from any harm at the expence of their own blood. It was necessary to comply with their request, for fear of doing wrong to such well-deserving people. Whilst these things were transacting, three spies were taken, and it appeared they were some of the murderers, and came to draw over *Quaracipucatus*, the chief *Cacique* among the *Ibitiraquans*, to *Niezuvius's* party, on account they were kindred. *Quaracipucatus* was then present with his men, and being asked by F. *James de Alfaro*, what he would have done with those kinsmen? Answered, There ought to be inquiry made into their actions, and if they were guilty, no notice to be taken of their consanguinity; for, that from that time, he would look upon no man, who was an enemy to religion, as his relation. F. *Alfaro*, to try the man, ordered the chief of the spies to lay down his arms, but he refusing, stepped back, clapping an arrow to his bow, and pointing at the father, being ready to let fly, had not the company seized and bound him. Eight hundred men were now got together, with which force it was thought fit to set out against *Niezuvius*, who was not well provided, and the *Tivians* scattered about the country. Only two men were found in the town of the *Tivians*, one of which had like to have been killed by a zealous convert, had not the father prevented him. The next morning our men came in sight of the enemy, of whom they demanded, if they desired

A general
Consternation.

Tivians
routed.

The Caaroans
punished.

desired peace, to have *Niezuvius*, and all that were guilty of the murder, delivered up to them; but received no other answer but by arrows. Thus incensed, they fell on with such fury, that in a moment, they routed the enemy, killing many of them, with the loss of only three killed, and about thirty wounded. *Niezuvius* flying before the fight, got over the river *Urvaica*, in a boat made of branches of trees, and lay concealed, and roving in several places, till some years after, falling into the hands of robbers, he suffered the punishment due to his guilt; being long formidable under his misfortunes, because his condition was not known. His scattered houses, being as many as his concubines, were all burnt.

Having thus, in some measure, revenged a just quarrel, *Niengurius* leading back the conquerors into the *Piratinian* territories, found new succours were there assembled. *F. Emanuel Cabral Alpoino*, a noble Portuguese, had, at his own cost, brought a company of *Spaniards* by publick authority from the city of *St. John*, eighty leagues distant; and from the *Indian* towns subject to the *Franciscans*, *F. Gregory de Osuna*, a godly man, had sent two hundred converts; and *F. John Gamarra*, worthy of eternal honour, as many more. *Arapisanduvius* and other *Caciques* had brought a considerable number of converts from other colonies. These things were much forwarded by *F. James Boroa*, rector of the *Assumption*, who having unsuccessfully tried the *Spaniards* in *Paraguay*, drew some men together himself, and came with great speed to join the *Piratinians*, because he acted for the provincial, who was then absent. In *December*, *Emanuel Cabral*, who commanded in chief, led the forces to the territories of the *Caasapiminians*, where *F. Romero* was in danger. It was a providence that he was so expeditious; for the next day after his arrival, the *Caaroan* murderers, to the number of five hundred, knowing nothing of our forces, entered the borders of the *Caasapaminians*, and were now at hand, threatening the town, when our troops marching out unexpectedly, struck such a terror into the rebels, especially at the sight of the *Spanish* horse, that after the first onset, they never stayed for a second, but betook themselves to the next woods, *Cabral* on the one side, and *Niengurius* on the other, making a greater slaughter of them. Many fled, and fifty were taken, among whom were the *Caciques*, *Caabure* and *Caarupe*, with others of the murderers. The next day they marched, and made themselves masters of the town of the *Caaroans*, where a consult was held about the punishment of the offenders. The

multitude was for punishing all, the wiser ^{TECHO.} sort for taking off the heads of the rebellion, and the society for no blood. *Cabral* ordered it so, as to endeavour to please all, for having given sentence of death against them all, he picked out only twelve of the number, by their example to shew what all had deserved. *Caabure* and *Caarupe* were hanged first, and then *Marangoa* in the same place where he had murdered *F. Gonzalez*. *Potirava*, the author of the conspiracy, having absconded for some time with *Araguira*, the murderer of *F. Castillo*, they were both delivered up by the heathens, and put to death. They all desired to be baptized before they died, except *Caabure*, who died blaspheming. After punishing the criminals, the bodies of the fathers were taken up, and carried in a very honourable manner to the town of the *Conception*, where they were received in solemn procession. First went the victorious forces leading their prisoners, then the children of the town, next the women, after them the men, and lastly, the chiefs of the nation, attended by variety of musick. On both sides of the biers, were fathers who had resorted thither from all parts. The people had adorned the way with triumphal arches, lighted bone-fires, and many other demonstrations of joy. In the church the bodies were placed in an honourable tomb, and *F. Boroa* made their funeral oration. Thus ended the rebellion of those *Indians*, whom we must leave to give an account of others.

The province of *Guaira* now calls upon us, where the fathers *Ruiz* and *Diastani-* ^{Of the Gualaches.} *us* venturing upon the *Gualaches*, met with unexpected success. The country of the *Gualaches*, who are also called *Guanianes*, lies between the lands of *Taiaboa* and the territories of *Urvaica* and *Ignasu*, running out as far as the sea towards *Brazil*. All this nation differs from the *Guaranians* both in customs and manners, and is for the most part at war with them. It would be far more populous, did not the inhabitants continually destroy one another; for when they are heated with their drink made of honey, in their circular drinking meetings, their pleasure turning into madness, they fall upon one another with whatsoever weapons come next to hand, with such fury, that many are desperately wounded, or killed, in the height of their drunkenness. These festivals coming about very often, must needs lessen the number of the people. Besides, their numerous forcerers increase the number of the dead, killing many with their charms and poyson. They frequently converse with the devil, and live rather upon hunting than upon tillage, dwelling in small villages, not far distant from one another. No body had been among them as yet to preach

TECHO. preach the gospel; but the borderers came to the iron mines, where a few *Spaniards* wrought, not far from the river *Piqueri*, which falls into the *Parana*. The *Gualaches* hearing the news, that the great *Taiaoba*, with whom they had been at war, had forsaken his barbarous manner of living, and was become a Christian, sent several messengers to F. Ruiz, to acquaint him that the people of several villages were willing to live together in a great town. F. Ruiz was then in the colony of the *Incarnation*, with F. *Diafanius*, and taking him for his companion, he went away to *Villarica*. From thence there were two ways to the *Gualaches*; the one by the iron mines, which was five days journey; the other about, up the river *Huibaio*, through the lands of *Taiaoba* and the *Indians* of the plains, who were always at war. F. Ruiz took the former, F. *Diafanius* the latter, but with very great danger, because no man had as yet ventured through those lands, which were much infested with forcerers; and this father was the first that got through that way. When he entered the country of the *Gualaches*, the sixth day of his journey through the desert, he met with greater danger, being met first with two companies of men-eaters, and afterwards by a greater number, from whom escaping through special providence, he at length came to a part of the country of the *Gualaches*, then infested with the plague, where he baptized abundance of infants, and some men and women, after instructing them by the help of an interpreter. F. Ruiz taking the direct road, as was said, came upon the borders of *Gualaches*, the fifth day after he set out of *Villarica*, baptizing very many, because the plague raged in those parts. As he was thus employed, messengers came to him from the *Chiquitos*, beyond the river *Piqueri*, desiring to have one of the society sent to instruct them, and mark out the plan for a town; whom he dismissed, promising to send a priest as soon as he had gathered a sufficient number for a town. Having spent eight months in baptizing those that were infested with the plague; at length the fathers, Ruiz and *Diafanius*, met in a convenient place to build a town, which was the residence of *Coke* a *Cacique*, father of five sons, each of which was chief of a village. Besides them, many other little villages were willing to join. The *Indians* therefore assembling in great numbers, a cross was erected, and the foundation of a town laid, which was called the *Conception*. *Curito*, the most powerful of the *Gualaches*, renowned among both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, being invited by F. Ruiz, came to him with an hundred followers, promising he would either erect a town in his own

The Chiquitos.

Conception town built.

lands, or join the people of the *Conception*. The first of these proposals was approved of, and he sent home with hopes; the *Spaniards* admiring that a word from the fathers should be of more force than their arms, with which they had despaired of reducing the great *Curito*. After he was gone, because the way to the country of *Taiaoba* was not streight, and through the lands of warlike *Indians*, F. Ruiz, with incredible labour, opened another through impenetrable woods, which was but four day's journey. F. *Diafanius* left in charge with the new town, reducing the language of the *Gualaches* to grammar rules, and committing the elements of Christianity to writing, made things easy for those that were to succeed him there in the care of souls. Besides, he gained the affections of those people by his skill in mechanicks, and especially in smiths work, which he had learnt of himself, and most necessary where there was great want of iron tools. Yet the converts were not very numerous, because of these *Indians* inclination to drunkenness and other barbarous customs.

F. Ruiz being come into the lands of *Taiaoba*, thro' that way he had made himself, bent all his thoughts upon gaining of the *Cacique Guiravera*, who did all he could to obstruct the founding of any new towns, and endeavoured to destroy those already founded: and indeed 'twas no indifferent conquest to reduce him; for *Guiravera* was the chief of all the man-eaters and forcerers in the province of *Guaira*, looked upon by the people far and near as a destroyer of human race, for his greediness of man's flesh, and made it his principal study to contrive to have F. *Maceta*, who had drawn over many of his heathens, fall into his snares: besides, he had declared to all the *Caciques*, who for fear of his power and forcery adhered to him, that the greatest service they could do him, would be to seize F. Ruiz, and serve him up roasted for him to eat. This cruelty was attended by pride, which made the monster stile himself the high-priest, and commander of all *Guaira*: and such was his madness, that he assumed an air of divinity, employing all his power in obstructing people from becoming Christians. The fathers studied all means to reduce or appease this inveterate enemy, and found 'twas something more than a human act to gain a man who was reported to be familiar with the devil, who laid the way to be taken in his own snare; for *Guiravera* using to receive oracles from dead bodies, the devil speaking, according to *Pythagoras* his opinion of the transmigration of souls, is said to have told him, that the soul of *Quaracitius*, who in former times had been looked upon as a god, was gone into the body of F. Ruiz, and had transferred all his

The Cacique Guiravera solicited to embrace the faith.

his divinity thither. Which being spread abroad, F. Ruiz, among the heathens, was generally reputed to be a god, and the true image of *Quaracilius*. Which, in process of time, proved beneficial to the Christian religion; for *Guiravera* being very eager to see F. Ruiz, whom he took for *Quaracilius* come to life again, after several messages sent forward and backward, set out to see him in great state, attended by two hundred *Indians*. Being come near the town of *St. Paul*, among the *Inanians*, he sent in a man to fix the conditions of the interview; but being impatient of delay entered the town after him, proclaiming in a hideous voice, that contrary to his dignity he had vouchsafed at present to tread the ground, to see the foreign priests. Going on with this sort of discourse, he found the fathers sitting in the market-place, and was by them desired to sit down upon a low bench. He with insupportable pride ordered his men to cover the bench and ground his feet were to rest on, with their garments; then sitting down, and looking more calm, he saluted the fathers after the country manner. They returned the salutation; and having endeavoured to introduce some discourse of religion, finding him very uneasy, they put it off to a proper season, and so they parted. But knowing that nothing so much gained the hearts of the *Indians* as feasting, they killed two oxen; and having made a plentiful banquet their exordium or introduction, F. Ruiz finding *Guiravera* very suspicious of treachery, among many other things he said, ended his speech to him in this manner: *You have no cause, Guiravera, said he, to apprehend any treachery from those who desire nothing so much as to die for the glory of God; you see our innocence is our defence, suspecting nothing, tho' unarmed amidst your armed guards, and only studying to entertain those who are reported to covet nothing so much as to catch and devour us. Our only care being to gain souls, we have never been known to hurt the body, it being our only study to bring all men to worship one only God; trusting in this hope, we despise all dangers: but be not deceived, Guiravera, with the false glittering of an empty name, for you and I are mortal: I arrogate nothing from the impostures of your false oracle; nor do I allow you that divinity you vainly boast of. You and I were made of dust, and to dust we shall return; this was our original, and this will be our end: alay thy pride therefore, dust and ashes, and learn what distance there is between a vile clod of earth and the universal Creator. Why do you boast of having created the world, who have hitherto behaved yourself as if you had been born to be a plague to it? You are not the creator, but destroyer of men; not the bestower of dignities, but a base slave to vice; not the joy of human race but its devourer, still*

gorged with bodies of men, and gaping after more. You are not the maker of the universe, but an empty product of the devil's: yet believe, God is always so merciful, that he's ready, if they repent, to pardon the transgressors of his laws. Honour this God, unless you will rather chuse to endure his punishments for ever. Return home for the present, we soon will follow you. The barbarian becoming much more complying, made shew as if he approved of what was said, but it plainly appeared he only temporized and counterfeited. Several of the *Caciques* that came with him shewed an inclination to embrace Christianity privately, affirming, if the fathers would come into their country, that many of *Guiravera's* followers would quit him to embrace the true religion. F. Ruiz, knowing that the people were all led by their *Caciques* and forcerers, and that all things would be easy when they were gained, to oblige *Guiravera*, gave him a rod, such as the *Spanish* magistrates carry, in the name of his Catholick majesty, and caused him to be honourably conducted about the town by four hundred armed converts, by which means he seemed to be somewhat obliged. After his departure, the fathers consulted about settling a colony in his lands whatever the danger might be. Whilst F. Ruiz was upon this design, letters were brought, giving an account that the town of the *Incarnation* was infested by the *Mamalucs*, and therefore putting off the business of *Guiravera*, he halted away to oppose them.

Some companies of *Mamalucs* (of whom we shall give a full account hereafter) had passed the river *Tibaxiva*, near the town of *S. Xaverius*, and encamping near the colonies of converts, struck a terror into all the province of *Guaira*; for, besides a multitude of infidels, they had drove away into captivity several converts, whereof F. *Mendoza* complaining, they made a meer jest of what he said. F. Ruiz being come, and expecting no civility among robbers, ordered a thousand converts to take up arms in their own defence, and sent two fathers to try those rovers, who killed one that went with them, and wounded one of those fathers; yet they proceeded, threatening to raise all the province against them, and boldly unbinding the prisoners, carried them back to F. Ruiz. The robbers still seemed inclined to give battle, tho' F. Ruiz, in the name of the Catholick king, conjured them to peace: however, at last they drew back from the towns of the converts, shewing as if they would be satisfied with driving away the infidels, and forbear infesting the converts; yet it was feared, and the event shewed there was no truth in their pretences, to the ruin of the province; as we shall see in its place. New fathers coming

Invasions
of Mاما-
lucs.

TECHO. in the midst of the troubles out of *Europe*, found matter to exercise their patience and charity; for the *Coronados Indians* inhabiting the plains, who had been attempted a year and half before, without any success, sent now to *F. Mendoza*, residing in the town of the *Incarnation*, to desire they might have priests sent them, and towns founded; which they were the more earnest for, when the report was spread abroad, that only those were to be led away captives who would not submit to be instructed by the society. *F. Ruiz* taking *F. Mendoza* with him went, and found all things in great forwardness.

Ibitiruna is a very craggy mountain, three days journey from the town of the *Incarnation*, the inhabitants of which mountain being commanded to demolish their villages, which lay scattered up and down, and to build a town in the place appointed, readily performed it. In the mean while *F. Mendoza* sent to the *Ibiangués*, a people opposite to the sea, to build a town there, finding they were all dispersed for fear of the *Mamalucés*, brought an hundred families he could gather, to add to the new town of *St. Michael*, so that there were two thousand souls in it. This place being settled, *F. Ruiz*, at the request of *Pataguirisuvius*, a *Cacique* of note, went a day's journey further, and gathering *Indians* laid the foundation of another town, under the invocation of *S. Antony* the hermit, so many inhabitants resorting to it, that in two months it contained two thousand five hundred souls. The fathers were no less successful in the lands of *Taiaboa*, for *F. Diastanius* being sent by *F. Ruiz* from the town of the *Conception*, to look to the colony of the *Archangels* for some time, several *Caciques* of *Guiravera's* faction resorted to him, requesting so earnestly to have a town built, that there was no refusing of them. There's an eminence half-way between the towns of *Archangel* and *S. Paul*, which the *Indians* call the burying place of *S. Thomas*, having received by tradition from their ancestors, that the said apostle of the *Indies* passing thro' those countries, buried a great multitude he had baptized in that place. This spot being very commodious, and encompassed by abundance of villages of infidels, was chosen by *F. Diastanius* to build a town on, and a cross erected; and, what is wonderful, those very men who had contrived to murder *F. Ruiz*, and were counted the cruelest of man-eaters, came voluntarily into it. Besides four hundred families that came in of their own accord at first, *F. Diastanius* gathered four hundred more in the woods and mountains, and called it the town of *S. Thomas*. But the plague raging at this time throughout the province of *Guaira*, found the fathers a great deal of employ-

ment; but the dread of the insolency of the robbers was more grievous than the distemper, for 'twas now feared they had lost all respect to the fathers, and would fall openly upon the converts. The jealousy was increased by the arrival of the new governor of *Paraguay*, who coming thro' *Brasil* the same way the robbers came, and being an enemy to the society, was feared would furnish a sorrowful subject for history.

The province of *Urvaica* was not well settled after the troubles raised by the murderers of the fathers, and 'twas much feared that *Niezuvius* being still alive, might elsewhere gather new forces, and do the more mischief, because the converts were grown confident of their own strength after their late victory. Hereupon the *Ibitiraquans* calling succours from all parts, set out a fleet of an hundred boats, with which they ran up the river *Parana*, to the place where *Niezuvius* was thought to be contriving an insurrection. They searched all the woods to no effect, till they heard he was fled an hundred leagues further. This done, they returned home without any success, but the baptizing of two old men they found dying in the woods. The territory of *Iguazu* was no better settled. All the heathen inhabitants of the town of *S. Mary Major* had been warned, that if they intended to be instructed for baptism, they must put away all their women but one, whom they were to take to wife. Many, who had so much grace, obeyed, the rest fearing they should be compelled to it, fled up the river into the woods, and sowing in remote places, built a village after their ancient manner, renouncing Christianity. *F. Ruiz* sent after them those he thought the sincerest of the converts, to tell them, *It should be no disgrace to them if they would return in time.* These messengers, pleased with imaginary liberty, changing their mind, grew more mischievous than those they were sent to, for they not only persuaded those that were fled to stay abroad, but undertook to draw the rest from the town; and 'twas feared they might by their ill example debauch other converts, and trouble all the province of *Parana*. To prevent this mischief, after mature deliberation, the fathers *Ruiz* and *Badia* went to the place where the deserters were, attended by a company of trusty converts, and coming at a time when the men were gone a hunting and to cut wood, with the assistance of the *Caciques* that came along with them, they set fire to their huts, and began to drive the women and children to the town. The deserters returning at night, and suspecting by the fire how the matter stood, for the sake of their wives and children, came and submitted themselves

Niezuvius
pursued in
vain.

Distur-
bance in
Iguazu.

Town of
S. Michael.

S. Antony

S. Thomas

Caaroans submit.

selves to the fathers, who commending them for returning, instead of blaming their desertion, restored 'em to the town, where they continued without ever relapsing, to the great joy of the whole province, most of 'em soon after embracing christianity, quitting their concubines, and marrying lawful wives. Yet the plague ceas'd not to rage throughout the province of *Parana*, and therefore, because the town of *Corpus Christi* seemed to be seated in an unhealthy place, as drawing the vapours from the river with the rising sun, it was removed to a better seat. Next, all the fathers applied themselves to repair the damages sustained by the revolt of *Niezuvius's* faction. This design was not a little forwarded by the repentance of the *Caaroan* murderers, which they were easily brought to by *Tambataius*, a prisoner sent back to them. To testify their penitence, they sent a piece of *F. Gonzalez's* chalice to the fathers, intreating them to come and restore all things to the same posture they were in before; whereupon *F. Romero* and *F. Alfaro* prepared to repair to them, notwithstanding the converts used all arguments to dissuade 'em; and being upon the spot erected a cross, and finding sufficient encouragement to undertake the building of a town, returned in safety. Soon after, *F. Vasquez*, the new provincial, coming out of the province of *Tucuman* to visit those of *Urvaica* and *Parana*, resolved to go thither himself well attended, to gain the greater reputation. The chief of the *Caaroans*, followed by a multitude of people, came out to meet him unarmed, in whose name *Guarobaius*, who had continued faithful, spoke to him after this manner; *We lay our arms at your feet, great father, being ready to obey all your commands, provided you do not impose it as a punishment of our crime, to be depriv'd of the society: this is the request of all my countrymen, and they have chose me, who am innocent, for their advocate, that the guilty may the more easily obtain pardon.* This said, they fell down at the provincial's feet, begging of him not to forsake them, *F. Romero* being their interpreter. The women and children, by dismal motions, interceded for their husbands and parents. The provincial returned a most affectionate answer, laying all the blame on *Niezuvius*, and calling them to embrace 'him, whereat they all burst out into tears. The next day the provincial baptized several infants, set at liberty some prisoners taken when *Niezuvius* was defeated, bestowed some garments among the *Caciques*, and appointing *Guarobaius* their commander in the name of the catholick king, went away to the river *Urvaica*. Soon after *F. Oregius* came from the metropolis of *Paraguay*, to take charge of the *Caaroans*, restored the town, and bap-

tized many men, women and children. T. 71. 3.
After the *Caaroans* were settled, *Tuca*, a powerful *Cacique* in that part where the river *Tabatius* falls into the *Urvaica*, seven leagues from the colony of the *Ibitiraquans* eastward, requested of *F. Boroa* that he would send some father to him to build a town. This father hastened thither, and building a little cottage to serve for house and chapel, began to instruct the multitude that repair'd to him. As he was thus employ'd, a great number of naked painted *Indians* came upon him from the neighbouring mountains, but he soon appeased them with some small gifts, and they went off without doing any harm. Notwithstanding this and other dangers, he gathered a sufficient number to lay the foundation of a town, in which he was much assisted by a converted *Indian* woman, who running thro' the woods, persuaded many to repair to hear him. Thus soon after a town was built there, under the invocation of *S. Xaverius*, because the *Jaguaitians*, being but a very small number, had left theirs of that name, and were gone elsewhere. Next the *Acaraguains*, another people on the *Urvaica*, sent to desire fathers might be sent them, but this could not be granted for the present, because there were not enough to supply all parts.

Town of S. Xaverius.

In *Guicara* the fathers having in some *Jesu Maria* measure reconciled *Guiravera*, thought it ria town built. would be for the glory of God to expose themselves to danger, endeavoured to found a new town in his lands: to this purpose *F. Ruiz* and *F. Maceta*, banishing all fear, went into his territories, by whom they were at first courteously receiv'd, many *Caciques* favouring them, and chose a place to erect a town, which they call'd *Jesus and Mary*, so many resorting to it from all parts as sufficiently evinced the general approbation of that undertaking. *F. Maceta* was left there to carry on the work, and people flocking in great numbers, *Guiravera*, who could not bear to be forsaken by his followers, came attended by some *Caciques* to *F. Maceta*, demanding that long white vestment he wore at mass to be given him, speaking very reproachful words against the virgin *Mary* and the society. *Guiravera's* companions advis'd the father to rid himself of that troublesome man at so easy a rate; but he knowing by experience that giving way to those heathens was an encouragement to them to crave more, boldly refus'd to give it, and laying hold of a little trunk or box the vestments were in, declared he would die before he would part with it. *Guiravera* and his company were so daunted at his resolution that they turned pale, and had not a word to say; whereupon the father altering his note, spoke to 'em in a loving manner, promising them all favour

TECHO. favour, if they would desist from their enterprize. In the mean while *Guiravera's* aunt and other *Caciques* came in, encouraging the father, and engaging to secure him against any violence. This storm being blown over, a short calm ensued. *Guiravera*, possessed by evil spirits, was at times put into such a ferment, that he foamed, his eyes sparkled, and his hair stood an end, till his concubines, by stroaking and carefing, had brought him to himself. In one of these fits, without any provocation, he ran into the middle of the market-place at midnight, waking all the townsmen, and crying out he was a god, and that there was a man in town whom he must presently devour; but some other *Caciques* coming to him frightened him out of that raging madness. During the peaceable intervals, the work was carried on so prosperously, that in a short time fifty powerful *Caciques* had engaged to come in, who would have brought above two thousand archers with 'em, besides an infinite number of women and children, so that this would soon be the biggest of all the *Indian* towns. *Guiravera* again conspired with a *Cacique* called *Apemond*, to murder *F. Maceta*, but the design was timely discovered, and they disappointed; whereupon *F. Diastanius* coming with a good company of converts to the relief of *F. Maceta*, reprimanded *Guiravera* severely, so that he submitted and begged pardon. He was pardoned, but, to keep him a little under, another commander of the town was chosen, with equal power to him, which did good for some time, he endeavouring not to be outdone in good deeds by his companion. But vice cannot lie long hid under the cloak of virtue; for *Guiravera*, when his fear was over, fell to his old practices, threatening the father by signs, tho' he forbore words. 'Twas his custom, when he designed to be most outrageous, to hang three plates about his neck before his breast; when he would rave in a less degree, he hung but two; and only one when 'twas to be a common madness. *F. Maceta* declared *He had good reason to suspect that one of the plates was a paten, such as priests use at the altar.* After many strugglings between 'em, *Guiravera* was baptized by the name of *Paul*; but tho' he had been a *Saul* in persecuting, he proved not a *Paul* in repentance, for he's reported to have fallen again to eating of man's flesh, and so to be kill'd by robbers; yet his being baptized did this good, that none of his followers refused to follow his example. Thus much of *Guiravera*, that devourer of mankind, and terror of the converts and fathers.

Original
and man-
ners of the
Mama-
lucs.

Christianity now daily increased, and it was to be hoped that all the province of *Guaira* would soon embrace the true reli-

gion; when the devil envying this success, either by himself or by his agents the *Mamalucs*, contrived the destruction of the new colonies built in *Guaira* by the fathers of the society. The *Mamalucs* being the prime actors of this tragedy, it seems but reasonable we should give an account of their original, country, manners, and allies, that we may afterwards go on without interruption in the relation of their over-running a most flourishing province, so that there was scarce any hope of restoring it, and their plundering other countries. *Brasil*, a vast province of the new world, extends northward as far as the line, and southward to the bounds of the government of the river of *Plate*. It lies all along the sea-coast, and no where runs far up into the country. The kings of *Portugal*, at several times, possessed themselves of this country, planting colonies in it; and *Alonza de Sousa*, by order of King *John III*, divided it into several governments, and then built the town of *S. Vincent*, in about 25 deg. of south latitude, fortifying it with a castle and tower, in a place where a small bay is shut in by two islands, which serve as ramparts to it. In one of the islands he built another town under the invocation of *All Saints*, that the one might be a defence to the other. From these two towns some colonies were sent up the country, one of which is called *Piratininga*. Two years before the death of *S. Ignatius*, *Emanuel Nobrega*, the first provincial of *Brasil*, gave it the name of *S. Paul*, because he came into *Piratininga* on the festival of that apostle. Tho' all the fathers of the society, who founded a college there, laboured with great applause, yet *F. Anchieta* excelled 'em all for his wonderful actions and innocence of life; and the *European* planters for a long time preserved their native honour, till the *European* women failing, they began to mix with that barbarous race, and corrupted the noble *Portuguese* blood. This mixture, in process of time, running through 'em all, and bad sons succeeding good fathers, and worse grandsons, the sons that generous *Portuguese*s bred being so often mixed, degenerated, so that there nothing remained among the posterity of those first renown'd conquerors of *Brasil* but their names. The *Portuguese*s disdaining to call this generation by their name (as *Orlandinus* in his history of the society observes) gave 'em the barbarous name of *Mamalucs*; that since they are like them in nothing else, they may not be alike in name. This depraved race was increased by the addition of worse companions, who resorted to them in great numbers from other places, being invited by liberty and the good disposition of the place: for *Piratininga*, as to situation and fruitfulness

fruitfulness of the soil, furnishes such as desire to live wickedly and daintily, with necessaries and safety. 'Tis fifteen leagues from the ocean, and a little south from the tropick of *Capricorn*. Being therefore in a temperate climate, it produces most things necessary for life, so that it not only furnishes it self, but the rest of *Brazil*, which is so luxuriant by reason of the great heat and moisture, with plenty of corn and cattle. It produces sugar, and is said not to want gold mines. There's but one way thither from the ports upon the ocean, which is over craggy mountains, and very difficult to pass, and so narrow that a very few may keep out any numbers. This fertility of the soil, and inaccessibleness of the place, draws many who are forced to fly for their crimes, or desire to commit 'em, to fly thither out of *Europe* and *Brazil*. Thus men of several nations, and guilty of all crimes, having found out a place suitable to their inclination, and joining in amity with the *Mamaluks*, began to treat the *Indians* after a far different manner from the first generous *Portugals*, who first planted colonies in *Brazil*. The first, and a singular proof of their villanies, as I find it, fell upon the *Tupinaques*. These people dwelt on both the banks of the river *Aniambi*, which rising out of the cold mountains, and running a long race thro' the province of *Guaira*, falls into the *Parana*: they were computed to be thirty thousand archers, living in three hundred villages; but they so destroyed all that nation in six years war, that there scarce remains any token of that multitude, except the ruins of the villages. The war with the *Tupinaques* being at an end, they enter'd the territories of the *Tupiguas* inhabiting both sides of the river *Teticai*, in the year 1589, after having spread their terror thro' the neighbouring countries, and for seven years drove all before 'em; after which followed the five years desolation along the river *Paraubaba*, which falls into the springs of that of the *Amazons*. King *Philip* abhorring the cruelty of these robbers, set out an edict, which was only the renewing the laws of the emperor *Charles V.* and the kings of *Portugal*, forbidding the *Indians* being made slaves on any pretence whatsoever. The governors and magistrates of *Brazil*, and even those of the town of *Piratininga*, endeavoured to have the king's commands observed; but the *Mamaluks*, breaking thro' all ancient and modern laws, were still more wickedly bent upon the destruction of the *Indians*; yet, lest they should seem openly to violate the laws, they had always specious pretences, and such as seem'd to carry a zeal of the king's service for what they did, palliating their villany under a shew of justice. Thus under a colour of

going to the gold mines found up the inland, they often broke out in great numbers from the towns of *Piratininga*, *S. Vincent* and the *Saints*, and drove away an infinite number of *Indians* into slavery. But what is most preposterous, they perform all acts of devotion before they set out upon these expeditions, which last three or four years, as if heaven could hear the prayers of miscreants, and give a blessing to villanies; and what is most provoking, these wretches call their robberies *Apostolick Excursions*, saying, they go to ferret the *Indians* out of their lurking holes, to bring 'em to civility and the christian religion. I could give a particular account, having the authentick relations by me, of the persons, times and places; I could shew how cruelly they wasted whole provinces, who the commanders of the robbers were, and what particular places they utterly destroyed; but I shall express it more briefly by saying, that all the vast tract of land, from the river *Marannon* to 30 degr. of south latitude, up the inland, suffered by their continual excursions. There remained a part of *Guaira*, and some other countries famous for the labours of the society in them, which how they plunder'd or damaged I am now about to set down as acted in several years.

Luis de Cespedes, a man nobly descended, arrived from *Spain* in *Brazil* in the year 1629, to proceed to *Paraguay*, having obtained the government of that province of the king. There are two ways from *Brazil* to *Paraguay*, the one by land, t'other by sea; the way by land was absolutely forbid by the king, to prevent the oppression of the *Indians*; yet the new governor thought fit to go by land, alledging he had the king's dispensation. Being at *Piratininga*, he set out at such time as nine hundred *Mamaluks*, and two thousand two hundred *Tupims* (these are fierce *Indians*, in league with the *Mamaluks*) were preparing to enter *Guaira* to plunder. Their commander in chief was *Antony Raposo*; other men, infamous for enslaving the *Indians*, were captains under him. The governor setting out of *Piratininga* in an ill season, having travelled some days by land, made the rest of his journey into *Guaira* on the river. Being honourably entertained at *Loreto* by *F. Ruiz*, all the return he made was ill language; and having consulted about providing against the *Mamaluks*, he fixed upon nothing. Tho' he could not but commend the labours of the society, he could never be brought to order supplies to oppose the robbers, declaring he was not strong enough for 'em; but it appears he was faulty in that particular, and therefore, some time after, was fined by the council of *Spain*.

Occasion of the desolation of *Guaira*.

TECHO. In the mean while the troops of the *Mamalu* drove the lands of the infidels not far from the towns of the converts, attempting nothing upon the converts of the society; yet the fathers did not doubt there was fire hid under those deceitful ashes, which soon broke out into a dreadful conflagration, for 'twas plain that the robbers only wanted a pretence to fall on. The *Cacique Taturana* was the innocent cause of this mischief; he had been once taken by *Simon Alvarez*, a *Mamalu*, but having made his escape with his men, fled to the town of *S. Antony*. This being known, *Simon Alvarez* commander of one of the troops of *Mamalu*s, demands *Taturana* of *F. Mola*, director of the town of *S. Antony*, who answering, that *Taturana* was free by nature, and therefore he could not, contrary to the laws of nature, put him into chains, who had fortunately delivered himself. The rover was enraged; and consulting with *Antony Raposo*, chief commander of the *Mamalu*s, ordered his company to arms, resolving in revenge to destroy the whole colony of *S. Antony*. *F. Mola* on the other side, not questioning he should be attacked, baptized all the infants in the town. The next day a numerous company of *Mamalu*s, under the command of *Simon Alvarez*, assaults the town, plunders it, spares none, cuts off such as oppose him, secures the prime men, drives away the weak multitude, robs *F. Mola* of all he had, tho' he used all means to move those robbers to commiseration; but finding no humanity among 'em, and despairing of defending the bodies, applied himself to procure the health of the souls of those poor people, baptizing, instructing, and otherwise helping them, as occasion would permit in that short time; and this not without danger of his life, one of these miscreants aiming to kill him, had not another of the gang obstructed him. About two thousand five hundred *Indians* are said to have been taken at this invasion by the robbers; the shepherd was left without his flock, lamenting the loss of his dear children in God, whom he saw drove away like sheep before his face, without hopes of redress. Nor was the sorrow of those poor captives less, who still looked about to see whether there was any possibility of making their escape; and some having found means of compassing it, made their way to *F. Mola*. To these were added some others, who had hid themselves from the robbers, all whom as he was leading to the town of the *Incarnation*, he was again in danger of being killed; for several of 'em changing their minds, began to mutiny, accusing *F. Mola* of treachery, and affirming he dealt underhand with the robbers; whereupon they were ready to fall upon him, but that he commemorating the dangers he and others of the society had exposed themselves to for their sakes, diverted 'em for that time, with the assistance of some sincere converts. But the danger was accidentally doubled; for a great number of gentiles, altogether ignorant of the mischief done the day before, coming to the town of *S. Antony* with a design to embrace christianity, finding it abandoned and strewed with dead bodies, grew enraged, and dispersing into several companies, sought about for the fathers, as betrayers of their country; but *F. Mola* was got safe to the *Incarnation*, *F. Pastor* having come out to meet and relieve him.

The news of the invasion being brought to the town of *St. Michael*, obliged *F. Mendoza* and *F. Vansuck*, who resided there, to provide the best they could against it; and because 'twas unsafe to remain in the town, endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to fly with them to the town of the *Incarnation*, where, with joint forces, they might oppose the robbers. Many taking the advice, followed *F. Vansuck*, and were met and relieved by the fathers and converts of the *Incarnation*. Having secured them, *F. Vansuck* returned to the town of *S. Michael*, and persuaded the rest, for fear of the enemy, who were now near, to hide themselves in the woods: he himself stayed in the town with two youths, to the great danger of his life, for many of the *Indians* were full of jealousies, and some were reported to design against his life; whereupon some converts venturing from the *Incarnation* to defend him, fell into the hands of the *Mamalu*s, and were carried away into slavery, notwithstanding he went to demand 'em. Soon after *Antony Vicudo*, captain of another band of *Mamalu*s, envying the plunder of the town of *S. Antony*, without any other provocation, entered the town of *S. Michael*, and finding it abandoned, in a rage searched all the country for four leagues about, making all slaves that he could meet with. These two towns being destroyed, there could be no opportunity of attending the conversion of the *Caarivans*, a numerous nation, that desired the assistance of the society. In the mean while great numbers fled for protection to the town of *Jesu Maria*, but in vain, for neither could this place avoid the fury of those miscreants. *Emanuel Morato* captain of a band of those thieves, being informed of the multitude there was in the town of *Jesu Maria*, taking some detachments out of the other companies of rovers, and two thousand of the *Tupus* their auxiliaries, in march appeared before the town of *Jesu Maria*. The chief men of the town going out a little way to discover whether those were professed enemies,

Mamalu
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stroy the
town of
S. Antony.

S. Michael's town
plundered.

And that
of Jesu
Maria.

mies, were presently seized and bound. F. Maceta, perceiving they acted in a hostile manner, went out to 'em with a crucifix in his hand, and an *Albe* or surplice on, to try whether any respect would be given to his priestly function, but they scorned him, calling him fool, and deceiver of the *Indians*. The new-made christians surrounded their father, expressing their affection the best they could, in words or tears; among them *Curuba*, a powerful *Cacique*, complaining to him with a filial confidence of the violence offered him, was shot thro' the body with a bullet by one of the robbers. F. Maceta provoked at this villany, severely reprimanded that wretch, who drawing his sword, threatened to kill him, but was diverted from it. *Curuba* in the mean while wallowed in his blood, and having not been before baptized, was there at his death made a christian. *Guiravera* with the rest of the principal men, had their hands bound behind 'em, and were drove away like sheep. F. Spinoza, hearing of the danger F. Maceta was in, came with some hundreds of *Indians* by night to his assistance, and had like to break his neck off a rock, of which fall he lay three hours as if he had been dead, recovering afterwards with much difficulty. Three hundred more converts came with F. Diastanius on the same account from the town of S. Thomas. All the good these succours did, was only to receive some few that made their escape from the hindermost troops, for the robbers were gone off in time. F. Maceta went away with F. Diastanius, who advised him to pursue the robbers, that if he could not move 'em by entreaty, he might force the prey from 'em in *Brazil*, by the assistance of the magistrates. This being resolved on, F. Maceta and F. Vansuckius, who had been robbed of their flocks, followed the robbers thro' a vast desert, and soon overtook 'em. The *Mamelucs*, divided into companies as they were, drove a numerous multitude of captives before 'em; and, that none might escape, had secured the *Caciques* with fetters linked to a long chain; the rest were put forward with their hands bound. F. Maceta ran among these poor wretches, embracing them, and begging of their keepers for his children in Christ, but they scoffed at him, saying he was mad; and yet he desisted not till he had mollified one of those thieves, and rescued some few of the *Indians*. Encouraged with this success, he went to another company, where with much entreaty he obtained liberty for eight, one of whom was the famous *Cacique Guiravera*, and with him his wife. He tried others, but with no success, for cruelty once hardened, is not to be moved by any entreaties;

therefore, lest the rovers should repent 'em, the fathers sent back the *Indians* they had delivered with those that carried their portable altar into *Guaira*. After which they followed the thieves thro' a vast tract of land, attended by three companions, and feeding on berries or other wild fruit that grew in the woods, with imminent danger of their lives. The *Mamelucs* marched slowly lest the prisoners should faint by the way if they drove 'em hard, yet very often some dropt, being either spent with sickness or hunger; or failing thro' age or weakness, whom the fathers having prepared for death, were obliged to leave in the wilderness exposed to wild beasts, that they might give the same assistance to others. There 'twas frequent to see young men loaded with their mothers, mothers with their children, sons with their fathers, wives with their husbands, and husbands supporting the wives who had their infants in their arms. If any one attempted to make his escape, he was cruelly whipped: nor was it permitted any man, if his father or mother dropped by the way, to stay behind with them, but wheresoever one sunk, there he must dye alone. Parents were dragged away from their dying children, and sisters drove away from closing the eyes of expiring brothers; and the mothers dying, infants perished for want of suck. At length having overcome the difficulties of that tedious journey, they came to *Piratininga*, or the town of S. Paul, where the fathers were lovingly entertained in the college of their order. The *Mamelucs* returning after an expedition of nine months with one thousand five hundred captives, divided the prey among themselves, owning they never made a better booty.

The two fathers having made their complaint to the judge of *Rio de Janeiro* in *Brazil*, of the *Mamelucs* plundering their three towns, and driving away all the people, and demanding to have the prisoners restored, were answered, *That we had no power to determine those capital cases, which were all refer'd to the governor general of Brasil*. Upon this they set sail from *Rio de Janeiro* with the provincial of the order to *Baia de todos los Santos*, the residence of the governor. Where, having made their complaint, they obtained an order for all the prisoners to be restored to them, and a judge was appointed to go force them from the *Mamelucs*. But this was more specious than effectual, and the governor well enough knew it; for it was plain that so villanous a cause was not managed with that severity it ought to be; and it was plain that those robbers ought not to be dealt with by form of law, but force of arms. The connivance

What the fathers did in Brazil.

TECHO. nivance was universal, for the miserable captives were sold throughout all *Brasil* as slaves, and many of the principal men bought of them, that so more being concerned there might be the less hopes of redress. But *James de Vega*, a noble *Portuguese*, perceiving the business was protracted, without any hopes of success, offered *F. Maceta* as much money as would bear his charges into *Spain*, to sollicite this affair before the king, but it being reported that the *Mamalucs* prepared for another invasion into *Guaira*, the fathers thought better to return thither with all speed. Having recovered but twelve of the prisoners at *Rio de Janeiro*, they went away to *Piratininga*, carrying a child of four years of age on their backs up a mountain two leagues to the top. Being come to *Piratininga*, the *Mamalucs* in a tumultuous manner obstructed their entering the college, and carrying them to another house, detained them till the rector of the college delivered them by force of intreaties. The judge sent by the governor of *Brasil*, was in danger of his life, one of those villains firing at him; and some of those miscreants were heard to say, *They would rather renounce their baptism than suffer the governor's order to be put in execution*. Thus the judge despairing of doing any good, returned from whence he came. The fathers, after many affronts put upon them, set out of *Piratininga* with a very small number they had rescued out of so many thousands; and being plentifully furnished with provisions for their journey by the fathers of the college, sailed down the river *Aniambi* into the *Parana*, and out of that into the *Parapana*, returning home after a whole year's toils to little purpose.

Troubles
in Guaira.

The province of *Guaira* having suffered so much by the incursion of the *Mamalucs*, was no less rent by jealousies and fears; for many of the converts thought they were gathered into towns by the fathers, that they might be the better betrayed to those barbarous enemies, giving out, there was no faith to be given to those who had so often affirmed, *That the Mamalucs would only infect those who did not become christians, and submit to the king of Spain*. That dismal experience had taught them, they spared none; and considering what had happened, there was less danger in the woods than in towns, for, since the coming of the fathers, more had perished in one day, than in many years before. This and much more they alledged, and their suspicion was increased by a report spread abroad, that the wild infidels in the woods had made a notable slaughter of the *Mamalucs*. The fathers on the other side vindicated themselves, repeating the extraordinary

kindnesses they had at all times done that nation, instancing that they had protected the *Indians* at the expence of their own reputation and goods. That they had prevailed with the *Spaniards* of *Villarica* not to oppress the natives. That they had obtained several laws to be enacted by the catholick king in favour of the *Indians*; and much more to this purpose; besides all the particular actions of every father in particular, wherein they had served them at the expence of their unspeakable toils, and hazard of their lives. The *Indians* enraged with misfortunes would hear no reason, but became ungovernable, looking upon all these allegations no better than so many snares. When *Guiravera*, who had been delivered from captivity, as was said above, returning home, and finding the society traduced, ran among the people, shewing with what danger and trouble *F. Maceta* had delivered him; and how he travelled into *Brasil* to secure them against further invasions. This fresh example prevailed above reason, and *Guiravera* shewing himself in all parts, in some measure took off the false imputation. Yet there was no less trouble at *Villarica*, for some of the citizens there had the confidence to seize those for their own use, who escap'd the *Mamalucs* at the town of *St. Antony*, which the fathers took care to compose, lest it should produce new troubles. But the most deplorable thing of all was, that the governor neglected in this time of distress to relieve *Guaira*, a principal part of his province. After the governor departed the province, *F. Diastanius* discovered a practice that would have proved very pernicious, which I will set down in this place to divert the reader amidst the relation of so many calamities. About one thousand five hundred families of inhabitants of the town of the *Incarnation*, had been so well instructed by *F. Mendoza*, that they differed but little from the ancient converts. But amidst these confusions of war, spoken of, the devil set up certain forcerers, who had such influence over them, that they could not endure to come to church, or do any other act of christianity, but looked like quite another people than they were; and seemed to have returned to their former barbarity. *F. Diastanius* being much concerned at this change, and having long endeavoured to find out the cause, when he least expected, had it discovered to him by a youth he had bred at home. He told him, *It was all the work of the forcerers, who had seduced most of the inhabitants; and built two temples on the tops of the mountains, for men, women and children to resort to. That the devil gave answers, as the oracles used to do, through the bones of dead*

dead forcerers placed there, to honour which they had appointed priests and priestesses. That even those who had charge of catechising others were infected, and debauch'd others; and that all sorts of sacrileges were committed there. That the men there making extravagant motions, like mad men, sought predictions of what was to come. And the women, with dishevell'd hair, fed the perpetual fire in honour of the devil. That it was reckon'd a crime to touch the bones of the forcerers, which they pretended had again taken flesh. That they resorted thither on Sundays and holidays, to be out of the way of attending the Christian devotions. The fathers having consulted together, went out two one way and two another, to burn the temples and burn the authors of this mischief. F. Diastanius and his companion coming about break of day unexpected to one of the temples, found all things agreeable to the information given, for it was large, and the forcerer's bones were in a private part of a hammock hanging by two pillars, and wrapp'd up in blankets, and adorn'd with feathers of several colours, and worshipp'd with extraordinary ceremony. Without it were several little huts, in which those that were newly admitted to their religion feasted and revell'd; from the roof hung an infinite number of offerings made to the devil, who on his part distracted his worshippers with monstrous lies. Having examin'd all things, they set fire to the temple and all that was in it, and to all the little hovels about it, which done they return'd home. F. Ruiz and F. Mendoza understanding the way they went, that the bones were carried out of that temple, pursu'd and brought them back, burning all together, as the others had done. The next day the fathers gather'd the Indians, and checking them severely for relapsing into this superstition, soon brought them all to repentance. This done, the fathers applied themselves to repair the damages caused by the Mamalucs, and F. Cataldinus built a town among the Gualaches, five days journey from that of the Conception, which was the 13th they had founded in the province of Guaira, and call'd it *The town of St. Peter*.

Jesu Maria town rebuilt.

The fathers searching the woods gathered those that had fled for fear of the Mamalucs, and with the assistance of Guiravera, who, as has been said, was return'd from Brasil, drew such multitudes as was sufficient to rebuild the town of Jesu Maria in the same place it was before, where it was accordingly begun; but F. Maceta coming from Brasil with the news of the obstinacy of the Mamalucs, it was, for more safety, remov'd to a place near the precipice of Huibai. Thus was the province

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of Guaira beginning to be restor'd, when the dismal news was brought, that the Mamalucs had destroy'd the town of S. Paul, and drove all the inhabitants away into captivity. The inhabitants of the Incarnation hearing of the destruction of S. Paul, fled some of them to the town of S. Xavierius, and some to Huibai. Thus one town was destroy'd by the barbarity of the robbers, and another only by the dread of them, without any hopes of being restor'd. F. Ruiz hasting from among the Gualaches, to remedy these misfortunes, could find no better expedient, than to gather the remains of the inhabitants of both towns, and to send them toward Villarica, where the track of S. Thomas remains, there to build a new town. But this was running them into fresh disasters, for other stealers of Indians lying in wait for booty, seized all they could for their own use, and drove them a vast way into Paraguay. F. Ruiz sent F. Suarez and F. Racionero to complain thereof at Villarica, and finding no redress, but that new danger threaten'd from the Mamalucs, he sent away F. Diastanius into Paraguay, to acquaint the governor with the whole matter, and beg some assistance to support the sinking province. The governor having heard the account F. Diastanius gave of the invasion of the Mamalucs, the destruction of the towns, and destruction of the province of Guaira, was as much inrag'd as if some affront had been offer'd him, and told the father, he was well assur'd by letters from Villarica, that the fears of the fathers were groundless, and that the society magnified every thing to misrepresent him. But F. Diastanius, lest the conniving at this behaviour might afterwards be a reflection on the society, drew up a petition, and presented it to the governor before a publick notary, praying relief for the province of Guaira; but no answer being return'd, he hasted away to consult the provincial upon that point. At the same time F. Alfaro was sent thither, because the same governor had made a law, forbidding any person, without his leave, to go through the province of Parana into that of Guaira, but through Paraguay, which is two hundred and fifty leagues about; and though the society represented the ill consequences of that law, which cut off the sending any timely supplies to those distressed people, yet they could not make him alter his resolution. F. Vasquez the provincial was extremely concern'd at these calamities, especially when he receiv'd further news from Guaira, that there were people there who made slaves of those poor Indians who had escap'd out of the hands of the Mamalucs. These things mov'd the provincial to send F. Diastanius

Techo. Town of S. Paul plunder'd.

TECHO. to the supreme council in *Peru*, and he himself went up the *Parana* to *Guaira*, to comfort the afflicted, and be an eye-witness of other calamities. But having staid so long in this province of *Guaira*, it will not be amiss to look back into the others, before we proceed upon the rest of its calamities.

Rebellion of the Calchaquines. About the end of the year 1630, and the beginning of the next, the province of *Tucuman* began to be infested with war, which might have been avoided, if the people had been satisfied when they were well. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the towns on the borders of the valley of the *Calchaquines*, had, some years ago, been offended at the society, for having settled in two places of the said valley, saying, the respect they had for the fathers, hinder'd them from subduing those fierce people. The fathers, though they had long labour'd in vain to reduce the *Calchaquines*, yet thought they did Christianity, and the publick, good service, in baptising the children, and keeping that savage nation from plundering the rest of *Tucuman*. Yet for other reasons, as has been said before, the valley was forsaken. After which, the citizens of *Salta* and *Rioxa*, living in greater security than was convenient among faithless and offended people, till'd the lands as they used to do upon their borders; and *Urbina*, a rich man, was so bold as to build a stately country-house like a castle, at the very entrance into the vale. But the fathers being once gone, as if all bands were broken, their ancient hatred prevailing, the barbarous *Indians* broke out, falling first on what was next at hand, and then further off. Then joining with their neighbours, they take *Urbina's* country-house, and killing him, with his wife and servants, carried away his daughters, who were afterwards recover'd by the citizens of *Salta*; destroying all the country-houses of the *Spaniards*. The *Andalgales*, *Famentines*, *Andacoles*, *Capianes*, and other barbarous *Indians* in league with them, came in to their assistance. The *Indians*, bred under the *Spaniards*, murder their masters, and force their way into the vale to recover their liberty. *Albornex*, governor of *Tucuman*, elder brother to the cardinal of that name, falling upon the *Indians* before they could join their whole force, defeats them, and builds a fort at the entrance of the vale, but the enemy uniting, kill the commander of the fort and all his garrison that had ventur'd without their works, and taking the fort, destroy the city of *London*, killing many of the inhabitants, lay siege to *Rioja*, and strike a terror throughout all the province of *Tucuman*. This war lasted above ten

years, and was not ended till the society return'd to the vale.

In the province of *Parana*, an excursion Of the was made from the town of *Acarai*, to *Caiaguas*. bring over the *Caiaguas* to the faith of Christ. The nation of the *Caiaguas* is small, and the most savage of all the *Indians*. They live scatter'd in woods between the rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*, whence they had the name given them; for *Caiagua* signifies, *Of a wood*. They have a particular language of their own, not easily to be comprehended; for in uttering their words, they seem rather to whistle, and to make a confus'd noise in their throats than to speak. They live in wretched huts, made of the boughs of trees, far distant from one another, without making any more provision for food than the wild beasts, for they neither mind husbandry nor trade. They kill both beasts and fish with their arrows; and for the most part feed on worms, snakes, mice, pismires, and such ready kind of food, and eat the flesh of tygers. The elks, which the *Spaniards* call great beasts, they fight with and eat. As for monkeys, they creep after them from tree to tree, as if they were monkeys themselves, and it is the nature of those creatures to carry their young ones along with them, as they fly from one tree to another; so that if they happen to slip down, the inhabitants catch and devour them. Wild honey is one of their dainties, and they make a liquor of it, which warms and defends them against the cold. They are continually at war with the tygers, nor can they give any other reason for there being so few, but that they are continually destroyed by those fierce creatures. They look upon madness as valour, and are unacquainted with any other endowments of the mind. Many of them are deform'd to a prodigy; as like monkeys as men, especially if you look upon their noses, which are more like snouts. They are generally hunch-back'd, and wry-neck'd; yet there are some among them well shaped, especially the women, who being born and bred in the shade, are colour'd much like the *European* women. Both sexes have but very little use of reason, which they so deprave by their food, fierceness and libertine life, that they differ but little in their ways from the very beasts. The women cover themselves from the waist to the knees with nettles, which they steep like flax, and combing them with their fingers, weave them together like nets. The men wear no cloaths but skins, which are so little that most of their bodies are naked, and yet their skins are so harden'd, that they creep like snakes through briars and brambles without

out the least concern. If any of them are taken in war, it is harder to tame them than the wild beasts, for they will bite iron fetters, foaming all over like mad men; and even the children, when taken, can hardly be brought to be sociable and tame. If they are kept long bound, they soon starve themselves to death, like creatures that cannot live out of their element. There is another sort of warlike *Caiaguas*, whose military exploits are more like the sallies of wild beasts, than the fighting of men. These sallying out of their woods, surprize travellers as they lie asleep, and murder them; not out of any revenge or covetousness of what they have, but to eat their flesh, or satisfy their own cruel temper; which inhumanity they call war. They are so much concern'd to be overcome, that though sometimes they are spar'd by their enemies, they will neither eat, nor suffer their wounds to be dress'd. The fathers in *Guaira* had, at several times, got some numbers of both these nations out of the woods, but most of them, as soon as they were shut up in the town, died like plants that grow in the shade and cannot bear the sun. The fathers of *Acarai* had done the same, and were desirous to find some expedient to provide for the salvation of those wretched creatures, with more safety to their bodies. F. *Alvarez*, with incredible labour and danger, made his way through almost impenetrable woods to these people, and having got eighteen of them together, he return'd to the town, where he instructed them the best their stupidity would bear; and having baptiz'd them, they all died. The rest of the province of *Parana* was peaceable, and the heathens daily came over, and were baptiz'd.

The province of *Urvaica* was still more prosperous, and yielded a more plentiful harvest, for above three thousand souls were there baptiz'd, a new town built; and the foundations of two others laid. The river *Acaragua* falls into the *Urvaica*, seven leagues above the colony of *St. Xaverius*. The provincial *Vasquez* had promised the people, dwelling on its banks, to send them a father, in hopes whereof they had so gather'd their scatter'd houses, that they seem'd seriously to desire to be civiliz'd and become Christians; and the society thought it a matter of great consequence to secure that post, which would open a way to the upper part of *Urvaica*, and obstruct *Niezuvius* from raising new troubles. F. *Romero* repairing thither, and finding three hundred and fifty families already assembled, and as many more ready to meet, erected a cross, appointed magistrates, and baptiz'd the children. F. *Altamarinus*, well skill'd in the *Indian* language, govern'd this new

town call'd *The Assumption* twelve years, TECHO. with such success, that four thousand two hundred were there baptiz'd. It was here I learnt to express myself in the language of *Guaira*; and having gain'd some skill in it, through God's great mercy was able, though unworthy, to employ my little talent for twenty years through the towns of *Parana* and *Urvaica*. The infidels of the inland of *Urvaica* towards the south, were no less forward to ask for fathers, and particularly the *Caapians* and *Caasapans*, mov'd to it by *Apicabija* and *Mbocarata*, the lords of those numerous nations. But *Ibapirius*, a fierce man, oppos'd their designs. He being grown famous by his skill in forcery among the heathen people about the river *Igai*, rais'd the neighbouring people, declaring he would revenge *Niezuvius* his quarrel, and crush the *Caapians* and *Caasapans*, that they might do no harm by their example. The multitude ran to arms, and march'd towards the *Caasapans*. This being known, the *Ibitirapans*, *Tabativians*, *Piratinians*, *Caasapaninians*, *Acaraguans*, and *Caarvans*, drew out their forces, lest the new candidates to Christianity should suffer, and meeting the enemy, put them to flight, and pursuing overtook them again two days after, but they slipt away over the fords of the river *Igai*, before they could be engaged. There *Ibapirius* recruiting his forces, making many more fires about the fields than were necessary for his men, to strike a terror, and putting on the vestments F. *Gonzalez* formerly us'd at the altar, with a piece of the chalice he had, carried himself as vainly as *Niezuvius* had done. Then affecting divinity, he threatened to destroy all those that follow'd the fathers. The converts, frighted at these things, had certainly fled, but *Alfonso Que-* Ibapirius subdu'd. *rana*, a man of note among them, having spoken some words to encourage them, bid them follow him, and then with father *Romero*, though the season was cold, ran into the water up to the neck, where the ford was, the rest following his example, made their way over, attack'd and plunder'd *Ibapirius* his houses. Then marching with diligence, overtook and routed the enemy. *Ibapirius* fled, with such precipitation, that there was no hopes of reaching him. The conquerors alledging it was requisite to hang some for a terror to others. F. *Romero* advis'd them to hang one of those that had been kill'd, which was accordingly done. *Cunamipita*, the promoter of this war, *Ibapirius* his son, and four of his concubines, were taken, and afterwards became Christians. *Ibapirius* himself, after he had lived some years in banishment, wandering about, desir'd to be carried to a town of *Indian* converts, but died by the way. F. *Romero*,

Town of Assumption built in Urvaica.

TECHO. Romero, before he dismissed his forces, marked out the ground for a town among the *Caasapaguans*, and being informed that *Apicabija* had gathered a sufficient number, laid the foundations of another among the *Caapians*. The first of these towns was dedicated to *S. Peter and Paul*, the other to *S. Charles Boromeus*. Not long before, *F. Rua* sailing up the river *Ibicuit* from the town of *Japeire* to the province of *Tape*, invited the inhabitants of three villages to go with him to the colony of the *Three Kings*, then very thin of people. They all refused, saying, *That if the society would build a town among them, they would all consent and become Christians*; and the chief of them shewing that they and their neighbours could make a populous town, the father promis'd care should be taken of them, and return'd, priests being yet wanting to supply so many places. The plague now raging, destroy'd many hundreds of *Indians*, who lying much dispers'd, because when towns were first built, the fathers gave them leave at times to return to their villages to sow, till there could be corn enough about the new colonies; the said fathers had an endless fatigue, continually running through woods, rivers and marshes, and over hills and mountains, to assist those that were infected. It being therefore impossible for so few to attend them all, some of the best of the converts were intrusted, after being well taught by the fathers to let blood, prescribe purges, bring the sick to town, and in case of necessity to baptize. *Vincent Japuias*, a *Cacique*, who formerly had a hand in the death of *F. Gonzalez*, was now one of the most zealous and diligent in performing all charitable offices to the sick, carrying them to the town, supplying the needy, assisting those that were dying, instructing the ignorant, rebuking those that retained any thing of their former superstitions, and doing all things that could be serviceable to body or soul; till the infection seiz'd him, and he dying happily, was succeeded in the employment by *Marcellus Maendius*, another *Cacique*, no less zealous. Some of the wild people, call'd *Caiguas* before mention'd, perceiving that the *Iguazans*, their ancient enemies, troubled them no more since their conversion to Christianity, ventured with a *Cacique* to the town of *Mary Major*, the people running to see them as if they had been monsters. They gave ear to what the fathers said to them by an interpreter, eat what was offered them, and felt the father's garments and shoos with admiration, thinking they had been born with hats and shoos; so very ignorant were those wild creatures. It was pleasant to see how they star'd at the ringing of the bell, as if it had been thunder, and to hear them ask,

How so little a thing could talk so loud. But it was much pleasanter to see those barbarous men, only us'd to the noise of tygers, leap about when they heard the musick, and striv'd to imitate the converts, who danc'd to it. They return'd to their woods, giving some hopes they would come again, but tho' the fathers us'd all means to gain them, very few were converted. The bishop of *Paraguay*, visiting the province of *Parana*, was received in the towns with triumphal arches, and in the churches with musick; confirm'd many thousand converts, and applauded the labours of the fathers. All this joy was allay'd by the coming of *Emanuel Correa*, a man of quality out of *Brasil*, with the news that vast numbers of *Mamaluks* and *Tupus*, were setting out to destroy the province of *Guaira*; the governor of *Paraguay* shewing no manner of concern at it; which draws me away, tho' with horror, to relate what happened there.

F. Vasquez the provincial, after visiting the towns of *Parana*, went by the way of the famous precipice, before spoken of, into the province of *Guaira*; for tho' the governor of *Paraguay* had forbid going that way, the royal council of *Peru* had vacated his order. Proceeding up the rivers *Parana* and *Huibai* to *Villarica*, he there receiv'd the news that the town of *S. Xavierius* was besieg'd by the *Mamaluks*. Having therefore encourag'd the inhabitants of *Villarica* to defend the country; he went the shortest way with all the speed he could to succour those in distress. *F. Pastor*, who had charge of the town of *S. Xavierius*, hearing that the *Mamaluks* were driving the *Indians* from the further villages, ran out among them, and contemning all danger, prevailed to have some few of the prisoners restored to him. But the next day those robbers exercis'd their cruelty upon the houses nearest to the town. There the father thrust himself among them to save one of his converts, and the *Mamaluks* flocking about him, gave occasion to the *Indians* to think they had murdered him, which prov'd advantageous to many, who upon that notion immediately fled to the old towns of the province. *F. Pastor* pick'd up three hundred, whom he delivered to *F. Suarez* to be convey'd to places of safety; the *Mamaluks* in the mean while after their manner securing their prisoners within an inclosure made of stakes or palisadoes, or else fastening them in long chains. The inhabitants of *Villarica*, coming up at this time, fell upon the *Mamaluks*, but one of their men being wounded, and another kill'd, gave way, and could never be persuaded by the provincial to make another onset with them, to rescue the prisoners. *Pindovius*, captain of the colony of the

The colonies of *S. Xavierius* and *S. Joseph* destroyed.

the *Nivatinguians*, which had been destroyed, drawing along with him a multitude of people, delivered himself up to the robbers, after which the town and church of *S. Xaverius* were destroyed, which had contained one thousand five hundred families, whereof scarce five hundred souls were saved, and sent down the *Tibaxiva* to the old town. Nor did the invasion stop here, for the colony of *S. Joseph* lying in the mid way between *S. Ignatius* and *S. Xaverius*, was destroyed with only the dread, the inhabitants running away for fear of the *Mamaluks*, or else falling into their hands. Because the remainders of so many towns destroyed might be burthensome to others, the provincial ordered a new town to be built near *Loreto*, that they might assist one another. Having thus ordered affairs, he hastened away to relieve other towns of the faction of *Taiaoba*; for there was a report, not altogether groundless, that the *Mamaluks* and *Tupus* were coming in great numbers to destroy the rest of *Guaira*. The society had erected three towns about the lands of *Taiaoba*, one of which, called the *Archangels*, contained above a thousand families, that of *S. Thomas* eight hundred. *F. Maceta* had gathered such a multitude in that of *Jesu Maria*, rebuilt by him, that it was little inferior to what it had been at first. The provincial being there, was again informed by their spies, that the *Mamaluks* were not far off; therefore calling all the fathers together, he consulted what was best to be done in that danger: They answered there were two ways of assisting those people, which was either to encourage them to oppose their enemies, or lead them away to safer places; which latter advice the provincial inclining to, because the *Indians*, who were almost naked, and fought with arrows made of long reeds, which did but little execution upon the *Mamaluks*, who had coats stuffed with cotton to resist them, could not, though more numerous, withstand those enemies, who had swords and fire-arms, he resolved the three aforesaid towns should be remov'd out of hand, near to the precipice of *Guaira*, that their great distance might be a defence to them, and in case of need, they might pass the precipice, and repair to the towns in *Parana*. Having so ordered affairs, he went away himself for that province, in great anxiety of mind for these calamities. No sooner was he gone, but news came that the enemy drove all the country before them, whereupon the project of removing was hastened. Accordingly the fathers took care to save all that could be carried away, and convey the inhabitants to the places appointed. *F. Ernotus* was sixty days marching with those committed to his

Three towns deserted, and the people transplanted.

charge, and brought all safe, without the loss of one creature. The others met with greater difficulty; want of provisions, and the hardships of the way, prevailed with many of the *Indians* to turn back to their native country. Of these, some were killed by the *Gualaches*, and others made slaves. Three days after they were gone, the *Mamaluks* entering the lands of *Taiaoba*, found a greater booty than ever they did before; the people surrendering themselves of their own accord, and voluntary running themselves into fetters, for fear of death. All those who forsook the fathers, ran the same fortune. But the *Mamaluks*, not satisfied with so great a booty, understanding that great companies of the converts had been conveyed away, through the lands of the *Gualaches*, they pursued them in several troops.

The society had founded two towns in the country of the *Gualaches*, the one called the *Conception*, and the other *S. Peter*. A troop of the *Mamaluks*, falling unexpectedly into the latter, bore down all before them, without any respect to the priests. The *Mamaluks* do not like the *Gualaches* for slaves so well as the *Guarans*, because of their natural fierceness; and therefore passing them by, they made it their whole business to overtake the people of *Taiaoba*, that fled with the fathers. Thus the town of *St. Peter* was destroyed, the inhabitants retiring to their lurking places, and the fathers, all the *Guarans* being taken from them, retiring to the river *Piquiri*. The town of the *Conception* fared no better; for tho' the *Mamaluks* did no harm there, but the carrying away of two women, the inhabitants were so enraged at it, that they fell upon *F. Salazar*, plundered all he had, and forced him to fly through the woods to the other fathers. When such multitudes of people, from so many towns as were destroyed, met almost in the same place, provisions failing, and even the hopes of any, both the *Indians* and fathers were in a miserable condition, scarce keeping themselves alive with herbs, and wild fruits, and berries. Every one had the misfortune of another to bewail besides his own; fathers lamented their children, children their parents, husbands their wives, wives their husbands carried away by the robbers. The fathers, who were in care for all, agreed to sow in that place, till such time as other means could be found to relieve those people; tho' it was plain there could be no settling there, or in any other part of the province of *Guaira*, because no place was safe against the *Mamaluks*. *F. Ruiz*, who had been to attend the provincial to the precipice, returning to visit the distressed *Indians*, received news that the *Mamaluks* infested the vil-

TECHO.

Towns of S. Peter and the Conception destroyed.

TECHOLAGES, under the jurisdiction of *Villarica*, on the river *Huibai*; and that fresh troops of robbers were coming from all parts of south *Brazil*, full of hopes of a mighty booty, to destroy all the towns of *Guaira*, and little cities of the *Spaniards*. Hereupon he made all possible haste to the towns of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius*, in the greater consternation, because *F. Salazar* writ to him, that a *Mamaluc* in the town of the *Conception*, being obliged to him for some former kindness, had assured him, that when they had plundered the country of *Taiaoba*, the robbers had resolved to fall upon the old towns of the converts; which the provincial foreseeing, had before his departure ordered a great number of boats to be built, which would be useful to remove when the enemy was near. The *Spaniards* of *Villarica*, having been in due form of law required to defend the country, and owning themselves too weak, *F. Ruiz* ordered the people of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius* to make ready to remove. These two colonies built twenty years before this time, were by the industry of the fathers so improved, that they might compare with the best *Spanish* towns in those parts. The churches in them were more stately and better adorned than any in *Tucuman* or *Paraguay*. *F. Vaz* had brought up such choirs of musick in those places, that they differ'd but little from those in *Europe*; and the behaviour of the converts was scarce inferior to that of the most polite nations. There began to be a good increase of kine and other cattle, brought thither with much trouble by the society. There grew enough of cotton and corn, not only to supply the natives, but to furnish the *Spaniards*. All these things, it was feared, would make the people averse from removing, and the more, because they would consider the miseries that must attend them in perpetual banishment. They had a journey of an hundred and thirty leagues to the place, whither they were to be conducted, nor was it likely that the women and children, sick and aged, who would soon feel the want of necessaries, could pass that vast precipice and solitude. But on the other side the enemy pressed, who, besides reducing them to miserable servitude, would bring their souls into danger. Finding themselves in this condition, they all unanimously promised to follow the fathers whithersoever they pleas'd to lead them. Saying, *They would never forsake their teachers, and if any perished by the way, they should have the satisfaction of knowing they dyed for the faith; and did not doubt but God would have a providential care over them.* *F. Ruiz*, not to slip this opportunity, orders all to make ready; accordingly all that could be carried away was put into

Colonies
of Loreto
and S. Ig-
natius a-
bandon'd.

boats, there called *Balsas*, and having laid in provisions, they set out much better pleased than such as are going into banishment used to do, running down the river *Parapana*, never to see their country again. They went very slowly for fear of leaving any boats behind them for the enemy. Being out of the *Parapana*, they held on their way on the *Parana*, against the will of the inhabitants of *Cuidal Real*, and came without any considerable loss near to the great precipice; where, on the further bank, all those *Indians* we said came from the other towns expected their coming. *F. Maceta*, an eye-witness, affirms, there departed from the town of *Loreto* nine hundred families, and eight hundred out of that of *S. Ignatius*; besides four hundred families that joined them from other parts. How many met in all at the precipice from all parts, I cannot affirm, because the fathers, who were present, differ in their accounts. This is certain, that it was an unspeakable grief to them to consider how many thousand of converts out of thirteen colonies, had been either drove away by the *Mamalucs*, or fled to their ancient lurking places; besides that there remain'd no hopes of ever being able to assist so many thousands of infidels as they left behind; or of recovering the scattered converts. But now they were to consider of passing the precipice, that the multitude might then be convey'd down the *Parana* to the place appointed, which was still seventy leagues off; lest these remains should fall into the hands of the *Mamalucs*. For news was brought that the robbers, three days after the departure of the inhabitants, came to the towns of *Loreto* and the *Conception*, and finding them abandon'd, in a rage had threatened further destruction. The difficulty was in finding boats for such a multitude, after they were down the precipice; for there was no hope that of all that number of boats, any could escape shipwreck, if they were let run down from the top of the precipice to the pool at the bottom. Yet because they would try all experiments, they turn'd almost all the boats loose, after taking out their lading; which in a moment were shatter'd into chips and vanish'd, beating against the rocks, and being swallowed by whirl-pools. The next hope was to have boats brought to the foot of the precipice, from the towns of the converts in *Parana*; but they were therein disappointed in a great measure, the chief of the fathers of *Parana*, being at that time called away to the chapter at *Cardova*. Therefore the best advice was, when they had march'd down the precipice to the plains, to build new boats.

March of
the trans-
migrating
Indians.

For the better conveniency of their descending, F. Ruiz divided the multitude into troops, placing a father at the head of each, to lead, encourage and assist them. They all marched loaded with their provisions and other small utensils, meeting every now and then with brooks, to pass which they were forced to cut down trees and make some sort of bridges. Sometimes the steepness of the rocks, sometimes the hot burning sands, and sometimes impassable woods, obstructed their passage; which made not only the sick and aged, but the women loaded with their children, and healthy persons, faint by the way; wherefore ever any one failed, he was forsaken by the rest, the fathers not being able to relieve them, but only taking care of their souls. It is certain that a great number perish'd in the descent of that precipice, which I have described before. That descent, if they went strait forward is but fourteen leagues, but they were forced to take so much compass, as makes it almost double that way. Having spent eight days in coming down, when they arrived at the plain, all fell to work at making of boats, which the *Indians* being used to make of trees hollow'd out, and there being no large timber at the foot of the precipice, they were forced to make boats of very small burden. The fathers of *Parana* had with great labour, and the loss of many, sent a few boats loaden with provisions to the foot of the precipice, to relieve the *Indians* after their march; but being so few among a multitude, they signify'd little. For these reasons all the multitude was divided into four parts. The first troop was ordered to march along the banks of the *Parana*, under the leading of F. *Spinosa*. Two others took their way through the woods up the country, on both sides, towards the towns of *Acarai* and *Iguaza*, under the conduct of F. *Contreras* and F. *Suarez*. The last troop went down the river under F. *Ruiz*, and he not having vessels enough to carry so great a number, F. *Maceta* was ordered to stay at the foot of the precipice with the rest of the people, till the vessels could return from *Acarai*, and other conveniencies be provided. F. *Maceta* and his company lived there three months upon wild fruits; and F. *Salazar* liv'd four months on the other side among the rocks with six hundred *Indians*, in great want of all things; till F. *Gallego* came from the town of *Iguazu* to relieve them. But whether they went by land or water, abundance dy'd; some fainting with hunger, some with weariness and other misfortunes. Those on the river, the boats being small, and the surges great, were often overset and many drowned. Many had made boats of canes fifty foot long, and

thicker than a man's leg, bound together, in which several were lost. One of these was stav'd, and dropt all it carry'd into the water, before the fathers; but all that were in it swam ashore, except one woman, who chose rather to be drown'd with her children, than quitting them to get off with the rest; but the other *Indians* saved both her and the infants. Another boat being swallow'd up by the river, all the men and women were saved, and eleven children lost. Those that surmounted all these dangers, were first reliev'd by the converts of the town of *Iguazu* and *Acarai*; nor is it easy to express how charitably the fathers and converts of *Parana* receiv'd and entertain'd so many thousand strangers, reducing themselves to extremity to supply them. Before it was proposed to build towns, the whole nation dispersed itself among the colonies of *Parana* and *Urvaica*; which colonies, by reason of the ill crop the year afforded, being ill provided to supply the natives, involved themselves in wonderful calamities. It is well known that the inhabitants of the town of St. *Ignatius* on the river *Paraguay*, distributed two thirds of the provisions they had, in alms among the strangers. The *Itapuans* bestowed three thousand oxen among them. The inhabitants of *Corpus Christi* slaughter'd a great number of cattle to relieve them; and yet soon after plague and want destroy'd many of them. Six hundred were bury'd in the town of *Acarai*, in a short time after some thousands of these pilgrims came thither. Those that surviv'd having consum'd all the food there was about the town, labour'd to protract life, dispers'd about the woods, killing what came in their way. F. *Alvarez* ranging the forests to take care of their souls, was reduced to such extremity, that he had nothing but the skin upon his bones, and look'd like a ghost, being just ready to eat a pair of old shoes, he had softened by long boiling, when some small supply was sent him by the other fathers. The *Iguazuans* for four months maintain'd one thousand five hundred of those *Guairaneans*, for which they afterwards suffer'd famine. The plague soon after destroy'd five hundred of them. In the town of S. *Mary Major*, the tygers first flesh'd on the dead bodies, devour'd twenty *Indian* converts. The people of *Urvaica*, whither a part of these strangers were sent, were profusely bountiful to them; notwithstanding all which some dy'd of the plague and for want. To be brief, of the remains of thirteen towns of *Guaira*, scarce four thousand surviv'd the first year after their transmigration; all the rest either dying in the way, dispersing themselves about, or perishing by hunger or famine. When the pestilence was a little abated, F. *Ruiz*, gathering

TECHO. thering the survivors from all parts, applied himself to rebuild towns. The river *Jabebuir* is about half way between the towns of *Itapua* and *Corpus Christi*; on its banks, not far from the *Parana*, into which it falls, were laid the foundations of two towns, under the old names of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius*. That the people might not perish with hunger whilst they were building; the fathers, out of the money the king allows them yearly, and what they could raise by sale of the goods of the towns destroyed, bought ten thousand oxen; which, with some other helps, kept them from starving; and those transplanted colonies, through the industry of the fathers, began to regain some part of their former lustre. Hither were brought the remains of *Guaira*, where the fathers had spent twenty-three years with incredible labour in reducing those people; having founded thirteen towns, besides the Spanish city of *Villarica*, which was also abandoned. The province of *Guaira*, through their indefatigable labours was thus improving, and it was hoped the whole would embrace christianity, and submit to the catholick king; when that plague of the *Mamelucs*, as has been said overthrew all, cutting off the hopes of any return thither; for after plundering the towns erected by the society, the robbers first ruined the villages under the jurisdiction of the Spanish city of *Villarica*, and then without any respect to the bishop of *Paraguay*, who came thither in person, overthrew that and the city of *Guaira*. Some of the Spaniards of *Villarica* were removed to the river *Paraguay*, and some took up among the *Mamelucs*. The two towns being settled, F. Ruiz was appointed to have charge of them: where we must leave him to look a little into the province of *Urvaica* and some other parts.

Description of the province of Tape.

When F. Romero had made some provision for the poor *Guairanians*, being strengthened by the accession of the fathers come from that province, he seriously applied himself to propagate christianity beyond the bounds of *Urvaica* in the province of *Tape*, wherein God's special providence was visible, which, after the destruction of so many towns, furnished a new province for that of *Guaira*, which had been utterly ruin'd. Under the name of the province of *Tape* is comprehended a ridge of mountains running an hundred leagues from east to west, but the extremities of which mountains are eight days journey from the river *Urvaica*, and twice that distance from the *Atlantick* ocean. The vale below it are excellent pasture for cattle; the land will bear any grain, and is watered by abundance of springs and brooks. In the marshy grounds, towards the sea, there is often

found an amphibious creature very like a *Ao*, a sheep, but that it has teeth and talons like a tyger, and is reported to be so fierce that it does not spare lions. Nor do the natives dread any creatures so much as these, which sometimes come out of the water in flocks, and do much mischief. There's no way to escape 'em but by speedy climbing of trees, and even that will not do sometimes, for those sheep either root up the trees, or stay so long about 'em, till fear or hunger makes the people drop off. If ever they happen to kill any of these creatures, which is very rare, they wear their skins; whence the *Guairans* call a garment *Ao*, taking its name from the beast, or giving the beast the name from the garment. These monsters really are in sheeps cloathing, but are themselves ravenous wolves. There's also a f-mous white bird, which, tho' it have but a small body, has a voice that sounds like a bell, which therefore the natives call *Guirapo*, or the *Sounding bird*. The woods produce a low sort of palm-trees, not unlike the *Indian Juncs*, of the bark whereof they make bow-strings, stronger and finer than if they were made of silk. There's plenty of shining stones, which doubtless might be curiously polish'd if there were *European* artists. The tree *Eçapis*, which is also found in other parts, when the sun rises, weeps or sweats out a plentiful flower, which appears to be no dew, because the other trees about it are dry. This tree seems to put us in mind, that men should weep when the sun of prosperity shines on them. The people of the province of *Tape* differ not from the rest of the *Guairans*, either in customs or language, only they seem to be of a milder temper, and less vicious; and experience has taught that no nation in south *America* sooner embraces christianity, or retains it more steadily. Loving their ancient liberty, they were utter enemies to strangers, and could not easily have been subdued by force of arms, had not the power of the cross prevail'd. They liv'd after the manner of the *Guairans*, in little villages, built either on the tops of mountains, or in woods, near to springs or brooks. Of all those villages, *Tape*, which gave name to the province, was the biggest. F. Gonzalez had been there before his death, but, the people being not well dispos'd, retir'd with some danger. But in the year 1631 F. Ruiz coming hither up the river *Ibrinit*, and F. Romero by land, they found, that by conversing with the converts many of the people were become inclinable to the christian religion, and particularly *Guamica*, *Jabico*, *Cuniambo*, *Aracai*, and some other *Caciques* earnestly intreated they might be furnish'd with teachers of the true law. Their request was now granted this year 1632; because

fierce amphibious creature.

Guirapo, a strange bird.

Eçapis, a notable tree.

Town of
S. Michael

And St.
Thomas.

Of the
marriages
of the
Guairans.

cause the province of *Guaira* being ruined, the fathers that came from thence did not only know the language, but knew how to deal with the *Indians*, and were zealous to retrieve their late losses. *F. Romero* having sent two other fathers before, and following himself with two more, was honourably received there by *Guamica* and his confederate *Caciques*, and conducted to a house and church they had built for him. *F. Mendoza* and *F. Bernardes*, left there to take care of that new colony, within the space of a year gathered seven hundred and fifty families. The town had the name of *S. Michael* given it, where above eight thousand four hundred souls have been baptized. In another part of the same province *F. Romero* was received with abundance of bonfires, where there was also a sort of a church ready built, and huts about it, to shew their readiness to obey whatsoever the fathers should command, and in three months time twelve hundred families settled in that place. This town had the name of *S. Thomas* given it, and was two days journey from that of *S. Michael*; in the mid space between both which places there were abundance of scattered *Indians*, who assembling of their own accord in a place called *Itiquatia*, built their houses in order as for a town, with a habitation and church for the fathers, sending some men to *F. Romero*, to desire he would not slight them any more than others, for they were resolved to become Christians. *F. Romero* blessing God for this wonderful success, hastened to them, called the town *S. Joseph*, and promised to send them a priest. The same was done in another place called *Ararica*, on the top of a mountain, where six hundred families met together, and had the name of the *Nativity of the blessed Virgin* given it. Another town was erected near the wood *Ibitarana*, and called *S. Teresa*; of which more may be said hereafter.

Nothing bred more frequent troubles, and made the *Indians* fly from christianity, so much as the confining them to one wife; which gives us occasion to say somewhat of a controversy that arose among the fathers concerning the marriages of the *Guairans*, not unworthy to be here mentioned, with the decision of it, because 'twas nice and curious. The chief men of this nation were wont to keep as many concubines as their lust inclined 'em to, or their authority could obtain among their people; and 'twas a great discouragement to them to embrace christianity, when they were warned to be satisfied with one woman. This was in some measure heighten'd by the too austere nicety of some of the fathers, who would oblige these men to take to wife the first of their women. Others, without any scruple, al-

lowed the new converts to chuse any one they pleased of their women for a wife. These different opinions having continued and been maintained for some time, the decision of it was at length referred to the pope, who was then pope *Urban VIII*, and the whole controverly sent him in writing by *F. Lugo*, who was afterwards a cardinal, which, because it shews the barbarous practice of those people, and several particulars worth observing, I will set down at large; his words are these: "*Most holy Father*, There arises a mighty difficulty in the conversion of the *Indians* of the province or kingdom of *Paraguay* in the *West-Indies*, on account that some of our missionaries will oblige them to take to wife, and stick to the first consort they had, during their infidelity; for this nation, according to their barbarous custom, turn away at every foot their wives, if they may be so called, as we do our servants; and this only because the wife is sick, and cannot dress the meat, or sew the garments, or look to the house; or because she grows old. Nay, very often a man takes not only one wife at once, but with her all her daughters, or sisters, if she has any, of which he afterwards bestows some on friends or servants, and then takes them again if the servants go away. - Others leave their wives only because they remove to another place, and will not take 'em with 'em. For this reason many are of opinion there's no true matrimony among 'em, but that these are all concubines; and therefore, when converted, they're allowed to take a wife or husband that is baptized. Others are scrupulous, and oblige these men to stick to their first wife, which causes many inconveniencies: *first*, because many, on this account, take an antipathy to baptism; *secondly*, because they lie, saying, they had no other wife, and thus deceitfully marry another; *thirdly*, because they pretend to return to their first wife, but in reality have another, and value not the first; *fourthly*, because 'tis often a difficult matter to know which was the first, because amidst a multitude, they scarce remember which was the first; and when they have found her, inquiry must be made again whether she had any husbands before; and again, whether those men had any prior wives. Besides all this, they use no outward ceremony at these marriages, more than they do when they take a concubine for a week or a month; so that very often there's no exterior sign to be found to express their giving consent to that marriage. Therefore, considering their practice and manner of proceeding, ma-

TECHO, "ny learned and godly men are generally
 " of opinion, that there's no true contract
 " of matrimony among them. But, to re-
 " move all doubts and scruples, and to take
 " away this mighty impediment to the
 " conversion of that nation, we do humbly
 " pray, that since, according to the judg-
 " ment of learned men, the see apostolick
 " can, upon urgent causes, annul the mar-
 " riage of infidels, as your holiness has de-
 " clared in your brief of the 20th of Octo-
 " ber 1626; and again, in another of the
 " same nature, dated the 17th of Septem-
 " ber 1627, in these words, *We observing
 that such marriages of infidels are not looked
 upon as such, but that they may, in case of
 necessity, be dissolved, &c.* " And in this
 " case the motives are very great, or ra-
 " ther an absolute necessity, for the conver-
 " sion of those infidels; we therefore pray
 " as before, that your holiness will be
 " pleased, in your apostolick goodness, to
 " grant power to the provincial of the so-
 " ciety of *Jesús*, that he and such of the
 " society as are employed in the conversion
 " of that nation, and are fit to be intrust-
 " ed with it, may, when occasion offers,
 " upon due examination, and there being
 " a doubt of the validity of the marriage
 " contracted in infidelity, or a great diffi-
 " culty of discovering the truth, or of find-
 " ing the first consort so parted from, that
 " they may, I say, for the more ease of
 " their conversion, or for the retaining of
 " those already converted in the faith and
 " obedience to the church, dispence with
 " such converts, that after baptism they
 " may contract a real marriage in the face
 " of the church; for by this means your
 " holiness will open a way into the church
 " for those infidels, which the devil endea-
 " vours to shut up, as our duty obliges us to
 " hope of your holiness, whom God, &c." Pope Urban VIII, having consulted learned men upon that point, declared he did not believe there was any need of his special dispensation, there being the probable opinions of doctors on both sides; and therefore they should follow those opinions, which, according to the nature of the places and people they had to deal with, they found most favourable to them, still leaving learned men the liberty of believing according to their judgments. 'Tis therefore the general opinion of most of the fathers residing in these countries, that the marriages of these infidels were void, for the reasons above alledged; and, that the *Indians* converted might lawfully take any one woman that was baptized to wife, and cast off the rest; yet this they always acted cautiously in, as the matter required.

Province The province of *Guaira* being totally
 of *Itatina*. overthrown, as has been said, some amends

was made for it by the reduction of that of *Itatina*, whereof we will here give a perfect account. The mighty rivers *Paraguay* and *Parana*, as was declared in its place, run thro' large countries for above three hundred leagues from their source, before they join their waters. A long ridge of high mountains divides the land lying betwixt those two rivers, out of which mountains several rivers and brooks run down, some east to the *Parana*, and others west into the *Paraguay*, with this notable difference, that the waters flowing into the *Parana* running along high lands, preserve their original clearness, the mountains where they have their birth stretching themselves out with a gentle descent till they reach the banks of the *Parana*: but on the other side being in a manner upright, precipitate their waters into a low marshy ground, where draw- Paraguay
 ing the mud along with them, they conti- river, why
 nually defile the *Paraguay*, and overflowing so muddy.
 in several places with the said river, make a little sea; which makes some compare this winter inundation with that of the *Nile*. In this low part lies the province of *Itatina*, upon the borders of the *Torrid* and *Temperate Zones*, extending from the 19th degr. of south latit. beyond the 22d. On the south its boundaries are the villages of *Indians* within the jurisdiction of the city of the *Assumption*; on the north the river *Buto* hems it in. The inhabitants differ but little in language and manners from *Paraguaians* and *Urvaicans*, being also alike in this, that they have small parties of different languages about them, with whom they formerly waged endless wars. They used to try their strength (as *Lipsius* writes of the *Chilenians*) by carrying a great piece of timber, which whoever could first run with to a place appointed, gained a reward or honour. The women deform, rather than paint their bodies, pricking their bodies in streaks, which they daubed with a dirt-colour. They honoured the funeral of their kindred by casting themselves from high places, and sometimes with loss of life. The rebounding balls of *Itatina*, made of the gum of trees, are famous all the world over, and, being toasted, are used for curing the flux. The whole nation, considering the great extent of ground, and variety of people, is not very numerous; the place, which is hot and moist, being naturally sickly, and consequently thin of inhabitants. Yet it was hoped, that when the province of *Itatina* was once subdued, the light of the gospel might be carried beyond the *Paraguay*, as far as *Peru* one way, and the other way to the lands about the river *Maranon*, all famous for multitudes of *Indians*. The provincial had, in the year 1631, ordered F. Ruiz, then residing in the province of

Natives
oppose the
father.

Receive
him with
joy.

Towns
built, S.
Joseph,

The An-
gels,

Incarna-
tion.

of *Guaira*, to repair thither, but he being busy about transplanting the colonies of that province, sent F. *Rancionieri* in his stead; who repairing to *Xerez*, a Spanish town on the borders of *Itatina*, after serving those inhabitants, went away into the lands of the infidels. At his first coming the *Indians* shewed rather jealousy of him, than any affection; the reason of it was, because one *Acosta*, a Portuguese priest, having brought together many of the *Itatinians* into a town, on pretence of religion, endeavoured to drive them away into *Brazil*, to make slaves of them; which he had wickedly performed, but that the *Indians* discovered the fraud, put him to death, and now they feared lest F. *Rancionieri* should prove another *Acosta*. Their fear was increased by the indiscreet saying of an *European*, whether in jest or earnest; for meeting some *Itatinians* on the road, he told them, that all those who received F. *Rancionieri* should afterwards serve the *Spaniards*. To this was added the knavery of their forcerers, who gave out, that the stranger priest was come thither that he might gather the multitude in the churches he built, and burn them. The calmest among them taking up arms, as if war had been proclaimed with the *Spaniards*, openly declared, that the peace could not be kept as long as F. *Rancionieri* was there, for he was the fore-runner of slavery and other calamities. But whether the misfortunes that fell upon some of his chief opposers, or some other providence, prevailed with them, the *Itatinians* soon changed, so that they not only allowed him free liberty of preaching, but invited him to their villages; and he, making use of his time, set out to view all the country. Some, for joy of his coming, went out to meet, and carried him home in their arms. Famine now raging, they lived upon the pith of palm-trees, called *Palmitos*, ground into meal, and sometimes eat locusts. The father, by his discreet and religious behaviour, so gained the hearts of those people, that they were absolutely at his disposal; when three other fathers came to his assistance, and they all applied themselves to building of towns. The first there founded was called *S. Joseph*, and put under the care of F. *Enartius*, who presently gathered two hundred families. The second was the *Angels*, under F. *Martinez*, who gathered the like number of families. The third the *Incarnation*, not far from the borders of the *Guarambaræans*, formerly famous for the labours of the society, whither F. *Vansuck* drew five hundred families. Near to this town was a village, the chief whereof very opportunely ordered the father not to apply himself to any thing but instructing his people, for he would plentifully supply

him with all necessaries. The fourth town ^{TECHO.} under the direction of F. *Rancionieri*, appointed by the provincial superior of this mission, was built in the lands of *Nianduabusuvius*, who did not only boast himself to be lord of the *Itatinians*, but extending his imaginary power beyond the bounds of his country, pretended all the *Indians*, as far as the city of the *Assumption*, ought to be subject to him. It appeared he was almost adored by the *Itatinians*. The *Spaniards* had, for many years, used endeavours to have a sight of him, but in vain; for, to deceive them, he always appointed another *Indian*, who represented his person. The same deceit he made use of towards F. *Rancionieri*, receiving him into his dominions by another who personated him, having strictly enjoined his people not to discover him to the stranger priest, till he had observed his life and conversation; he, in the mean while, having given another his ensigns of honour and attendance, went about like a private man. After four months spent in making this discovery, perceiving that the father truly favoured the *Indians*, and that he alone, 'twas to be hoped, would protect them against their enemies, he took off his disguise, promising for the future to be favourable to him. Thus all things seemed to favour the father, who baptized many of *Nianduabusuvius's* followers, and called the new town *S. Peter and Paul*, it being seated three leagues from the river *Paraguay*. On the opposite side of that river is the nation of the *Paiaguas*, which, from the first coming of the *Spaniards*, had continued its ancient cruelty, infesting all the neighbourhood with rapine and slaughter, so that those people were accounted as bad as the *Guai-cureans*. Some converts, either of their own wicked inclination, or else provoked by hard usage, had fled to them at several times, and given them an account of the fathers, informing them, that they only sought the good of souls without any prejudice to the body; whereupon they resorted to F. *Rancionieri*, affirming they would build a town. As they said, they did, setting up their mats after the country fashion not far from the town of the *Apostles*, after the manner of a town; but being naturally fickle, they soon after slipped away to their old lurking places beyond the river *Paraguay*. The fathers in their four towns laboured to convert those people with good success, not omitting to attend the *Spaniards* of *Xerez*, whom F. *Enartius* served so diligently in the *Lent*, that they writ to the council and bishop of *Paraguay* to desire the society would settle among them. Besides, not far off were the *Guatians*, *Gualachians*, and other people of sun-dry

TECHO. dry languages, who seemed inclinable to receive the light of the gospel, if there were any body to convey it to them. Beyond this province, in the lands towards the great river of the *Amazons*, there were pignies, remarkable for the smallness of their stature; and *Amazones*, so called because living in war all their lives, they are reported every year; for a very short time, to call men from the neighbourhood to get them with child: besides other nations, so numerous that F. *Rancionieri* writing to his superiors, affirmed their might be many towns built at once up the country, if there were fathers to serve them. Thus considering the state of the province of *Itatina*, this alone with its neighbouring countries was sufficient to blot out the memory of the unfortunate *Guaira*. But another storm overturning the present state of affairs, and in a great measure eluding the hopes conceived, will almost represent to us another *Guaira* in the province of *Itatina*.

Itatina
over-run
by the
Mamalucs.

For the fathers had not been long settled in their new towns, before they received the dismal news that the *Mamalucs* were broke into the province. They, after destroying the province of *Guaira*, being joined by a numerous company of the *Tupus*, took the same way the fathers had done into the country of *Xerez*, and joining with some other robbers, consulted about the means of plundering the new towns; which that they might do with less trouble, they sent messengers to *S. Joseph's* in the absence of F. *Enartius*, fraudulently to insinuate to the people there, that they were not come to plunder, or do any mischief, but to revenge the wrongs done to F. *Rancionieri*, by the *Indians* further up the country, that if they joined their forces with them, it would oblige the society. The chief of the town innocently giving credit to the robbers, ordered his men to go out armed to take revenge, and led them directly to the *Mamalucs* camp; where when they came they were all disarmed and bound; the women and children thus deprived of all defence being after this easily conveyed from off the town to the camp. F. *Enartius* returning, and finding the town empty, with the tokens of the enemies fraud and cruelty, run to the *Mamalucs* camp, where, instead of any favour, he was threatened with death, which he slighting, they forced him from among them, giving him abusive language, tearing his cloaths, and treating him in an outrageous manner. Another party of *Mamalucs* invaded the colony of the *Angels*, but found it in a great measure abandoned, for F. *Martinez* being informed of their coming, had taken care that most of the

The *Angels*.

inhabitants should hide themselves in the woods; yet many were taken, the captain of those thieves having ordered the father to be bound, if he made any opposition. They drove those they found to their camp, whither F. *Martinez* following them, he was there confined three days, that they might carry no intelligence, or advise those in the woods. At the same time another company of these rovers plundered the lands of *Nianduabusuvius*, where they deluded the people after this manner, in the absence of F. *Rancionieri*. Having drawn the chief of the nation to a conference, they gave out, that they were not come as enemies, but to gather the *Indians*, who lived scattered abroad, into a great town, for instructing them in religion, and if they would lend their helping hand, they should all live friendly together. The poor people deluded by this pretence came in crowds to them, whom the *Mamalucs* cruelly bound, secured *Nianduabusuvius*, and appeared as open enemies; but then prosecuting their deceitful villany, they told the principal men, they had no way to escape being made slaves, but by delivering up their people; who being produced, were perfidiously secured without releasing the *Caciques*. As F. *Rancionieri* having heard of the invasion, was hastening to assist his convert, he was met by about five hundred *Indians* of *Nianduabusuvius* his faction, who were to be delivered to the robbers for him and other *Caciques*; which the father understanding, he encouraged them to stand upon their defence; but before they could make head, the *Mamalucs* fell upon them, and did some harm. Seventy of them, who were armed, having joined F. *Rancionieri* in the abandoned town, bravely withstood thirty *Mamalucs*, and seventy *Tupus*. These towns being destroyed, the fathers flew to all parts, where they might relieve the captives, or scatter'd *Indians*. F. *Rancionieri* in vain begged of the *Mamalucs* for his flock; for they fearing lest the *Gualaches*, *Paiguas*, and *Spaniards* should unite to revenge the *Itatinians*, driving away about a thousand captives, hastened away to join the plunderers of the other towns. Before they departed the province of *Itatina*, F. *Enartius* going to them, by many intreaties obtain'd liberty for *Nianduabusuvius*; and following after them, assisted many that made their escapes; among whom he found the chief of the town of *S. Joseph*, and saved him from some pursuing *Mamalucs*. Some of the *Tupus* in hatred to the *Mamalucs* deserted to F. *Enartius*; but the *Itatinians* suspecting some treachery, slew them all. The *Mamalucs* going off declared, they had met with no nation of *Indians* so brave

And S. Peter and Paul.

brave as the *Itatinians*, and magnifying the dangers and difficulties of the ways, protested they would never return thither to plunder; like seamen, who in a storm vow they will never go to sea, but are always forsworn. All the *Caciques* of the *Itatinians* were drowned in passing a river, they being all in a chain, and a sudden storm arising. The rest of the prisoners, provisions failing, were reduced with the *Mamalucs* to eat snakes and other vermin. After the departure of the *Mamalucs*, F. *Rancionieri* sent F. *Martinez* to the city of the *Assumption* to demand supplies of the governor of *Paraguay*, and ask advice of the rector of the college. Which done, he travelled to all parts of the province, very often in danger of his life; for the *Itatinians* grown jealous, kept in mind the words of some of the *Mamalucs*, who had the impudence to say they had been called in to plunder the province by the fathers. This so enraged them, that a company attempted to murder him, saying he was the forerunner of them, and they had come in the same way he did, yet by great providence he escaped. The *Indian* villages every where smoaked, the inhabitants being hid, or running about like madmen; and because the *Mamalucs* had given out, that another troop of them was gone to destroy the villages of *Paraguay*, neither the fathers, nor the *Indians*, knew which way to turn themselves, yet by degrees these jealousies vanished, and things were in some measure restored. After all the mischief had been done, the governor of *Paraguay* sent two troops of *Spaniards* to defend the country; but they coming late, and the soldiers being eager to make slaves of the *Indians*, did more harm than good; for returning to the town of the *Assumption*, that they might with more freedom enslave the *Indians*, they told the governor, he would do well to give the charge of the *Itatinians* to the clergy, and not to religious men. The governor was about embracing this ill-contrived advice, had not F. *Vasquez* the provincial interposed. Hereupon F. *Rancionieri*, who was come to the city of the *Assumption*, was sent with two other fathers, and full power to take care of his *Itatinians*. They with great labour, this year 1633, gathering those that had been dispersed for fear of the robbers, and calling in other *Indians*, founded two towns, the first upon the river *Tepotio*, under the care of F. *Vanfack*, the other an hundred leagues from the city of the *Assumption*, not far from the river *Paraguay*, under the direction of F. *Rancionieri* and F. *Enarius*. To speak of the hardships they endured is needless, being much the same as we have mentioned on other ac-

counts. All obstacles to the conversion of the *Indians* were removed by the catholick king's letters, wherein he declared all converts free from any service of private persons, and immediately tributary to himself. It was no small hindrance to the proceedings of F. *Rancionieri*, that the *Piaguas* happened to report, that the *Spaniards* of *Paraguay* were about making war on the *Paiaguas* and *Itatinians*. Which made such an impression on the *Indians* under the fathers, that four hundred of them under the leading of *Nianduabusuwius* the elder, crossing the river *Paraguay*, fled away to the mountains that run out a vast length, and were by this means made pervious to the excursions of the fathers, who the following year brought back many of those people.

The chief heads of the province of *Paraguay* who should have forwarded it, for a while stopped the speedy course of the advancing gospel. For the governor imprisoned a convert *Cacique* of the province of *Parana* and his followers, only because he had made some canoes, or boats of the body of a tree hollowed out, less than he was ordered, adding scurvy words to his ill usage, threatening he would go with armed forces to the new town of *Parana*, and make all the converts of that country slaves to the *Spaniards*. This so incensed those people, as yet not inured to subjection, that it was much to be feared they would have revolted, had not the authority of the fathers prevailed. But the bishop provoked them much more, for he forgetting the commendations he had given the society, studying his own private interest, conceived that his revenue would be much greater, if the care of the new towns of *Parana* was taken from the *Jesuits*, and bestowed upon the secular clergy, over whom his power was more absolute. Therefore pretending some reasons for what he did, and particularly the converts under the fathers not paying the fourths and tithes, he interdicted all the fathers in the province of *Parana*. Both the governor and bishop would have proceeded further, had not F. *Romero*, superior of those fathers, hastened to the city of the *Assumption*, an hundred leagues from where he was, to oppose them. The governor he soon persuaded not to oppress those people, and force them to revolt before they were well subdued; but he had more to do with the bishop, who stood obstinately to what he had undertaken. To convince him, he produced the grants of the catholick kings and briefs of popes in favour of the society, by which it appeared the bishop had no power to interdict them upon that account. Whilst the controversy was still depending, F. *Vasquez* the provincial, coming to town opportu-

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troubled by the governor and bishop.

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Towns of
Iguazu
and Aca-
rai aban-
doned.

portunately, seconded F. *Romero*, and put by the bishop from attempting any innovation, by shewing him the king's repeated orders, forbidding any person whatsoever upon any pretence to molest the society in the care of their converts. The governor, who was before reconciled, now also interposing, at length the bishop complied, and following F. *Romero* into *Parana*, again visited the new towns and confirmed the converts. These troubles were followed by rumours of war, and the transmigration of two towns. F. *Contreras* had been seen by his superiors up the river *Parana*, to bring away the remaining people and goods of the ruined province of *Parana*. When he was passed the famous precipice, some *Mamelucs* met him, diligently inquiring about the towns of *Iguazu* and *Acarai* seated on the river *Parana*, and telling him there were three troops of *Mamelucs*, with the booty they brought from the province of *Itatina*, not far off. This gave occasion to suspect another invasion, and therefore F. *Contreras* returning from whence he came, went himself with all speed to acquaint the inhabitants of *Iguazu* and *Acarai* with the danger, and sent letters of it to F. *Romero*, who sending messengers to all the towns of *Urvaica* and *Parana*, called together as many fathers as he could. Being all together, they all unanimously agreed to expose their lives for their flock, and encouraged the converts to take arms. In the mean while the *Acaraians*, upon fresh reports of the approach of the robbers, abandoning and burning their town, went away and joined themselves to the inhabitants of *Itapua* and *Corpus Christi*, some days journey distant from them, where they still continue, having laid aside all hopes of returning to their country. Hereupon F. *Romero* applied himself altogether to deliver the *Iguazuans* from danger. It was manifest that town could not be secured but by removing it to another place; for besides that it was thirty leagues from any other colony of converts, there was an easy descent to it either by land or water, out of the province of *Guaira*. The transmigration being resolved on, the next debate was to what place it should be. There was a plain on the river *Urvaica*, about half way between the towns of the *Conception* and *S. Xaverius*, fit to build a town in, but the way was round about, and fifty leagues in length, and the fathers were afraid, lest, as a great part of the transmitters out of the province of *Guaira* had perished by the way, the same might happen to the people of *Iguazu*; but the fear of the enemy soon took off this apprehension, reason pleading it was better a part should suffer than the whole. Besides F. *Romero*

rendered the matter easier, having ordered provisions to be furnished by the other towns, and gathered boats from all parts, directing the fathers to attend the transplantation. Thus two thousand two hundred inhabitants of *Iguazu* were transplanted without any considerable damage, and building a town on the banks of *Urvaica*, still retaining the name of *S. Mary Major*, they began to be reckoned among the *Urvaicans*. Many, as is usual in such cases, were against this removal, hiding themselves in the woods, whom the fathers and faithful converts at several times brought away. Afterwards the town was increased by the accession of many *Indians*; where I resided two years. The inhabitants of *Iguazu* being thus transplanted, there were ten towns then built by the society in the province of *Urvaica*.

Yet as great as their success was there, still the province of *Tape* exceeded it, for in the town of *S. Michael* eight hundred forty-four were baptized, and in that of *S. Thomas* one thousand five hundred of all sorts; besides far greater numbers that were still instructing. About a day's journey from each of these towns, that is, half way between them, was a woody mountainous place called *Itaquatia*, whose heathen inhabitants had left no stone unturned for the obtaining of one of the society. F. *Romero* had promised to fulfil their desires when the provincial came from the capital of *Paraguay*. They not satisfied with this province, and understanding that the provincial was in the province of *Parana*, sent the chief of them to him, to desire he would not deny their request. But the provincial having been informed of their desires, had already sent away F. *Cateldinus* the first founder of the towns of *Guaira*, to lay the foundations of a town among them, which took the name of *S. Joseph*. The *Itaquatians* meeting him were wonderfully pleased, and laid aside the design of going to the provincial. F. *Cateldinus* being come to the place, and having fitted a church and house for the fathers, laid the foundations of a town so successfully, that at the first he found three hundred families all earnestly desirous to become christians. They daily flocked to church at the ringing of the bell to be catechised, as well knowing it was in vain to ask baptism till they had learnt the rudiments of christianity. About the same time were laid the foundations of another town on the top of a high mountain called *Ararica*, which is reported to have happened thus. F. *Ximinez* residing among the *Caaroans*, and after him F. *Romero*, by some courtesies had gained the affection of *Cuniambo* brother to *Mboipeo* a famous *Cacique*;

The Na-
tivity of
Ararica.

cique; who returning into his country persuaded the people to call in the fathers. In order to obtain some of them, they of their own accord built a church and house for them, and sending frequent messages to the fathers, seemed rather to demand, than sue for a teacher of the true law; and they were so eager as to consult, whether in jest or earnest, about taking away forcibly one of the two that resided in the town of *S. Michael*; so hot was their desire to imbrace christianity. The provincial hearing their request, sent thither *F. Alvarez* with power to found a town, and dedicate it to the *Nativity* of the blessed virgin. His first labour was to baptize nine hundred twenty-seven children, the next to catechise those that were of age, and the third to search the woods to increase the other town; wherein he was so successful, that the first year it contained eight hundred families. Of these people among whom I lived three years, they being removed to another place, the society to this time has baptized nine thousand eight hundred. Nor did the fathers zeal stop here; for about the same time they passed beyond the river *Igai*, which divides the mountains of *Tape*, at the request of *Itapavia*, a powerful *Cacique* in those parts, who coming to *F. Romero* and *F. Mendoza*, then in the town of *S. Michael*, assured them if they would go over the river *Igai* with him, they would find all things requisite for building a town. Both of them going thither, found much more than the *Cacique* had promised, for four hundred families forsaking their villages had flocked together, shewing as forward a zeal as could have been expected from people who had been long instructed. A cross was set up in solemn manner, infants baptized, and the town founded under the invocation of *S. Anne*. This place was committed to *F. Martinez*, who had gained reputation in the provinces of *Guaira* and *Itatina*, and before the end of the year gathered eight hundred families.

Town of
S. Teresa
founded.

Whilst these things were carrying on at the top of the mountains of *Tape*, two other towns were founded in the opposite part of those same mountains, concerning whose original, situation and progress, take this short account. About the springs of the river *Igai*, there are vast plains, divided at intervals by great woods. Among which woods were particularly those of *Ibitiruna*, *Ibitirabebo* and *Mondeca*, very full of pines, which trees, when they come to their full growth, are said to be a hundred and twenty foot high; and they are so very strait, that they seem rather made by art than nature. As they grow, they cast out their boughs at equal distances in the manner of garlands, which falling off by degrees of

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themselves, so as only the signs of them appear, leave knots behind them, so very hard, that when artificially wrought, they look more like bones than wood. The inhabitants of this country feed a considerable part of the year on very large pine-apples, which differ little in taste from the walnuts in *Europe*. Here is also found the herb of *Paraguay*, the delight of the *Indians*, and a vast number of wild boars and wild goats, so that with a little tillage the natives have enough at home to maintain them. *F. Romero* had made an excursion to these woods two years before, in hopes of reducing the people to the town of *S. Charles*, two days journey from thence; but finding the natives could not easily be drawn out of their native soil, which was very fruitful, he thought of founding a town. To this purpose *F. Mola*, by order of *F. Romero* the foregoing year, erected a cross in the lands of *Quarareo*, a powerful *Cacique*, which were opposite to those of *Ibitizuna*; from that time the said *Quarareo* and *Tupaminio*, the *Cacique* of the forest of *Mondeca*, used all their endeavours to obtain one of the society. *F. Ximenez*, sent thither to lay the foundation of a town, satisfied the desires of them both. At his coming *Quarareo* received him with an elegant speech, wherein he mentioned all the parts of his body, and affirmed they were all so overwhelmed with joy, that he could not express it. The plan for the town being marked out, abundance of *Indians* flocked together with great alacrity to build the church and houses, insomuch that the cold frosty season did not move them to desist from their work. These children from their childhood stick long stones into their chins instead of beards, which custom the fathers condemning, alledging it was indecent to deform the bodies God had made by those unbecoming additions, the young lads pulling out those stones cast them all into the fire, fearing lest that barbarous custom should be any obstacle to christianity. The women brought in their children to be baptized, knowing the fathers would not forsake those whose spiritual fathers they were. Having laid these foundations, both the fathers were obliged to return to their charge of their towns in *Urvaica*, whence they came, till this year 1633. *F. Ximenez* was sent thither again with orders to remove the town to a nearer and more commodious place, which he soon did, having marked out a place for it in the lands of *Tupaminio*, to build which *Quarareo*, tho' very unwilling to leave his native mountains, resorted with his followers and great numbers of the neighbouring people. This town, at the request of the governor of *Rio de la Plata*, was called *S. Teresa*, and

Techo, and put under the care of F. *Ximenez*, who with the assistance of his companion F. *Salas*, within the first year drew eight hundred families to it. At the same time F. *Romero* went away over the mountains of *Tape*, to the town of *S. Teresa*, to make the way fit for the provincial who was ancient, and coming thither. When he was past the mountains *Carvaio*, a powerful *Cacique* met him with some followers, acquainting him he was desirous to become a christian, and found a town, and would find inhabitants enough in the neighbourhood, if a priest were assigned them. F. *Romero* embracing him, blessed God, for that he inspired those barbarous people of their own accord to seek salvation. Having viewed the place, and seeing the inclination of the *Indians*, he could not but grant his request; for besides his desire of the conversion of so many souls, it was very convenient to secure this place in the province, for the better uniting the town of *S. Teresa* with the other colonies planted upon the other ridge of the mountains; he erected a cross, baptized the infants, called the town *S. Joachim*, and till a priest could be sent for, committed the care of it to F. *Ximenez*, who coming thither soon after from the pine groves, built a church for present use with the assistance of a multitude of people flocking in from all parts. Afterwards F. *Suarez* built a house and church fit to contain the multitude, and gathered a sufficient number of *Indians*, to make a reasonable town. The provincial having now visited *Parana* and *Urvaica*, came to see the new towns of the province of *Tape*, and hurting his leg in the way to *S. Teresa*, was forced to be carried by *Indians*. Being past the mountains, other *Indians* came to him, desiring to have a priest to instruct them, and build a town; he gave them hopes, appointing *S. Cosmus* and *S. Damianus* their patrons, and went down the river of snakes to the *Ibicuit*. Another parcel of infidels that came to him upon the same account, he persuaded to join themselves to the *Tapevians*, as they afterwards did, there not being fathers enough for so many places. All the way he went he still gave something to the *Indians*, insomuch that not one convert of so many thousands missed of some little gift. After his departure out of the province of *Tape*, the fathers founded another town under the invocation of *Jesus* and *Mary* in the furthest corner of the mountains of *Tape*. The place was called *Ibiticarain*, whither so many inhabitants resorted, that at the first there were four thousand reckoned under the care of F. *Mola*, a man of an excellent disposition, and notable for his art of managing the *Indians*. Thus in less than two years there were eight towns built by the society in the province of *Tape*, and places

appointed for founding of others, which made sufficient amends for the loss of the province of *Guaira*. About the latter end of the year 1633, F. *Vasquez* the provincial received orders from *Rome*, ordering him to resign that dignity to another, when he had held it five years with various success; for in his time eleven towns of *Guaira* were destroyed, those of *Acarai* and *Iguazu* removed, the converts of *Urvaica* and *Parana* swept away by the plague, the province of *Chagua* twice attempted in vain, and the towns of *Itatina* almost ruined in their first rise. On the contrary he was successful in restoring the town of the *Caareans*, building others among the *Caasapaguacians* and *Caapians*, those of the *Assumption* and *S. Xaverius*, eight in the province of *Tape*, and two in that of *Itatina*, besides opening the way to preach the gospel in other parts. He left to his successor nine colleges in the *Spanish* cities, and twenty-five seats of the society in the *Indian* towns built by them.

We now enter upon the year 1634, under the new provincial F. *James Borea*, a man in great reputation of sanctity, for his austerity of life; he had formerly been serviceable to the *Calchaquines* in the province of *Tucuman*, and the *Guarambareans* in that of *Paraguay*, reduced the *Indians* on the *Parana*, and the *Iguazians* to towns, and founded the colony of *S. Xaverius* on the river *Urvaica*. To make short, he was received with general approbation. His first action was to send out F. *Martinez* and F. *Valera* out for four months along the banks of the rivers *Dulce* and *Salado*, or the sweet and the salt, where they were successful, undeceiving many who denied the immortality of the soul, and therefore like Wicked
atheists lived in all manner of lewdness; O-
practices
thers who profanely dedicated the matter of
their debauches to the devil, and others who
had to do with *Incubus* spirits, or dealt with
sorcerers. The new provincial having vi-
sited all the province of *Tucuman*, being a
journey of four hundred leagues, halted a-
way to the towns of the converts of *Para-
na*, to be a witness to the labours of the
fathers, and order the expedition to the *Chi-
riguans*, a most fierce nation, concerning
whose original take this short account. Af-
ter the *Indians* of *Paraguay* had cruelly
murdered *Alexius Garcia* (before the coming
of the *Spaniards*, as was related at the be-
ginning of this work) in his return from the
borders of *Peru*, joining in confederacy with
the *Paranians*, either for fear of punish-
ment, or for the liberty of plunder, they
forsook their native soil, and went away to
the same place where they had been with
the said *Alexius Garcia*. Having appointed
the time of transmigration, the *Parani-
ans*, travelling along the country adjoining
to the river *Picolmayo*, came to the moun-
tains
ans.
Chirigu-
ans their
original,
&c.

tains about the *Spanish* town called *Tarica*. The *Paraguarians* taking another way, having traversed a vast tract of land, settled in that place where the town of *S. Laurence* is seated, not far from the banks of the river *Guapaio*. Then consulting together, and fixing their villages on the tops of the mountains, they plundered all about them far and near so incessantly, that it is reported, these *Chiriguans*, of whose name I know not the original and etymology, in less than a year, either killed or drove away into captivity an hundred thousand *Indians*. For sometime after their transmigration, it was a solemn feast among them to eat the bodies of the prisoners they took; but having afterwards settled an underhand trade with the *Europeans*, they forbore eating of man's flesh, taking prisoners to sell them as slaves. Yet they dealt after such manner, as not to forbear doing the *Spaniards* a mischief, if occasion offered, so that they had several battles with them, and they carried it so far, as publicly, and without any damage, to defy *Francis de Toledo*, the viceroy of *Peru*; and they do not yet cease to infest *Tarifa*, *Pasmaia*, *Pilaia*, *Momina*, *Misca*, the towns of *Peru*, all the province of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, or the holy cross in the mountains, and the borders of *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*. So that there is no nation in the inland of south *America*, more terrible to the *Spaniards*, or more destructive to the *Indians*, than these *Chiriguans*, encouraged by the desire of gain, and enured to constant robbing. What is most to be admired, it is reported that only four thousand of them transplanted themselves at first; but in process of time having brought some prisoners to follow their course, and increased by procreation, they spread abroad beyond their mountains, and scattered the terror of their name far and near. Hitherto no endeavours had been of any force to bring these people to Christianity, the bishops of *Peru* had in vain tried all expedients; *F. Ortega*, an excellent man, had in vain attempted thirty years before this to dispel their darkness by the light of the gospel; in vain had several others laboured among them, so that they had been quite abandoned for several years, as people altogether desperate. Till at this time, *F. Diastanius* being soliciting the affairs of the society with the king's council in the town of *Chuguisaca*, some of these *Chiriguans* came to him, declaring their country people would easily be brought to embrace the faith, if there were any fathers that understood the *Guaran* language sent to them. Hereupon *F. Diastanius* and another priest were sent by *F. Torres*, late provincial of *Paraguay*, who was in the same town, and had received a great sum of money of *Guzman*, a rich man, and the year-

ly allowance of five hundred pistoles for that *Tecno*. mission; these I say were sent to try the temper of those people. The consequence of which expedition was that *F. Torres* writ to the general, to acquaint him, he thought it would be an advancement to Christianity, if two fathers, well versed in the mission of *Paraguay*, were sent into *Peru*, to labour for the salvation of these *Chiriguans*. When the general's consent was obtained, and the approbation of *F. Durand*, provincial of *Peru*, as also of the king's council; *F. Boroa* the provincial hastened away to *Parana*, to choose out fathers fit for that expedition. *F. Alvarez* and *F. Martinez*, men renowned for their extraordinary labours, were pitched upon; who setting out from the towns of the province of *Tape*, travelled six hundred leagues, and came that same year they set out into the country of the *Chiriguans*, where for some years they laboured much without any great success, as the annals of *Peru* will make appear.

The new provincial at this time set out from the college of the *Assumption*, to visit the towns of the provinces of *Parana*, *Urvaica* and *Tape*, whom I design to follow, to shew the distances from place to place, which is a matter of great consequence, and will at once insert whatever occurs that is memorable. The first town of *Parana* is thirty leagues from the city of the *Assumption*. Thence he travelled twenty leagues to *Itapua*, and was received with great demonstrations of joy by the converts, many of whom he had formerly brought to the faith. Fifteen leagues above *Itapua* is the colony of *Corpus Christi*, built by himself twelve years before, and therefore his reception was accordingly. Between *Itapua* and the colony of *Corpus Christi*, the provincial with no little compassion saw the small remains of the province of *Guaira* in two towns. Having visited the *Parana*, he struck over to the first town of *Urvaica*, called the *Conception*, sixteen leagues distant. Three leagues from thence the *Iguazuans* lately removed thither, entertained him with joy, they having been first converted by him, and brought to live in a town, nine years before. Hence sailing up the river *Urvaica* to the town of *S. Xaverius*, he was shipwrecked in that short passage of four leagues. His companions being parted from him by the storm, thought he was lost, because the stream carry'd him violently away, and therefore said mass for his soul; but the next day they rejoiced at the news of his being safe, especially when they understood he must have perished, had not the *Iguazuans*, upon notice of his being wreck'd, with great danger of their own lives, struggled through the swelling waves to save him. He found two thousand inhabitants in the town of *S. Xaverius*, which he had founded him-

TECHO. self. Thence he held on a whole day's sail to *Acaragua*, or the new colony of the *Assumption*. From this colony he travelled sixteen leagues to the town of *S. Nicholas* in the province of *Piratina*, in building of the church of which place it was remarkable, that the mothers not satisfied with carrying earth themselves, made baskets for the sucking infants they had in their arms, that God Almighty might be favourable to them, since they wrought for his worship. One day's journey distant was the town of the *Purification* in the same province, where, against the coming of the provincial, *F. Dominicus* had introduced the custom of carrying the blessed sacrament in procession, which that it might be done with more decency in that poor country, the converts erected fifteen hundred arches of boughs and flowers, and made four altars of the same sort, in the four corners of the market, about which they hung all sorts of wild and tame creatures, which was much admired both by the other converts and infidels. Next he went to the town of the *Caaroans*, or of the martyrs of *Japan*, then to that of the apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and then to that of *S. Charles*, all of them about a day's journey one from another. From this last he travelled a day's journey to the town of *S. Teresa* on this side of the mountains. Thence to the colony of the visitation of the blessed virgin is eight leagues. The distance from it to *S. Joachim* I do not find, but that the place was a craggy mountain, beset with vast rocks, among which rocks and the thick woods the natives dwelt, and were to be drawn thence with great labour to be brought to a sociable life, and a very great number was so gained. The manner of burying here was to throw a great heap of stones on the body. The way was very bad from *S. Joachim's* to the town of *Jesus Mary* beyond the mountains, which *F. Arenas* took great pains to mend, felling many trees, and removing abundance of great stones. From *S. Joachim's* the provincial went two day's journey over the mountains of *Tape*, to the town of *Jesus Mary*, built the year before by the fathers *Mola* and *Arena*. Two leagues from the town of *Jesus Mary*, was a place appointed for building a new town, whither some hundred families had resorted, desiring they might be allowed a priest. *Caraicbure*, a heathen, sent by his country people to request this favour of the provincial, came fifty leagues to meet him, and would not desist till he ordered *F. Contreras* to go lay the foundation of a town accordingly, and to call it *S. Christopher*, which prosper'd better than any other colony, for within a year and a half four thousand six hundred *Indians* resorted to inhabit it. The colony

of *S. Anne*, beyond the river *Igai*, was in a prosperous condition, being increased to eight hundred families. The provincial passing the river *Igai* proceeded to *Ararica*, or the colony of the nativity of the blessed virgin, less than a day's journey from *S. Anne*. The town of *S. Cosmus* and *Damianus* is but a few miles from *Ararica*, founded this year by *F. Formosus*, who gathered to it out of the neighbouring woods a thousand families. Not far from it was the colony of *S. Michael*, then at a small distance that of *S. Joseph*, and lastly that of *S. Thomas*, the true distances between which places I do not find. The provincial having run through his visitation, sailed away to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, whence he sent *F. Diastanius*, who had been four years soliciting the king's council of *Peru* in favour of the *Indians*, into the province of *Tape*, to take care of the town of *Jesus Mary* against the *Mamaluks*, for now the report ran, and not without reason, that the *Mamaluks* designed to invade that province. *F. Romero*, giving an account of the actions of the fathers under his jurisdiction, says they baptized thirteen thousand eight hundred this year 1634; which was a small number in respect of the many that desired it, and could not be disposed and instructed for want of fathers, there being more harvest than labourers. For now in these beginnings, every single man of them was taken up in marking out the ground for the inhabitants, in building churches and houses for themselves, ordaining their civil government, inviting the infidels to the towns, receiving those that came in time of plague to seek them out in their lurking places, assisting those that continued in the towns in all their wants, catechising, administering sacraments, comforting the afflicted, disappointing the artifices of the forcerers, curing the sick, letting blood, preparing medicines, dressing sores, tilling the ground, and dressing their garden, so that adding to this their priestly duty, they had scarce time to eat or sleep. Nor was this all, for they laboured under great want of bread, wine, and most necessaries, were forced to accustom themselves to strange diet, and bear with the loathsome customs of those people, living always in miserable solitude, for it is rather a pain than any comfort to converse with barbarous men. And the *Spanish* towns, where things necessary for their cloathing were sold, were an hundred and fifty leagues off, whereby their sufferings were much the greater.

The two towns of the *Guairanians* after their transmigration were in great want of cloaths, because the fields and woods near the river *Parana*, were not proper for producing of cotton, the damps of the river destroying the flower before it was ripe. To supply

supply this defect, F. Ruiz sent F. Spinosa with a choice company of converts to the town of *Santa Fe*, or *S. Faith*, an hundred and fifty leagues distant, to bring sheep through a vast desert. They were about half way when a dismal accident happened. A few days before, some *Spaniards* travelling that way, had offended the *Guapalaches*, a wandering sort of *Indians*, who being upon revenge, as soon as they perceived a smoak in the fields, near the *Parana*, and the footsteps of travellers, thinking they had been the same *Spaniards*, stole very gently to the place where F. Spinosa lay, as the custom is there, in the open air, and at first onset murdered five of his converts. Next they fell upon the father himself, then awak'd, and asking what was the matter. As soon as they heard his voice, the *Indians* concluding he was one of the *Spaniards* they had resolved to kill, stripp'd, and then beat him till they thought he had been dead; but he coming a little to himself, and calling upon *Jesus Mary*, brought them on him again, and so they made an end of him. They tore off one of his arms and left the rest of his body to be devoured by the tygers. When it was day, and they perceived they had killed a priest, they are reported to have repented, it being said they only sought to destroy those *Spaniards* that had offended them; yet others affirm they knew he was a priest before they killed him. In the year 1635, the seminary the fathers had in the metropolis of *Tucuman* was dissolv'd, the canons of the church having writ to the king that it was useless, and thereupon the society quitted it. About the same time the college of the city of *Es-teco* was dissolved, the town being left almost desolate by the plague, and the goods of the society perishing for want of servants to look after them. The general sent orders that all the villages of *Indians* in the province of *Tucuman* should be visited at least once a year, which oblig'd the fathers of several colleges to make many excursions into the country, not without a considerable gain of souls. The provincial himself, to give a good example, travelled thro' the plain by the port of *Buenos Ayres* an hundred and twenty leagues, inviting the troops of wandering *Indians* to embrace the faith and be civilized, but without any great success. He held on his journey with three other priests, serving all the *Indians* in the villages between *Cordova* and the metropolis of the province of *Tucuman*, whence he went on in the same manner to the territories of *S. Michael*, *Salta* and *Rioja*. The fathers at *Salta* long exercis'd their function in a private house, their college having been the last year, as was then mentioned, destroyed by a flood, and another inundation

now carrying away their house, they be-TECHO. took themselves to another out of town. F. Herrera this year made an excursion among the *Pullares*, but to little advantage, the war diverting them from any care either of soul or body. In the port of *Buenos Ayres*, the great employment of the society was to instruct and catechise the *Blacks* brought from *Angola*. Many things are here related concerning an image sweating in the port of *Santa Fe*, and other miraculous matters happening thereupon, which I omit here, as is done in all other places.

Some things remarkable happen'd in the province of *Urvaica*. Among the rest *Chemombeus*, a wicked impostor, being call'd by some sorcerers from the country near the sea to the town of *S. Xaverius*, gained great authority among the multitude by his valuable tongue, and prevailed so far as to carry on a conspiracy for murdering F. Céspedes. Some of the townsmen had built him a large house without the town, where the plot was laid for the murder amidst drinking and dancing, and *Easter-Eve* was pitched upon to be the day, when they had performed the villany, but that a youth, bred under the fathers, discovered the design; which being known, the faithful converts, a little before *Chemombeus* came with his armed followers, conveyed F. Céspedes away into a den in a rock. Whilst he in vain searches about for his prey, which had slipped out of his hands, the inhabitants of *S. Mary Major* having notice of what was doing, came to the father's assistance in great numbers, and having secured *Chemombeus* and other conspirators, sent them away into banishment. F. Céspedes brought out of his concealment continued in the town of *S. Xaverius*, where he reckoned above three thousand that had been made Christians since the colony was founded. The plague devoured Plague. five hundred of the converts of *Acoragua*, whose places were filled up by great numbers of infidels soon after brought over to Christianity. This plague extended to the province of *Piratina*, where processions were made, the converts carrying great crosses to appease God. Nor was it less destructive among the *Caaroans*, where it swept away eight hundred and fifty-two souls. About eighty converts of the town of the *Three Kings of Japeiva*, going out to gather in the cattle that strayed about the plains, without any certain master, fell among certain fierce people, and fighting with them, lost half their number; and at the same time the plague carry'd off many more, so that in a short time the third part of the inhabitants was missing, yet the town was recruited by fresh *Indians* brought in. Having briefly mentioned these things in the province of *Urvaica*, let us now remove to

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Several passages.

TECHO.
Excursion
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The province of *Tape*, where there is much matter worth relating. F. *Boroo*, the provincial, at his going away into the province of *Tucuman*, had ordered excursions to be made into the countries of the heathens, towards the sea, as well to gain opportunities of founding new towns, as to invite those *Indians* to repair to the towns already built, as also to contract friendship with those people, to oppose the coming of the *Mamalucs* into the province of *Tape*, for there were many tokens of a new invasion. The first that went from the colony of *S. Teresa*, attended by a small, but faithful, company of converts, was F. *Ximenez*, whose chief design was to bring as many *Indians* as he could to the colony of the *Visitation*, which was begun to be built, but as yet wanted a priest. The fifth day after his setting out, he came to the river *Caapibaris*, and having sailed on it two days, came to another called *Mbocariro*, and out of that in two days more came into the *Tebiquar*. Searching the rocks, woods, and forests along these rivers, he found many men desirous to embrace Christianity, and was every where received with great joy, and conducted by the *Indians* from village to village. Sometimes he was met by thirty canoos at a time, all resounding with mirth and jollity, and the *Indians* desiring him to erect crosses, and build towns, where they would readily obey all his directions, so they were not obliged to quit their native soil; yet some consented to remove, whereof fifteen hundred went to the town of the *Visitation*, and three hundred to that of *S. Teresa*. Having spent twenty-five days in this expedition, F. *Ximenez* returned home, having found that some towns might be built upon the river *Tebiquar*, if there were fathers to attend them. When he was at home, understanding that the heathens all about were much distressed for want of provisions, he sowed a vast tract of land, to the end that hunger might draw those people to him, to receive the nourishment of the soul, as well as that of the body; which succeeded accordingly, for great numbers came in to him. The plague raging at the same time, swept away above nine hundred souls; one thousand and thirty of all sorts were baptized. F. *Suarez* travelling into those same parts from the town of *S. Joachim*, over rocks and dismal places, having suffered much by hunger and weariness, brought a considerable number of infidels to the town; which he and F. *Arenes* practising afterwards by turns, they made that colony of *S. Joachim*, which was inconsiderable in its beginning, almost equal to any other for number of inhabitants. Amidst these successes, many things happened that caused dread and fear, and the

Fear of
the Ma-
malucs.

fathers apprehensions were all of the *Mamalucs*; for there were several reports spread abroad in the towns of the converts concerning the designs of those robbers; for the better opposing of whom, F. *Romero* going away upon business, appointed F. *Mendoza* to be superior over the rest in the province of *Tape*, and to be watchful and ready to oppose those bloody villains. F. *Mendoza* accordingly provided the best he could for his defence, as soon as he came to the town of *Jesus Mary*. The *Mamalucs* had used, for many years past, to run along the coasts from the south parts of *Brazil* in small barques, to the mouth of the great river of the *Holy Ghost*, which is composed of the rivers of the province of *Tape*; then going some way up this river, they traded with the *Indians* along the shores, giving them iron tools, apparel, and other things for slaves. The *Indians*, allured by these commodities, sometimes sold their own countrymen seized by force, or made irruptions up the country to take prisoners to sell. These were generally called the friends and confederates of the *Mamalucs*, who about this time had the boldness to drive away many out of the villages that were subject to the town of *Jesus Mary*. This being made known by those, who had made their escape out of captivity, struck a great terror into the *Indians* of the province, and perplexed the fathers, as well knowing the *Mamalucs* would highly resent having their wicked trade obstructed by the fathers, and rather chuse to break out into open war, than be disappointed of buying slaves. Thus the alarm was given for all to stand upon their guard, but especially the townsmen of *Jesus Mary*, who, provok'd by the late wrong, took up arms, and marched out that way their people were reported to be carried off. The fathers *Mendoza* and *Mola* went along with them, and overtaking those robbers, took them, set the prisoners at liberty, and banished the takers to the river of *Parana*, that they might be out of the way of doing mischief for the future. This action was not only the cause of converting those thieves, but gained the hearts of the infidels all about, seeing the fathers took care to defend the *Indians*; and therefore they earnestly desired to have towns founded in their lands, or to remove themselves to those already built.

The principal care of the fathers was, to invite the people towards the sea to the faith, lest being deluded by the *Mamalucs*, they might unite their forces to ruin the province of *Tape*. Yet tho' F. *Mendoza* had taken as much care as could be to sollicite 'em by messengers, and obliged many of them with gifts, yet many still persisted in their obstinacy; among whom *Jaguacaporuus*

Of the
Caaguas.

The Ibi-
ans mur-
der F.
Mendoza.

porius, look'd upon as a good man by the neighbouring people, relying on his allies, durst talk publickly of murdering the fathers. The business therefore not being so well manag'd by messengers, *F. Mendoza* travell'd several days journey to the river *Iebiquar*, to draw over the infidels to his side, endeavouring to persuade the people not to trust to the *Mamalucs*. After his return home, he set out towards the *Caaguas*, because it was fear'd the enemy might break in through their lands. *Caagua* is a populous country, in the mid-way between the province of *Tape* and the *Atlantick Sea*, as yet not enter'd by the *Europeans*, but design'd to be attempted as soon as there were priests to supply it. To this purpose the *Caaguas* that came to the province of *Tape* were kindly receiv'd by the fathers, and handsomely presented. It happen'd about this time, many of them were come to the town of *Jesus Mary* to trade, with whom *F. Mendoza* easily prevail'd to take him along with them into their country. He took along with him a numerous train of converts, to stand by him in case any violence was offer'd; and after some days travel, entring the country of the *Ibians*, where *Jaguacaporius* resided, found many seemingly favourable; for they promised, by that time he return'd from the *Caaguas*, abundance of their people would be got together to receive the gospel. With this hope he proceeded to the *Caaguas*, where all things succeeded according to his desires, those people readily hearkening to the account he gave of the behaviour of the *Mamalucs*, and to the affairs of Christianity: but whilst he was there employ'd, the *Ibians* consider'd to kill him, at the instigation of *Taiubaius*, a crafty man, and an enemy to the Christian religion. He had formerly endeavour'd to exclude the society of the province of *Tape*, and also he still endeavour'd to debauch the new converts, setting up for a deity; he was punish'd with one day's imprisonment by the procurement of *F. Mendoza*, in the town of *S. Michael*. Some time after flying to the infidels, he us'd all his endeavours to oppose Christianity; and now understanding *F. Mendoza* was gone to the people up the country, he gather'd the heads of the *Ibians*, and with many words persuaded them to murder him in his return. They were easily persuaded, and sent to *Jaguacaporius* to join with them. A day being appointed, the principal men, with their followers in arms, laid an ambush in a convenient place, which the father's company discovering, many of them fled to hide themselves; some few fought, but overpowered by numbers. The father mounting on horseback, for he had alighted to dine, rode about to strike a terror into the

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enemy, but endeavouring to baptize one of ^{TECHO.} his catechumens that was desperately wounded, as he rode to fetch water his horse stuck in a bog, where the enemy hemm'd him in, and gave him many wounds, till he fell off his horse almost dead. One of the *Indians* cut off his ear, to keep as a monument of his cruelty; but the weather being rainy, they soon betook themselves to the woods, thinking he had been dead, deferring the burning his body and cutting up his belly till the next day. When they were gone he crept to another place, which surpriz'd them the next morning, but they soon found him by the track, and then exercis'd many barbarities on him till he died, almost cut and mangled in pieces. This done, they feasted on the bodies of two youths that used to attend the father. When the news of his death was spread abroad in the towns of the province of *Tape*, the converts were all inflam'd with the desire of revenge; those of *Jesus Mary* would have taken the field immediately, without expecting the assistance of other towns, had not *F. Mola* stopp'd them, protesting he would have no revenge; yet, soon after, fifteen hundred men of that and other towns assembling, could not be hinder'd from going to seek the body. As soon as they enter'd the territories of the *Ibians*, the enemy met them, forbidding them to proceed any further, shewing a part of *F. Mendoza's* garment in scorn, and behaving themselves so insolently, that they obliged the converts to come to a battle. At the first incounter the converts, being compass'd by their enemies, receiv'd much harm, till gaining a better ground, they inclos'd the others, and killing many of them, obtain'd a glorious victory. Not one of the victors was kill'd, and all the wounded recover'd. Most of those who had a hand in the murder of the father were slain, and among them the ringleader of them all, *Taiubaius*. At the same time the inhabitants of the town of *S. Joseph*, upon the same provocation, pierced through almost impassable ways into the country of those murderers, and meeting with a great body of the enemy, overthrew them, taking many prisoners, three hundred whereof afterwards became converts.

Punish-
ment of
the mur-
derers.

After the death of *F. Mendoza*, new Wicked troubles ensued in the province of *Tape*; practices the first was caus'd by the cruelty of the forcerers devouring many children that were baptiz'd, and threatening ruin to the new towns. This mischief proceeded from the *Ibian* murderers, who not being sufficiently punish'd, and relying on their numbers, conceiv'd hopes of extirpating the Christian religion. The ringleaders were three caciques, who being skilful in their old im-
postures,

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TECHO. postures, held forth to the multitude in great houses, baptizing infants in a wicked manner, prophaning the priestly ceremonies, and commending their ancient practices, with great applause of the people. Seven hundred *Indians* flock'd together from several parts, and among them twelve forcerers, one declaring himself a god, and threatening the converts with darkness when they should ingage; another, that he would take the shape of a tyger to destroy them, and such like follies. At first they dispersed about the villages, eating all they took, without sparing the heathens, till fearing they should join with the Christians to defend themselves, resolv'd to spare all that would suffer themselves to be baptiz'd by the forcerers. That this might be known, they sent out dancers, whose business 'tis to impose upon the people; these having wrought themselves into the villages subject to the town of *Jesus Mary*, so debauch'd many of the inhabitants, that the town began to grow thin, the fathers being still ignorant of the cause. F. *Diaſtanus* sent to supply the place of F. *Mendoza*, having got information of the whole business, secur'd two notable forcerers, and expos'd them to publick shame, some converts of authority gathering their arm'd followers, repairing to the places where the dancers were doing all the mischief. When several of them were taken, news was brought that *Che-mombeus* was drawing near with seven hundred men, and many of the converts of the town of *Jesus Mary* were in his interest. The sudden flood stopp'd the coming of the enemy till supplies could be brought from other towns. When five hundred men were got together, they pass'd the river, and fell upon one part of the enemy, killing many, and so pursuing their success to the other body, utterly routed them, obtaining a compleat victory. Seven forcerers were kill'd, three taken, and two fled; many prisoners made here, afterwards became Christians. Another trouble was rais'd by the governor of *Paraguay*, and citizens of the *Assumption*, who being still covetous of enslaving the *Indians*, pretended to bring all those of *Parana*, and the remains of *Guaira*, under their danger; but the fathers of the society and some of the *Franciscans* oppos'd them so vigorously, that all their designs were disappointed; whereof I will not give more particulars, because it is a subject has been often mention'd. Some comfort amidst these adversities was, the arrival of F. *Terricinus*, with twenty fathers of the society, to recruit those parts, who were all presently dispers'd as was most for the publick good.

F. *Romero*, who had been superior of the provinces of *Parana*, *Urvaica* and *Tape*,

having discharg'd that office, was appointed to take care of the town of *Jesus Mary*, which being much expos'd to the enemy, the converts had, by appointment of the governor of *Paraguay*, begun to throw up a work about it. Whilst they were thus employ'd, the *Mamalucs* with fifteen hundred *Tupus*, and a great number of heathens they had got together by force in the way, on a sudden invaded the place. Four hundred *Indians* oppos'd them with much bravery, the rest, as the custom is there, being abroad about tillage or hunting. The fathers appear'd every where, shunning no danger to assist those that were wounded. An *Indian* woman call'd *Mary*, whom the author knew, habiting herself like a man, fought with a lance, kill'd a forward *Tupu*, check'd the enemy, and encourag'd her own party; but the enemy having the advantage in numbers and weapons, and firing the church where the women and children were, at last made themselves masters of the town upon certain conditions; yet they exercis'd their rage upon those that had surrender'd, without any regard to their articles, or to sex or age, burning the town, and killing many of the inhabitants. The town being taken, the robbers spreading about the neighbouring villages, drove all they could find into captivity, so that of such a numerous colony, not a fourth part escap'd by flight. Of the enemy fifty-five were kill'd in the fight, besides the wounded. The fathers were detained four days, lest they should repair to other towns to advise the people what to do. Thus the town of *Jesus Mary*, where the fathers had baptiz'd five thousand fifty-seven, besides a greater number preparing for it, was destroy'd three years after it was built. The remains of it, remov'd to another place, are a doleful remembrance of that once flourishing colony, to all that knew it, but especially to me, who had for several years, and still have, the care of them. Two leagues from the colony of *Jesus Mary* was that of *S. Christopher*, very populous, tho' founded but two years before; whither when the news of the invasion was brought, F. *Contreras*, who had charge of the place, led away all he could to the town of *S. Anne*. No sooner were they in safety, than the *Mamalucs* came into the empty town, and finding it abandon'd, presently fell to searching all the country round, plundering the houses, and driving away all the people they found. In the mean while F. *Romero* having gather'd sixteen hundred converts, of those that fled from the town of *Jesus Mary*, those of *S. Anne* and *S. Christopher*, and other places, he went with them to the town of *S. Christopher*, whither, four days after his arrival, came one hundred and

Mamalucs destroy the town of *Jesus Mary*.

That of *S. Christopher*.

Converts
defeated.

S. Anne's
colony a-
bandon'd.

and twenty *Mamalucs*, the prime of their gang, with fifteen hundred *Tupus*, who coming to a battle, though at first they gave way, yet at last, by the advantage of their weapons, got the better. Many being thus carried away into slavery, F. Ruiz return'd with the remains to the town of *St. Anne*. This place then contain'd above three thousand souls, and was in a flourishing condition, but, being beyond the river *Igai*, lay expos'd to the enemy, and therefore it was propos'd to remove it. As they were consulting, F. Ruiz the superior came, and the general opinion was, that the remains of *Jesus Mary* and *S. Christopher's*, and the inhabitants of *S. Anne*, were all to be removed over the river *Igai*, to the town of *The Nativity*, that they might defend themselves with the river, and the nearness of the other towns. This being done with great confusion, all the boats were brought together under the defence of a work cast up like a castle, that the converts flying over the river might be secured, and the robbers obstructed. Besides, this guard was placed in several places where the river was fordible, and ambuscades were placed beyond the river, in the neighbouring woods, whence the converts sallying out by way of surprize on the straggling robbers, slew many of them, without any loss. By this time those of the town of *Jesus Mary* that fled, spread the terror abroad, reporting much more than truth, saying, all the towns of the province of *Tape* were destroy'd, many of the fathers murder'd, and the enemy ready to invade *Urvaica*. F. Ruiz increas'd the dread, ordering the fathers of *Urvaica* to burn the towns, and retire to the *Parana*; which the *Caasapaminians* immediately perform'd, though the enemy was forty leagues from them. The *Tapians* and *Caasapaguasans* were about doing the same, when orders came from *Boroa* the provincial, that none should stir till he came to see what occasion there was for it. He heard the news of the invasion as he was travelling from the city of the *Assumption* to the *Parana*, and in his way met fifteen hundred *Caasapaminians*, who refusing to return to the town they had burnt, were recommended to the *Itapians*. A little further he met the *Caaroans*, whom he sent to the other colonies of *Parana*, till safe places could be appointed to rebuild their towns. He sent to desire assistance of the governor of *Paraguay*, but the answer was, that the *Mamalucs* on another side had invaded the *Itatinians*, and it was not convenient to divide those small forces he had. The governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata* his son, who was commander of the forces, made other excuses; and the city of *S. John* refused any assistance. Having lost all hope

of foreign helps, he hastened to the province of *Tape*, gather'd the scatter'd converts, order'd the bravest of all the *Indians* of several towns to be call'd out, with whom he ventur'd over the river *Igai*, that this shew might in some measure curb the insolency of the robbers; but they were gone with their booty, and he found nothing but ruins and dead bodies: he buried the dead, and sent a particular account of all to the king of *Spain*. Then he sent the people of the towns destroy'd into the lands of the *Caaroans* and *Caasapaminians*, with priests, there to be kept in the villages till things could be better order'd. It is well known that at this time the *Mamalucs* carried twenty-five thousand *Indians*, as well converts as heathens, into *Brazil*, to be sold for slaves, besides all that died by the way. Thus the fathers lost all hopes of doing any good beyond the river *Igai*, and began to dread further losses; which we shall soon have occasion to speak of.

The year 1637 being now advanc'd, the provincial chapter at *Gordova* made choice of F. *Diastanius* for procurator. The bishop of *Tucuman* at the same time writ to the fathers thus assembled, intreating them to take charge of the *Indians* of *Tucuman*, who wanted all spiritual assistance, giving the provincial ample powers for such as he should appoint. Besides, he writ to the king most honourably concerning the society, desiring forty of them might be sent to supply his diocese of *Tucuman*. In this same chapter F. Ruiz, who had been an eye-witness of the mischiefs done by the *Mamalucs*, was order'd to go into *Spain*, to solicit the king and his council, whilst the other went to *Rome*, to relieve the distress'd province of *Paraguay* against those robbers. F. Ruiz arriv'd safe in *Spain* with F. *Diastanius*, where he found king *Philip* the fourth very favourable to his pretensions; for having appointed a committee of the councils of *Castile* and *Portugal* to consider of that affair, it was by his majesty and them enacted, That those irruptions of the *Mamalucs* were contrary to the laws of God and of the kingdom, and a scandal to the Christian religion, and therefore the punishment of them was committed to the inquisition, all the *Indians* by them taken to be set at liberty, and the *Mamalucs* that took them to be look'd upon as guilty of high treason, and accordingly to be punish'd with loss of life and goods. F. Ruiz further obtain'd, that all the *Indians* reduc'd by the industry of the society in the provinces of *Parana*, *Guaira*, *Urvaica* and *Tape*, should be exempt from serving private persons, and only tributary to the king; and that the new converts should not pay any thing till twenty years after they had been

TECHO.

Relief sought against the Mamalucs.

TECHO. been baptiz'd. At *Madrid* he printed a dictionary, grammar and catechism, compos'd by himself in the *Guairanick* language, which was very useful. Having finish'd the business he came about, and being in his way to *Lisbon* to set out for *America*, he receiv'd letters giving him an account of another irruption of the *Mamaluks*, the mutiny at *Rio de Janeiro*, the expulsion of the fathers at the town of *S. Paul*, and the driving away of our converts; whereof I shall speak in its place. Therefore returning to *Madrid*, he obtain'd more positive orders to the governors and magistrates to defend the converts; with which he sail'd for *Peru*. He was detain'd some years at *Lima*, to defend the society of *Paraguay* against its enemies.

Colony of
S. Joachim
transplan-
ted.

S. Teresa
destroyed.

After the departure of F. Ruiz, F. Alfaro was appointed superior of the provinces of *Parana*, *Urvaica* and *Tape*, where many disasters happen'd. The first was, the abandoning the town of *S. Joachim* in the province of *Tape*, which was done with much difficulty, the *Indians* abhorring to be thus transplanted, many of them slipping away to other places than were design'd for them, and some meditating the death of the fathers. At length the houses being fir'd, they all retir'd to other towns; and new troubles insuing, could never rebuild a town, so that it quite ceas'd to be, the third year after its foundation. But the *Mamaluks* invading the town of *S. Teresa*, was a much greater calamity. This town contained above four thousand inhabitants, was still increasing, and there was hope of founding several other colonies along the river *Tebiquar*, and others; when the *Mamaluks*, with a great number of *Tupus* and other *Indians*, breaking into the place about the end of this year 1637, destroyed all that had been gained with so much labour, and all hopes of future improvements. The townsmen being inferior to the robbers in number, arms and courage, for the most part delivered themselves up. Some few fled, others were bound, and others kept under by dread. Yet these villains upon *Christmas*-day had the impudence to go to church in a solemn manner, and scoff at F. Ximenez who reproved them. The small remains of this town were added to the *Itapuan*s, where they still continue much improved. The new founded town of the *Visitation* was dissolved with only the dread, and the inhabitants of the other colonies of the province of *Tape*, fearing the like fortune, either fled or prepared for their defence. The people of the town of *S. Anne*, beyond the river *Igai*, hearing that another company of *Mamaluks* was near, without expecting the advice of the fathers, dispersed themselves

wheresoever fear or love of liberty dictated. It was now frequent to rail at the society, saying the fathers gathered the people into towns the better to betray them to the *Mamaluks*; and this opinion was confirmed by those robbers, who told the converts they held intelligence with the fathers, so that many contrived to murder them. F. Contreras had like to have been killed by a *Cacique* enraged with this jealousy. The *Araricans* plundered F. Alfaro and fled to the woods, declaring they would rather deliver themselves to the *Mamaluks*, than be transplanted to *Urvaica*. Nor was the province of *Urvaica* any quieter. The *Caasapaminians*, who for fear of the war had removed to the river *Parana*, having no hopes of returning home, with the assistance of the *Itapuan*s, built a new town, three leagues from *Itapua*, still retaining the name of the *Purification*. The *Caaroans*, aided by the inhabitants of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius*, founded another town on the same river. The *Caasapaguacuan*s and *Caapians* continuing to behave themselves in a tumultuous manner, many of them being dispersed, and many taken by the *Mamaluks*, put the fathers to much trouble; whose principal care it was to keep together and cherish the remains of the towns destroyed the first irruption, the *Indians* being much distracted in their thoughts betwixt the love of their native soil and the fear of slavery. Though they be the actions of several years, let us go on with the *Mamaluks*, that the account of them may not be too much dismembred.

Towns
built.

In *January* 1638 the dreadful news was brought that great troops of *Mamaluks* and *Tupus* were marching through the lands of *Caama* and *Caagua*, and designed, when they had carried away the heathens, to divide and attack the colonies of *Urvaica* and *Tape*, and so proceed to destroy all the province of *Parana*. The alarm thus given, F. Alfaro the superior in those parts, encouraged all the *Indians* to defend themselves, and having list'd men in every colony, ordered the rendezvous at the town of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, whither the enemy seemed bent, and where the men in a panick fear, abandoning the women and children, were fled to the woods. This being known, the troops of the other converts not confiding in their own strength, retired disorderly. The enemy in the mean while drawing near, had certainly drove away the women and children, but that F. Alfaro getting them over the river in some measure secured them. The robbers disappointed of this booty, falling upon the towns of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, and *S. Charles*, and the villages about them, seized many *Caapians* and *Caasapaguacuan*s, destroying those

Towns of
S. Charles
and S. Peter
and Paul de-
stroyed by
Mama-
luks.

those two colonies. In seven years space the society had baptiz'd four thousand three hundred thirty-seven souls in the town of *S. Charles*, and five thousand eight hundred forty-five in that of *S. Peter and Paul*. Scarce the third part of these numbers was afterwards gather'd to settle in the other towns. After destroying these towns, the robbers bent their force against the lands of the *Caaroans* and *Caasapaminians*. The inhabitants of both those places had, during the former invasion, transplanted themselves into *Parana*, whose towns had been in some measure restor'd by the remains of the colonies of the province of *Tape*, to defend whom, one thousand five hundred armed converts were brought together from several parts, and stood the enemy in the lands of the *Caaroans*. Coming to a battle, and many being wounded, and some kill'd on both sides; before the action was over, some converts in a consternation, fled as if the *Mamalucs* had got the day, and as the custom is there, set fire to the town, to signify they submitted themselves. The women and children seeing the fire, and knowing the cause of it, appear'd in a most lamentable condition. The fight was dismal, yet neither side got the victory, each party after the fight retiring. The next day the women and children were by the fathers conducted away to the colony of the *Caasapaguacuans*, six leagues distant, whither our men retiring, were opportunely recruited by some hundreds of converts from *Parana*, for the enemy appear'd soon after. The converts perform'd their devotions before they engag'd. Fifteen hundred of them engag'd with such bravery, that they soon drove their enemies into the wood, taking some colours and a rich booty. The *Mamalucs*, having secur'd themselves there with palisadoes, put out their fires at night, and lay very still, that it might be thought they were gone. The converts deceiv'd by this false appearance, and thereupon presuming to go plunder their fort, pay'd for their rashness, for the robbers firing on them kill'd one of the principal men, and wounded others; the rest fled, and being seiz'd with a panick fear, could not be brought to face the enemy again. Most of them never stopp'd till they came into the territory of *Piratina*, the rest follow'd them by the advice of *F. Alfaro*. Of five towns built in the province of *Urvaica* beyond the river of that name, only that of *Piratina* was left standing, out of which *F. Alfaro* in very good time sent all the women and children over the river, for but a few days after news was brought that the *Mamalucs* seeking for more booty, still continu'd between the territories of the *Caasapaminians* and the

Defeat of
Mama-
lucs.

S. Nicho-
las town
abandon-
ed.

Caaroans. Many of the converts, after the late fight, believing the enemy was gone away into *Brasil*, return'd to their towns, whom it was hard to call back; yet about a thousand *Indians* drawn together in haste gave the enemy a check, till more forces could be gather'd. The fight lasted five hours, with almost equal damage, about eighty being wounded on both sides, and some few kill'd. After the fight the enemies strew'd the way our men were to go with crows feet, which might have done harm, but that they were discover'd. Then they sent a woman gaudily dress'd to allure the chiefs of the converts, to go over to the *Mamalucs*, who was turn'd away with Scorn. Before this *Chemombeus*, that famous impostor, had gone over to the *Mamalucs*, drawing some converts with him, and to do them some signal service, now by their consent, pretended to desert, but being taken endeavouring to debauch some converts, he was put into irons, and afterwards truly repented. All frauds failing, the robbers fell again to open force, and drawing out their forces, furiously charg'd the right wing of the converts, which was led by *Nicholas Nienguirius*, a man no less skill'd in war than peace. They had been easily repuls'd, but that he who commanded the left wing, being offended at *Nienguirius* for having forced him to put away a concubine, refus'd to second him; so that *Nienguirius* being inferior to the robbers, was forced by this treachery to give way, and leave the victory to them. The enemy having taken the town of *S. Nicholas*, and not daring to pass the river, drove the prisoners into the territory of the *Caasapaminians*. Thus the colony of *Piratina*, remarkable for its stately church, and the number of converts, was drawn back over the river *Urvaica*, and forced to build new houses a little below the town of *S. Xaverius*.

This done, the chiefs of *Parana* and *Urvaica* joyning their forces, drew together the greatest army that had ever been there in the field, that they might either recover the booty, or oppose the enemy, if they durst attempt to cross the river *Urvaica*. Having cross'd the river, the first parties that came to the ruin'd town of *Piratina*, found letters writ by the *Mamalucs* in the church, full of virulent slanders on the society. But the converts understanding the robbers were marching away for *Brasil*, ceas'd not to pursue till they overtook them. The first day they fought with indifferent success, still with greater loss on the enemies side than on ours. Fifteen hundred fresh men now brought by *F. Romero* encourag'd our men, and quite dismay'd the enemy. These having just rested them-

Mamalucs
defeated.

TECHO. selves, fell furiously on the *Mamalucs*, who were ready to fly, doing much harm, and had utterly routed them, had they not defended themselves within their palisadoes set up before. The converts throwing up their works, drew them out to battle, in which the loss was equal on both sides, but the confusion greater on ours. But now eleven *Spaniards*, sent two hundred leagues by the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, coming up, the enemy quite desponded; for when they drew up four thousand five hundred converts in military order, the robbers were so astonished, that despairing of success, or so much as being able to escape, they humbly sued to be allowed to article. A conference being granted, F. *Alfaro* after severely reprimanding and making them swear they would never return nor send any of their gang to disturb the towns of the converts, sent them away unpunished, to the great regret of the converts. Other troops of *Mamalucs* were picking up the dispersion of the ruined towns, and threatened the others, but the provincial gathering other regiments of converts, repulsed them and secured the province of *Tape* for that time. However these towns being sixty leagues from those of *Urvaica*, it was plain they could not continue there with any security, and therefore it was resolved to transplant them, and the place appointed for it was between the two rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*, because they being but fourteen leagues distant from one another, would serve as vast trenches to secure the great multitudes of people in the several towns, who might draw together the easier to stand upon their own guard. Ten towns, as has been said, had been built in the province of *Tape*, whereof four being destroyed, there remained six, which could not all be transplanted at once, abundance of the inhabitants choosing rather to run the hazard of being made slaves, than forsake their native soil. The work was begun by some hundreds of people of the town of *S. Cosmus* and *Damianus*, who with great difficulty drew them over the mountains and river *Urvaica* to the *Parana*, where they rebuilt their town under the invocation of the same saints, between the colonies of *Loreto* and the *Purification*. The *Araricans*, or town of the *Nativity of our Lady* had been rebuilt between those of *S. Mary Major* and *S. Xaverius*, but many of the inhabitants had fled to the woods, whence they could not be drawn, till now become sensible of their danger they submitted themselves and went where the provincial ordered them. Of the townsmen of *S. Anne* dispersed for fear of the *Mamalucs*, F. *Contreras* gathered as many as built a town first on the river *Urvaica*, but afterwards on the

The Tapanians transplanted.

Parana, where they still continue. The people of *S. Joseph*, were as obstinate as the rest against removing, but being at last wrought upon, had the woods of *Parana*, between the towns of *Corpus Christi* and *S. Charles*, allotted them. In the mean while the inhabitants of *S. Thomas*, setting fire to their town, went away part by land, and part upon the rivers *Ibiacit* and *Urvaica*, under the conduct of F. *Ernot* and *Bertot*, and settled fourteen leagues below the town of the *Conception*, on the latter of the two last named rivers, where building their houses, they proved more fortunate than the others; for though at their first coming they were not assisted by other colonies, yet in process of time they enjoyed many conveniencies the others wanted, because of the vast plains about them, fit either for pasture or tillage, so that at this time I am writing, after so many calamities, there are computed in this colony four thousand souls. The colony of *S. Michael* transmigrated as well as the rest, and in its new seat took the name of the *Immaculate Conception*. Thus above twelve thousand souls were brought with little loss through a barren solitude for sixty or seventy leagues to the places where they settled on the rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*. Woods were cut down to make room for this multitude to sow, seed fetched at a great expence, cattle bought, houses and churches built, and all other necessities provided. After they were settled, the fathers passing the rivers that lay in the way, gathered many thousands of converts and infidels that lay lurking in the woods, and brought them over to increase the aforesaid towns. All things being thus settled the *Caciques* of *Parana* and *Urvaica* sued to the provincial, begging he would for the future make some provision for the safety of so many thousand souls, as were exposed to the fury of the enemy, unless they would allow them the use of fire-arms. For how can we, said he, who are naked, fight with those that are in armour, or have stuffed Coats? How can we defend ourselves with arrows of reeds, which scarce do any execution, when the enemies attack us with guns that sling bullets a vast distance? Let us have equal arms, and we will shew as much courage as our enemies, and make it appear we can as well defend our wives and children, as the *Mamalucs* hunt for slaves. Thus the *Indians* pleaded, and the provincial thought there was reason enough to furnish them with weapons equal to the *Mamalucs*, who else would never desist till they had depopulated all south America, and it was much to be feared, lest if ever there was a war betwixt *Spain* and *Portugal* they might break into *Peru*. Having therefore received

ceived letters out of *Spain* from men of great note employed by the king, directing him to provide for the safety of those miserable people for the future, he used all possible means to get them fire-arms; and though the governors and civil magistrates alledged that the use of fire-arms had never been allowed any *Indians* for fear of a rebellion, yet after weighing all circumstances, they all agreed with the provincial, and granted they should be allowed fire-arms. Which resolution the royal council of *Peru*, and afterwards the king himself, approved. Musquets were accordingly bought up and made, and granted to the converts, upon condition they should make use of them in time of war; but in peace, to avoid tumults, they should be locked up; which I find has been very useful in war, and it is certain the robbers have not since been so bold as before. Therefore to give every man his due, there is no doubt that the liberty of the people of *Tape* and *Urvaica* is in a great measure owing to *F. Boroa*, the provincial, but for whom the *Indians* would not have consented to be transplanted, nor had there been fire-arms obtained to defend them for the future.

A barbarous people.

Let us after so many calamities and troubles look back into the province of *Tucuman*, where the fathers made excursions from their colleges to convert and instruct the scattered *Indians*, with success in the valley of *Paspama*, and in the villages subject to the jurisdiction of the city of *London*, lately rebuilt, but advancing further to a most barbarous nation, they made no improvement, for those people being wholly devoted to drunkenness and extravagant superstitions, would give no ear to better advice. It is the custom among them to hire women to commend their dead. They do not close but open the eyes of their friends departed, lest they should miss their way to the other world, which abounds in delights. The same error makes them place their best goods and store of provision about the dead body, which they dress in its best apparel, and do not bury, but lay in an open grave on some high ground. They sprinkle the corn when it first comes up with the blood of beasts new killed to obtain fertility. By the persuasion of their forcerers, they think they shall die presently, if they give ear to our priests, and therefore having this horror of them, it is no wonder the fathers could do no good among them. But *F. Oforius*, in the year 1638, happily attempted the nation of the *Ocloias*. These people lye between the borders of *Peru* and *Tucuman*, within the precinct of the city of *Xuxui*. The *Franciscan* fathers had formerly preached among them, but for many

years past they had been wholly abandoned ^{TECHO.} and left to their old customs. *Ochoa*, a powerful *Biscainer*, to whom the *Ocloias* had been given, as is the custom of the *Indians*, recommended them to *F. Oforius* in hopes a way might be made through them to the province of *Xuxa*. He taking *F. Medina* ^{The Ocloias.} along with him, travelled over the mountains till they came to the *Ocloias*. Inquiring into their disposition, they found they were peaceably given, enemies to forcerers, and continued their native errors only for want of Christian priests to undeceive them, and therefore it was plain they would all embrace Christianity if instructed. Many were baptized in *Sicaia*, the first village of them, and so in other places. *F. Oforius* going on to the *Guisparas*, and *F. Medina* to the *Guarcontes*, found those *Indians* well inclined towards them, and so returned through the lands of the *Homoguacas*. *F. Oforius* coming again to them with *F. Riparius*, they used all their endeavours to bring those scattered people to live together in one place, that they might be the better instructed in the faith. As soon as their design was known, the neighbouring *Caciques* offering to remove, began to lay the foundations of a town eleven leagues from the city of *Xuxui*, and others resorting to them by degrees from further parts, having built a church, they placed their houses regularly, to the great satisfaction of the *Spaniards*. Thus six hundred *Ocloias* were baptized and given in charge to *F. Medina*, who being about to proceed, the *Franciscans* interposed, alledging they had first preached the faith there, and consequently that province belonged to them. The provincial, to avoid all controversy, resigned the new built town to them. Yet *F. Oforius* and *F. Riparius* having in vain attempted to make way through the province of the *Ocloias* into that of *Xauxa*, took another way through impenetrable woods. Such *Indians* as they met they endeavoured to catechise, and gain their affections with some small gifts, as they did some of those the *Spaniards* call *Palomos*, and another sort known by the two names of *Labradillos* and *Pintadillos*. Their provisions falling short, they sent back *Sebastian Alarcon*, a youth born in *Paraguay*, who desired to be admitted into the society, with some of the *Labradillos*, to fetch supplies from the city of *Xuxui*. They, the second day after they parted from the fathers, murdered *Alarcon*, and having eaten his flesh, as was reported, took the skull along with them, and returned to the place where the fathers passed the night, to repeat their cruelty. That night they plundered their baggage, and the next morning murdered the fathers, cutting off their heads, and carrying them away in trophy. The *Indians*

TECHO. *Indians* that were then returning to *Xuxui* gave an account of their death.

The notable escape of two converts. The fathers in *Parana* and *Urvaica* were now employed in rebuilding the towns destroyed, and discovering the designs of the robbers, and because they could not altogether confide in the converts, who were easily carried away with groundless fears, F. *Alfaro* so order'd it, that two fathers in their turns passing the river *Urvaica*, should observe the motions of the enemy, and bring to the towns the wandering *Indians* they could meet with. The fathers *Palermo* and *Vivero* being out upon this design, two young converts that attended them going too far, fell into the hands of the *Mamaluks*, by whom being found they lay among the prisoners, till they performed a notable exploit, which was, that at night, when all the robbers were asleep, they held their hands which were tied behind them so long to the fire, till the cords were burnt asunder, and being thus loosed they made their escape flying through by-ways fourteen leagues till they came to the fathers, and were very useful in discovering the designs of the *Mamaluks*. Not long before, *Peter Lugo*, governor of *Paraguay* had received letters from the Catholick king, signifying it was his will, that he should employ all his force in defence of the *Indians* reduced by the society, and infested by the *Mamaluks*, and it fell out opportunely that the said governor himself was taking a view of the converts towns in the province of *Parana*. At the instance therefore of F. *Alfaro*, he drew together four thousand *Indians*, with his own *Spaniards*, and marched with all speed into the territories of the *Caasapaminians*, where the enemy had settled. F. *Alfaro*, and some other of the society follow'd him, to encourage the men, and help those that were in danger of death, and they were all in hopes the robbers might be easily routed, when a dismal accident happened. For F. *Alfaro*, superior of the other fathers, having advised them not to expose themselves rashly, and encouraged the converts in some small skirmishes to defend themselves manfully, going out a little way from the camp to discover the *Mamaluks*, was shot dead by one of them, who lay in ambush. His death being known, the *Indians* fell furiously upon the enemy, and totally routed them. Many of the *Mamaluks* and *Tupus* were taken in this action. The governor having severely rebuked the *Mamaluks*, put them into the custody of the converts, till it should be determined what punishment was to be inflicted on them for so many villanies. The *Indian* prisoners were happy in that being delivered from bodily slavery, they were adopted into the liberty of the sons of God, being baptized,

and made equal in the new towns to their conquerers. The body of F. *Alfaro*, was carried four days journey to the town of the *Conception*, and there honourably buried. His death undeceived many converts, who were still jealous that they were gather'd into towns, to be the better betrayed to the *Mamaluks*. The governor carried the *Mamaluks* taken, fourscore leagues back to the city of the *Assumption*, and was blamed for being afterwards too favourable to the worst of men; for though he sent them to the governor of the river of *Plate* to be punished, yet it came to pass that by favour those miscreants were suffered to slip away safe into their own country.

F. *Ruiz* succeeded F. *Alfaro* as superior of the *Jesuits* in those parts. He at the request of the governor of *Rio de la Plata*, sent F. *Romero* with a band of four hundred chosen converts to the lake of the *Caracaras*, about an hundred leagues distant. The *Caracaras*, *Capasacas* and *Menepos*, a fierce sort of people, being part heathens and wild, and part bred in the town of *S. Anne*, but fled thence and in open rebellion, dwelt about this lake, which is forty leagues in length; and falling upon travellers, either by land or on the river, carried away their booty into inaccessible lurking places, amidst the reeds and rushes; and not long since had made an excursion and burnt the church of *S. Lucy*; besides, the murderers of F. *Spinosa* were retir'd thither. Long impunity made them bold to attempt any thing, because it was hard to come at them, the lake which runs to the *Parana* having but one entrance, choaked up with mud and bushes, and the further part of it being full of floating islands, like those of *S. Omer* in the *Low-Countries*, which were dangerous for strangers, but a secure retreat for the natives. But the converts encouraged by F. *Romero*, broke through all difficulties, and dragging those barbarians out of their fastnesses, killing some, forced the rest to submit. All the prisoners were delivered to *John Garay*, commander of the *Spaniards*, who highly commended the converts. This victory caused the town of *S. Lucy* to be in some measure restored, made the ways safe to travel, and secured the *Spanish* and *Indian* towns. The provincial, having visited the province of *Itatina*, crossed the river *Pirapuis*, then much swelled, in a boat made of canes, which are thicker than a man's leg, and being well knit together, cannot easily be sunk, but these being green when they received a weight, could scarce bear up above water, so that he was in great danger; but much more the next day crossing another river in a bull's hide, only fastened in a hollow form with hoops, which there the

the *Indians* use to carry passengers in over rivers, swimming about and bearing them up, but too many officiously flocking about it, he was almost drowned. He passed the river of *Xuxui* in a boat made of the barks of trees. Which things I have here mentioned to shew what sort of boats are used in those parts.

Favours granted the procurator.

F. *Diastanius* sent, as was said before, procurator into *Europe*, having finished some business at *Madrid*, went on to *Rome*, where he easily obtained leave of the general to gather supplies of fathers out of the provinces of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sardinia*, the *Low Countries* and *Spain*. Pope *Urban* the eighth granted him a bull, allowing all the *Indians*, *Blacks*, and those of a mixt race, in *South America*, all the time between *Septuagesima* and the octave of *Corpus Christi* to perform the duty of receiving the blessed sacrament about *Easter*. And another, by which he excommunicated all such as upon any pretence whatsoever should enslave the *Indians*, whether christians or heathens. Many other favours he bestowed on F. *Diastanius*, who returning to *Madrid*, obtained of the king passage for thirty fathers at his majesty's expence. The king also put out an edict, by authority of his council of the *Indies*, forbidding the *Mamelucs* to infest the *Indians*, and ordering those so taken to be restored to their country and liberty, and the takers to be punished. Then gathering the *Spanish* fathers that were to go with him, he went away to *Lisbon*, where he found six, long since come thither out of the *Low Countries*, and they all together sailed on the eve of the *Purification*. By the way several of the fathers fell sick, and two died. The weather proving very stormy, after being drove away almost as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, they were forced to stand for *Brasil*, and at length arrived in the port of *Rio de Janeiro*, where they were generously entertained by the governor of the province and the fathers of the society. After the mutual ceremonies of the reception, F. *Diastanius* being intent upon his business, undertaking to proclaim the pope's bull against the enslavers of the *Indians*, tho' he did all things regularly, brought much trouble upon himself. For when the bull was solemnly read in the church of the society, the *Mamelucs*, many of whom live in the territory of *Rio de Janeiro*, and their friends grew so enraged, that the fathers were in danger of their lives; these mutineers breaking open the college gates, and rushing into the court, giving the new converts very opprobrious language, and resolving to murder them. Their chief rage was against F. *Diastanius*, who had procured the bull, and they had perhaps executed their

Mutiny at Rio de Janeiro.

bloody design, but that the governor drawing them artificially to the church, put some check to their fury by the holiness of the place. The next day all the chief men and religious men meeting at the church of the *Carmelites*, the *Jesuits*, to lay the tumult, consented the *Mamelucs* should appeal to the pope against his bull, and thus the business was put up. Whilst this was doing at *Rio de Janeiro*, it was much worse at the town of *Santos*, where *Ferdinand Rodriguez*, vicar of the place had proclaimed the same bull in the great church; no man presuming to mutter against it, till a turbulent fellow promoting it, there was a conspiracy carried on against the vicar. Having laid their design, one of the conspirators appeals to the king from the pope's bull, and the vicar excommunicating him, all the rest fell upon him with their drawn swords, trampling on him, and exercising more barbarity that can be expressed in the very church, the vicar still persisting resolute in maintaining the pope's authority. But they appealing, and requiring the vicar to allow of their appeal, he answered, he allowed of it as far as in him was, and the laws would allow. When they demanded the bull to be delivered to them, he sent them to the superior of the *Jesuits*. The said superior, to give some check to the mutiny, put on the priestly vestments, and coming out to a porch with the blessed sacrament in his hands, warned them as they drew near, not to be the cause of their own ruin, and eternal infamy; and earnestly requested them to be obedient to the vicar of the son of God for his sake. Hereupon some falling on their knees, and others standing, confusedly cried out, that they adored God present in the blessed sacrament; but could not consent to be wrongfully deprived of their goods by him, who defended the pope's decrees. Others in a tumultuous manner required to have the bull delivered to them, and having got it, and in vain required the vicar to absolve them from all censures, they went away to other religious men, some of whom being ignorant of the matter, declared they had not incurred the censures of the bull, because pope *Urban* expressed it should be published, if there were no lawful impediment, and that the general dislike was sufficient impediment; but all this was palliating wicked designs, which nevertheless appeared too bare-faced. Nothing was more frequent among the mutineers, than that the society was to be expelled the town, lest by their favouring the *Indians*, they should be reduced to beggary. The storm was still more violent against the fathers in the town of *S. Paul* of *Piratin-ga*, that being the chief residence of the *Mamelucs*; for over and above all the in-

TECHO.

And of the town of Santos.

And at S. Paul.

TECHO. lencies mentioned in the town of *Santos*, the fathers here were forced out of their college, and banished the town; some of whom resorting to *Rio de Janeiro* gave an account of their usage. But to give every man his due, the governor of *Rio de Janeiro* deserves to be commended for his resolution, in causing a fellow who had behaved himself insolently before the blessed sacrament, to be publicly whipped, and a master of a vessel to be punished for giving the news of the expulsion of the fathers of *S. Paul*, in a joyful insulting manner. Many citizens were also praise-worthy for their resolution in standing by the fathers, and those fathers in asserting the pope's bull, but none more commendable than the pope himself who granted it, and king *Philip* the IV. and his council, who sent repeated orders to the governors to protect the *Indians*; and doubtless the *Mamaluçs* had been crushed, but that the war breaking out between *Spain* and *Portugal*, disappointed his majesty's designs. About the end of this year 1640, the *Mamaluçs* contemning the king's edicts and pope's bulls, gathered their forces to invade the converts, which made *F. Diaztanius* haste away from the port of *Rio de Janeiro*. The twentieth day after he set sail he arrived at the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where the provincial received him and the new-comers with the musick of the converts, come two hundred leagues to that purpose. The fathers that came now were thirty-three, all whom *F. Acosta*, the rector at *Rio de Janeiro*, maintained seven months at his own expence, and being desired to give an account of the expence, that the province of *Paraguay* might refund it, he answered there had been six hundred pistoles spent, but that he would not accept of the least return, expecting his reward from God. But having brought the fathers to *Paraguay*, let us return to those parts to see what was done there.

Valley of
Calcha-
quina pa-
cified.

Peace being restored, as was mentioned in its place, between the people of the province of *Tucuman* and those of the valley of *Calchaquina*, the *Spanish* governor prevailed with the provincial to send two fathers thither to continue and improve the good correspondence. They attempted to pass through the country of the *Diaguítas*, but in vain, and were forced to return to the city of *S. Michael*, whence they took their way over vast mountains, and being courteously received by the principal men, travelled over all the valley. This done, they returned to give the provincial an account of what they had done, who sent them back with orders to endeavour to build towns. At first those people received them with much affection, and built them a chapel for present use; but this kindness

was not lasting, for some of the *Spaniards* of *Rioxa*, having fallen upon a village of the *Diaguítas*, the *Calchaquines* their next neighbours, soon took the alarm, saying, the war was declared, and consequently the fathers ought to be made away. They having obtained leave of their superior, went away to *Salta*, whence the provincial caused them to go back again, and the former jealousies being removed, they began to rebuild the town of *S. Charles* in the same place where it stood before, with hopes of its continuance. Yet the progress of christianity has not been very considerable, because those people mind nothing but their ancient superstitions. The boys, who under the care of the fathers seem to be good and pious, as soon as ever they return among their own people, fall immediately to the customs of their parents. The prime men endeavour to hinder the fathers learning their language. Thus little hopes appeared of gaining many to the faith; yet those people permitted the fathers to erect crosses, build chapels, and exercise their function before them; and some of the *Caciques* have shewn them extraordinary civility, which is all yet gained, and so we must leave them, having no more to add concerning them.

The people called *Abipones* seemed to afford copious matter for conversions, and therefore *F. Pastor*, rector of the college of *Esteco*, with a companion, undertook them this year 1641. He set out of the metropolis of the province of *Tucuman*, and travelled through deserts, till he came into the territories of the *Indians* called *Matarans*, about eighty leagues distant from the place where he set out. The nation of the *Matarans* being addicted to drunkenness, used to have daily drinking bouts, the people inviting one another in their turns. Besides these daily debauches, they had others more solemn, which they called funeral drinkings, being dedicated to the ghosts of their departed ancestors, whose anniversary was celebrated by the heirs, with feasting, where the chief pleasure was drunkenness. When the guests were all come together, they presented him that treated with an ostrich, carried by a handsome young maid upon her head. If it happened that the anniversary of several dead persons was kept the same day, they killed and presented as many ostriches. Each person was obliged to make the master of the feast some particular present, upon condition he was to make a suitable return when they celebrated the anniversaries of their ancestors. There were scarce any bloodier quarrels among them, than what grew upon breach of this contract; the duty of performing whereof did not only extend to those present, but to

to their children and grand-sons, it being hereditary. Having spent three days in the funeral feast, they forced themselves to weep for a whole hour, which was followed by laughing, dancing and drinking. But the worst was, that they followed those customs, and pretended to be christians, alledging they had received the faith from the fathers *Barfena* and *Agnaſco*; and they had a curate, who baptized the infants, and instructed children; but as soon as they were grown up they fell again to their ancient ill customs. They all used the language of *Tonocota*, in which *F. Paſtor*'s companion was expert, who prevailed with many of them to confess their sins, which was looked upon as almost a miracle. Having staid a few days among the *Matarans*, they continued their journey towards the *Abipones*, still sixty leagues distant from them, the curate of the *Matarans*, their chief *Caciques*, and very many *Indians*, attending them: for tho' there were wars of long standing between them and the *Abipones*, they hoped the fathers by their authority might produce a peace. No sooner were they out of the town but they fell into thick woods frightful for the many dens of wild beasts, the track of tygers and other things of that nature every where threatening death. The prickly boughs of the trees sometimes lashed their faces, and tore their garments. The greatest hardship was want of water, for tho' they were dried up with heat and weariness, there was none but rain water, which lay stinking in ditches, and was rather a plague to the nose, than any comfort to the mouth. About half way, the thickness of the woods and want of water was succeeded by lakes and marshes, caused for four leagues together by the overflowing of the *Red* river. The *Matarans*, discouraged at the sight of so much water, would certainly have returned, had not the fathers encouraged them to proceed with good words and presents. Having passed the lakes, they had a better way through a plain, till they pitched their tent two leagues from *Abiponia*. The *Matarans* considering here, they were going to put themselves into the hands of their enemies, without any retreat or house of succour, were by much ado stayed by *F. Paſtor*, who set out with his companion and two others to discover the best way to enter *Abiponia*. When he was a little advanced, a troop of two hundred *Abipones* on horseback came out and hem'd him in. They were naked and the horses bare; the men tall, broad shouldered, shewing their inconstancy by the rowling of their eyes, and their fierceness by their long flying hair. When they levelled their arrows at him, he spoke to them in the language of *Tonocota*, telling them it was

Abipones
first seen.

his love to them brought him, without regard of life, for their good, and therefore advised them not to be guilty of a crime they might have afterwards cause to repent. The *Indians* thus appeased, threw down their arms, after their manner, to betoken peace, and saluted the father courteously. Being informed that another father of more worth was behind, the commander sent his son well attended to conduct him. At the first village he was received with several sorts of sports, the women shouting, and as they did so, often clapping their mouths with their hands. After the first salutation, they spread a hide on the ground for a carpet, in token of honour, and placed trunks of trees for seats. The fathers returned their kindness, distributing hooks, pins, needles, and glass-beads, which the *Abipones* valued above the richest metals. Then being invited to eat upon a table, not unlike their stools, they had such meat laid before them, as would soon qualify hunger; yet lest they should be offended that their meat was despised, the fathers did eat against stomach. The next day they erected a cross, and the father rector telling them he would stay among them, *Caliguila* the chief man of the nation carried them to his village, where they were joyfully received. Having told the cause of their coming, the same *Caliguila* promised for all the people, that they should not be hindered from baptizing the children, and building a church after the christian manner, provided the youth were not obliged to come to church morning and evening, which would render them unfit for war; but the father soon convinced him that it would be no prejudice to the youth, by the example of the *Spaniards*, who are never the less brave for resorting to church and school. *Caliguila* so satisfied, desired at least that the boys might be permitted to go into the church with their bows and arrows, and that they should not be punished; which was readily granted. Then they all desired, that if any *Caciques* should embrace the christian faith, it might be lawful to bury their bodies after the manner of their ancestors, on the tops of mountains near the tombs dedicated to their deities; but this could not be allowed, as being superstitious. When the assembly broke up, a great cross was erected, and the christian doctrine explained, which some of the *Indians* in a very short time grew so perfect in, that the curate of the *Matarans* was for baptizing some of them underhand; which the rector perceiving, he sent him back to the place from whence he came. After his departure he built a church with clay and straw, began to write a dictionary of the language of the *Abipones*, instructed the youths, and there was hopes that a great multitude might be con-

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TECHO. converted in a short time to the faith, when he was forced by the provincial's order to quit that undertaking. Thus the conversion of those people was put off for want of fathers, and therefore we will here in a few words set down the account F. Pastor gives of their manners. Generally the *Abipones* are of a large stature, well made, brawny and looking big. In summer they go naked, in winter covered with skins. About their necks hang their clubs, and quivers on their shoulders. They always carry a bow in the left, and a spear in the right hand, staining all their body with several colours like tygers, to be the more terrible; and look upon those as most honourable who make most holes in their bodies, and stick ostriches feathers in them; which they wear in their nostrils, lips and ears, as if they designed to fly. A beard they look upon as dishonourable, and therefore pluck up the down that grows in their youth. They make themselves bald by way of ornament, and none may let his hair grow, but he that has killed an enemy in war or in duel. Manlaughter among them is the proof of their being soldiers, and no man is allowed military ensigns till he has committed it. They have also their nobility and heroes, to which honour they are advanced by degrees of excessive cruelty; for he that desires to be accounted a hero, must give proof of his bravery by enduring most horrid tortures, piercing their legs, thighs, arms, tongues and other parts of their body not fit to be named, and then tearing off the skin of all those parts with a rough stone. Five of the elders exercise this butchery on the candidate, who if he gives the least token of feeling the pain but by never so inconsiderable a motion, is not admitted into the order of noblemen. But if he carries himself resolutely in the torture, rowling himself in his blood to denote his satisfaction, then the ensigns of that honour are conferred on him. That they may be the securer of obtaining this honour, they enure themselves from their infancy to prick and flea their limbs after this manner, so that it is frequent to see boys and youths run thorns or briars through their tongues, lips, nostrils, ears or other parts; and forcing a sort of laughter to conceal all sense of pain. Thus much of the men. The women cloath themselves below the bosom with coarse nets, the rest of their bodies they paint or adorn with stones set in it, particularly their breasts and faces; making themselves bald, shaving the hinder part of their heads with razors of flint or reeds. When their *Caciques* die, they all change their names, and fast a whole month, howling most dismally day and night. The manner of fasting among them is this, to eat no fish, but de-

vour as much flesh, and as often as they please: and the reason they give for it is, that being used to war and robbery, whence consequently they have no settled place of abode, but live up and down wheresoever they set up their mats after the manner of a town, therefore they keep but two children, one of which the father carries, and t'other the mother, that they may not fall into the hands of their enemies; but if one or both the children be grown up to be able to follow them before another is born, then they allow more to live. Many of their old women are witches, and have frequent converse with the devil: these would sometimes invite the fathers, using a motion strange to other nations, often contracting their hands turned upwards like claws or hooks, and distorting their faces with wrinkled laughter, rattling something in their throats, and whistling; for the *Abipones* understand one another by whistling; yet little good was hoped when they called, depraved habits being as hard to be removed in the mind as in the body. One of those witches being pressed when she was dying to be baptized, as the only remedy against falling into the power of the devil for ever, answered, *She did not fear the devil, having been long acquainted with him*; and so she died. The rest of 'em cordially entertained the fathers, and, when they were returning to *Esteco*, bore 'em company in great numbers, under the conduct of *Caliguila*, for thirty leagues, furnishing 'em continually with what they killed, and desiring they would not stay long away from 'em. The *Guamalcas* border on the *Abipones* and other nations that know nothing of christianity.

Whilst the fathers were thus employed in *Tucuman*, the province of *Urvaica* was full of troubles; for news being brought that a great body of *Mamalucs* was in motion, no doubt was made but they designed against the converts of *Urvaica* and *Parana*. All men were therefore ordered to be in arms, and it was decreed, the forces of both rivers must be joined whatever it cost, and the enemy drove out of their liberties at the common expence, to put at once an end to that continual war. To this purpose four thousand *Indians* were chosen out of all the towns, and armed as the time would permit, some with slings, others with bows after their ancient manner, and three hundred of the chief had fire-arms given 'em. As soon as they had rendezvoused at the town *Mbororeo*, on the borders of *Urvaica*, they were ordered to prepare both soul and body, their scouts bringing an account that the enemy was but one day's journey from 'em, and had possessed themselves of the river *Acaraguai*, which falls into

Manners
of the
Abipones.

Converts
raised a-
gainst the
Mama-
lucs.

Mama-
lucs de-
feated.

into the *Urvaica*, with three hundred boats; that they were 400 *Mamalucs*, in whom lay the greatest strength, and two thousand seven hundred *Tupus*. The enemy confiding in their numbers, and encouraged with assured hope of a mighty booty, moved down the river against our army, offering battle, which was as readily accepted. The fight was begun by the fortunate firing of a cannon, which sunk three of the *Mamalucs* boats, and then both the fleets engaged. The *Mamalucs* despairing of success on the river, most of 'em landed, where our men fought with no less success, and had totally routed the enemy, but that night put an end to the action. Another part of the army, in another place, came off without loss, doing much harm to the robbers. At night the retreat was sounded, as well that the converts might rest themselves, as to prevent losing the victory obtained, by falling to plunder in the dark. Only three of the converts were killed that day. The next morning as soon as the light appeared, they were at arms again, and hemming in the *Mamalucs*, fell upon 'em on all sides, and would certainly have made an end of 'em in a small time, had not they, by favour of a storm rising suddenly, retired into the adjacent woods. After taking their camp, our *Indians* still pursuing, overtook 'em as they entered a small wood, a little before night. Being there besieged, they became rather desperate than courageous; yet our men hunting them out thro' the thickets, and over the rocks, overcame their rage with wonderful bravery. They fought every where hand to hand, for the place would not allow 'em to do any execution at a distance. The enemies flight put an end again to the battle at two in the afternoon, the victors thro' weariness, not being able to follow 'em. Of ours, three were killed and forty wounded; of the enemy's, a vast number, particularly of the *Tupus*, many of whom surviving the fight, came over to us, alledging as a reason for what they did the cruelty of the *Mamalucs*, and their haughty government. The robbers being disappointed of their booty on the river *Urvaica*, when they had gathered, some strength after the fight, altering their design, divided their forces to fall upon the heathens, but this way of robbing was no more successful than that of open war; for those *Indians* who were the remains of the town of *S. Teresa*, about the river *Tebiquar*, whither they fled during the former depopulations, delivering themselves up to one company of *Mamalucs*, unbound themselves in the night, and falling upon them, made a great slaughter; which done, they fled, and joined the converts of *Parana*. At the same time another band of the

thieves was utterly destroyed by the heathens, and ten prime ringleaders of all mischief are reported to have been slaughtered with their leader, by straggling parties. Another parcel of 'em, counterfeiting themselves to be of the faction of *Ignatius Abiacu*, captain of the *Mboreans*, enslaved many who came in, taking them for friends. Those that went to take the *Caaguas* used much the same artifice; for pretending there came fathers of the society with them, to teach the law of Christ, many *Indians* delivered themselves up, but the greater part defended themselves against force and fraud. Many of the *Mamalucs* were cruelly handled by the *Gualaches*, the fiercest of all the *Indians*; for, when they fell into their hands, they tore off their beards and hair, and tore off the flesh from their arms and thighs to eat, mangling their bodies, and fixing their heads on poles upon the tops of their cottages, to terrify others: many of the *Gupuis* fared no better. 'Twas certainly reported from *Brazil*, that an hundred and twenty *Mamalucs* perished in the fight and flight, and almost all the *Gupuis*. When our forces were dismissed, it being known that many, both infidels and christians, were dispersed for fear of the *Mamalucs*, and might be easily drawn to the town, if invited; and that many of those taken before the fight had made escapes; the *Mborean* converts making excursions by land and water, for two years together, brought in abundance of 'em. Among the few captives the *Mamalucs* gathered before the fight, and were driving to *Brazil* a young maid, not above fourteen years of age, got into one only boat there happened to be on the river, and loosing it, was drove down by the stream; the robbers having no means to fetch her back, shot abundance of arrows and bullets at her, but she making no account of them, and receiving no hurt, ran down the river till she fell among some of the *Mborean Indians*, who conducted her safe to the town, where she was baptized. Another about fourteen years of age, having been solicited to consent to lust of the robbers, and not knowing how to resist violence, knowing they were in great distress for want of provisions, pretended she could find excellent roots in the woods to supply them, if she were suffered to go; but as soon as she got thither she hid herself so safe that they could never find her, till she got safe to the town of the *Mboreans*. Two other sisters, the one of thirteen, t'other of ten years of age, after they had been drove an hundred leagues towards *Brazil*, made their escape with a youth their kinsman, and came safe to the same town above mentioned, where they found their father and mother. But we must not instance too

TECHO. many of these escapes, tho' strange, because the circumstances may be much alike. A powerful *Cacique* of *Urvaica*, who was a great enemy to christianity in general, and the society in particular, had contracted friendship with the robbers, that he might be able to do mischief, and was so base as to deliver up many of his own people to those thieves. The *Mamalués*, the more to secure him to their interest, of their own authority, which was none at all, gave him the title of lord of all *Urvaica* and the adjacent rivers; and he, proud of his new authority, for some years did great harm in the lands of our converts, to the great benefit of the *Mamalués*. At length, displeased at the smallness of the reward of his treachery, he renounced their friendship, and fled with the faithfulst of his followers; but being taken by the *Mamalués*, and accused of being unfaithful to them, he in vain pleaded his services, and was by them put to death. Another *Cacique*, who in a boasting manner was used to threaten the fathers with death, and the first christian woman with his lust, declaring he would never give over till he had destroyed all the towns of *Parana* and *Urvaica*, had his wife cruelly murdered by the *Mamalués*, and he at the same time broke his leg in the woods. Some converts finding him out by his hideous cries, would certainly have made an end of him, had not the fathers obstructed, saying, it was the duty of christians to return good for evil. Thus he was not only saved, but carried to the town, where he became a christian. Here we will conclude with the *Mamalués*, whose barbarous villanies have afforded so much matter for this history.

Reception
of the
provincial.

Now the war is ended, to come to a more pleasing and peaceable subject; The provincial coming to make his visitation along the *Parana*, was met at the first town by two hundred boats full of converts from several colonies, representing a pleasant fight, whilst others on the shore congratulated his coming with vocal and instrumental musick. All the towns received him with green arches, and extraordinary demonstrations of joy; he on the other side, dismissed none without some gift, distributing among 'em glass beads, pins, needles, knives, iron tools, garments, and such other things as were acceptable. Being ordered by the general to act as visitor, as well as provincial, he regulated the affairs of twenty new towns built on the rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*. Two fathers resided in each town, who, after the duties of their function, were attended by the chief men of the place, whom they directed how to manage their country affairs, what

lands to till, whether they were to fish, hunt, or kill some cattle, and whatever else was to be done; for in these beginnings, 'twas not lawful to go about any thing but what the founders approved of. Every year the fathers, by the king's authority, appointed magistrates, and gave them all honourable titles, to civilize those people by degrees; but these convert governors of towns could not do any thing of moment without the approbation of their instructors; and yet it is incredible how proud they were of that shadow of power, and of their officers rods. 'Twill not be to our purpose to reckon the many sufferings of the fathers to bring things to this posture, and therefore we'll pass on to other matters. In the year 1642, two fathers were sent out of the college of *Cordova*, to inspect a part of the seigniority of that city, one of whom, when they came to that they call the fourth river, writ back to one of his friends Indians of the fourth river. concerning those people, in this manner: *The Indians, says he, dwelling on the banks of the fourth river border upon the Parparos, Guarparos and Mendicinos. They are obstinate in adhering to the superstitions of their fore-fathers, and rather daub than paint their faces with strange colours, especially the widows and widowers. Things truly religious they abhor, and run over the christian prayers and ten commandments like parrots. Many of 'em have contracts with the devil; they make use of roots in their enchantments, to do all sorts of mischiefs: every village is under the care of an arch-sorcerer, whose duty it is to visit the sick, out of whose bodies he counterfeits himself to suck the corrupt blood; and, that he may seem so to do, he beforehand puts some rotten matter into his mouth, which, when he has sucked the affected parts, he spits out, and so pretends the cause of the disease is removed. The whole nation is addicted to lust; the men use enchanting herbs to allure the women to their wicked designs. The women bore their nostrils, and other tender parts of their bodies, with sharp thorns as long as a finger, till they lose abundance of blood, which they receive into a dish, and with it paint the extremest parts of the skin of all the body, as our women do their faces, but especially the maids; and this tincture is so prevailing, that they scarce ever fail of compassing their lewd projects. The cruelty of these people is inhuman; the men often challenge one another, and the laws of duel are these: they fasten a stone ball cut into angles to a long rope, which the combatants roul about a long while; then they set foot to foot, and both hold down their bare heads, to receive the blows in their turns on their forehead, unless one be knocked down the first stroke. He who strikes first is counted the more fearful and weaker, tho' sometimes at one forcing the antagonist is struck down.*

Thus

Thus they stand still a long while, like dunghill cocks, before they strike a stroke. The spectators applaud the victor with hideous shouts. If he that is hurt dresses the wound, he disgraces himself. They have another way of shewing their courage, which is, to run an arrow thro' the skin of their bodies, and draw it out a great while after, as if it were a needle.

This is the account that father gives of those people, of whom many were converted, and forsook all their wicked customs. Another excursion was made by the fathers of *Rioja*, among the people called *Planos*; of whom there's little to be said in particular, but that they live on hills covered all the year with snow. The way to 'em is over vast mountains, and are miserably poor, scarce any of 'em having cottages to dwell in, but lying out in the open air, or at best in caves. Their spiritual wants were no less than the corporeal, for they had seen no priest in five years, but now afforded a plentiful harvest.

Hundredth
year of the
society ce-
lebrated.

This year 1642 was very joyful throughout this southern province of *America*, made so by celebrating the first age, or hundredth year since the institution of the society. *Rome* kept it first by the magnificence of the *Barberines*; *Europe* the following year, and the new world the next after that; not with the majesty of *Rome*, the expence of *Spain*, the wit and vivacity of *France*, the plenty of *Germany*, or the ingenuity of the *Low-Countries*, but with no less devotion and good-will. *Cordova*, the metropolis of the province, began by keeping it eight days in most solemn manner. There were publick processions made, triumphal arches erected, and curious altars set up; the bishop of *Tucuman* preached in commendation of the society; a pillar was set up where four streets met, on which was *S. Ignatius* darting fire out of a cane upon a hydra and a giant that were at some distance, to signify his conquest over heresy and paganism: plays were acted, the tower was set about with illuminations, and all manner of sports performed on horseback; but the most ingenious part was the orations and poems made in honour of the society. The port of *Buenos Ayres*, upon this occasion, outdid all it had ever done before, and so other parts, but these were all *Europeans*; yet the *Indians*, according to their ability, would not be behind them. The colony of *S. Xavierius*, on the river *Urvaica*, began, and entertained the fathers and principal men, invited thither from other towns, with variety of diversion: the festival commenced by singing vespers in musick, and making bonfires at night: the next day produced triumphal arches, abundance of altars, variety of dancing, and several exercises and representations: there were declamations

both in *Latin* and the *Indian* language. In the afternoon the *Mbareans*, who were guests there, acted a play, in which the *Mamalucos* making an irruption to rob, were shamefully routed and punished. Another colony, among many other extraordinary things, erected six hundred triumphal arches, and hung under 'em all sorts of things, in token of gratitude, to express they had received all goods from the society. The same was performed upon the river *Parana*, the converts expressing most singular affection towards their instructors: they made a general review of their forces, and danced after a military manner, bearing the letters of the name of *S. Ignatius* on their shields, composing ingenious anagrams: at night a fight of boats upon the river by torch-light put an end to the solemnity. At the colony of the *Incarnation*, after a play, there appeared in publick an old giant of a vast size, followed by an hundred boys in several colours, by their variety representing the duties of the society, and singing praises to the old giant. At a little distance they were met by a herd of an hundred oxen, and so pass'd on thro' an hundred triumphal arches to the church, on the porch whereof an hundred loaves were offered: on the high altar were an hundred lights, and before them an hundred praises of the society. Over the gates of the church were three statues; that in the middle representing the society; those on the sides wisdom and piety, with this inscription, *The society an hundred years old triumphs, under the conduct of piety attended by wisdom.* An excellent *Latin* oration gained the applause of all that heard it: then appeared a vast triumphal chariot, on which sat the chief heroes of the society, with many other particulars; the whole concluded in a play, and so ended the solemnity.

The college of the fathers at *Cordova* was now enlarged, and such a private chapel finished in it as may vie with the best in *Europe*; 'tis all painted, the whole covered with excellent representations of saints, except at certain intervals, where pillars of jasper, and several sorts of marble, are represented to the life: under the pedestals of the pillars are turned seats; the roof richly diversified with gold and costly colours, and a little arched, seems to be supported by architects, the art of *Perspective* imposing upon the eyes. The altar is very beautiful, and on it a throne all gilt, finely arched, and carved in the shape of a scallop, on which is seated an image of the blessed Virgin, made by an excellent *Spanish* carver. Under the image of our Lady lies the body of *S. Epimachus*, sent by pope *Urban VIII.* in a curious shrine: below that again, in a rich case, is a crucifix, which

TECHO. *S. Ignatius* held at the time of his death, given by the general of the society, *F. Vitelesci*. Some fathers making excursions from this college into the province of *Tucuman*, said they met with old men, who had never been near a priest since the first coming of the *Spaniards*, but now hearing of the coming of these fathers, came out of their caves with long beards and hair, over-run with vermin, and almost wasted to nothing, yet more hideous for the corruption of their souls, being grown old in wickedness, and more like beasts than men; yet these confessed their sins, and expressed repentance.

Barbarous old men. Among the rest, they found one man an hundred years of age, who for want of priests, had lived about eighty years without confession, and yet without being guilty of any grievous sin; for contenting himself with his own wife, he had never coveted any other woman, or other mens goods. Being asked by one of the fathers, whether he knew there was a God, he answered in the affirmative. The question being put to him again, whether he used any sort of prayer to God, he replied, he knew no other manner of worship than putting his hands together, and holding 'em out towards heaven, now and then to cry *God! God! God!* and had never used or known any other form of prayer. Being desired to do it as he was wont, he readily clapt his hands together, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, called upon God several times with such a tenderness as drew tears from the fathers eyes. *F. Medina* was sent by the provincial from the college of the city of *S. Michael* in *Tucuman*, to try whether any progress could be made in the territory of *Chaguay*. The father being come to *Omaguaca*, sent one *Laurence* an *Indian*, a man well versed in business, to try the *Mataguias*, thro' whose lands there was a short way into the province of *Chaguay*. These *Mataguias* inhabit four towns subject to as many *Caciques*, whose power is almost equal. *Laurence* having delivered some presents to the chief of them from *F. Medina*, and declared the cause of his coming, was the cause that the other *Caciques* were called together to consult what was to be done: there 'twas decreed by unanimous consent, that the fathers were not only to be permitted, but intreated to come among them; that the shortest way should be found out, and the road to be mended; that therefore *Laurence* should return, and acquaint the father that his coming would be most acceptable to them, but they desired him only to stay till the floods were in, for then they would send him guides and provisions; and if the father would bring them some iron tools, 'twould be a great advantage. The resolution of the *Caciques* being known,

all the people ran joyfully to express their satisfaction to *Laurence*. The old women and maids petitioned, that the father would obtain some supplies of clothes, to defend them against the cold, and make 'em appear more modestly. All things seemed to promise success, and yet the design was then laid aside, for want of fathers to employ, the provincial by advice recalling *F. Medina*, and putting off this enterprize till fresh supplies were sent out of *Europe*, because at present 'twas thought fitter to continue the mission to the *Calchaquines*, of whom all that can be said has been delivered before.

The year 1644 produced a mighty controversy about the consecration of *D. Bernardino de Cardenas*, bishop of *Paraguay*. He received the king's letters in *Peru*, acquainting him, that his majesty had conferred the said bishoprick on him, and expected only the pope's bull of confirmation. The bishop elect, impatient of delay, was unwilling to expect the pope's bull of approbation; wherein, because of the small number of bishops in the *Indies*, 'tis usual to allow one only bishop, contrary to the general practice, to consecrate another. He therefore, for the more speedy attaining his dignity, put the question to the college of *Jesuits* at *Cordova*, whether the usual form might not be dispensed with; and by reason of the great distance, the pope's consent be taken for granted. The college answered, 'Twas contrary to the opinions of the learned, and decrees of councils. But he was too hasty to be stopped; and being consecrated by one bishop, without expecting the pope's bull, repaired to his church of *Paraguay*; which was the ground of an eager controversy, which being carried high, spread thro' the world, and was the subject of a doleful history writ by another hand, and not to be handled by me; yet I must not omit to mention some slanders raised upon this occasion, and afterwards cleared, which I will deliver all at one view. The new bishop's dislike to the society being known abroad, their enemies laid hold of this opportunity to revive the ancient forgotten calumnies, the chief whereof was a fabulous story of the gold of *Urvaica*, long since exploded, and then again given out thro' all *Christendom*. For the better understanding of the whole, we will look back to the original of it. Many years before this time, one *Bonaventure*, an *Indian* of the meaner sort, having lived some time in the port of *Buenos Ayres*, went away first among the wandering infidels, and afterwards to the colony of the *Japeivians* on the *Urvaica*, where he ran away with another man's wife, and being taken was publicly whipped, for an example to the

A controversy about consecration of a bishop.

The Mataguias.

The society falsely accused of concealing gold.

the other converts. Being sent again to *Buenos Ayres*, he there, I know not by whose instigation, framed a plausible story about gold found by the *Jesuits* near the river *Urvaica*, that he imposed upon men of good sense; for he confidently affirmed he had wrought a long time in *Urvaica* at digging of gold; and, that there was such plenty, that in three days a man might fill a half-bushel with pure gold-dust. He said further, that he had been tempted to hide a great parcel of gold for his own use, being resolved to run away, but that being betrayed by his fellow, he was by the fathers whipped and banished. When he had told this story, he described the place and nature of the gold mines so particularly, and ly'd so artificially, that the whole matter appeared more than credible, and many affirmed there was no doubt to be made of the truth of it. The society, to clear its reputation, complained to the proper judges, and prevailed to have the business examined. The magistrates did their duty, and, after much inquiry, *Stephen de Avila*, governor of *Buenos Ayres*, publicly declared, and writ to the king's council at *Madrid*, that the report spread abroad concerning the gold of *Urvaica* was a meer fiction of idle men, and the enemies of the society. Thus that fable was suppressed for some time, till some time after the impostor revived it among some new come *Europeans* that were greedy of gold, and had the impudence to carry it to *Hiacinthus de Lara*, the new governor of *Buenos Ayres*. The governor, tho' he did not altogether give credit to it, wished it were true, and could not resolve what to conclude. As he stood thus doubtful, he received letters from *Paraguay*, in which the bishop affirmed 'twas certainly made out there were gold mines near *Urvaica*. The impostor rejoiced to see his lie confirmed by the bishop, and the governor thirsting after gold made all possible haste to set out in search of it. Accordingly he began his journey of two hundred leagues up the river *Parana*, attended by forty soldiers, and *Martin de Vera*, lord of a gold mine in *Peru*, and a most skilful man at trying of metals. *Bonaventure* the informer was ordered to follow him, but he knowing he had a bad cause in hand, slipped away in the journey. The governor somewhat discouraged by his flight still held on his journey, being nobly received in the towns built by the society, and tho' to them he concealed the cause of his coming, yet privately inquired by his interpreters among the *Indians*, where the gold was found.

This being known, *F. Diastanius*, superior of the fathers in *Parana* and *Urvaica*, petitioned him that he would publicly in-

quire concerning the gold mines, and appoint a day to try that cause, that the society might be cleared from the scandal. The governor granted his request, and at the same time encouraged the soldiers with hopes of great rewards to discover the mines. They left no stone unturn'd to find out the gold, and some of them travelled several days journey with an *Indian* who promised to discover the mines, but were only laughed at when they returned, having found nothing but some bright shining snails. In the mean while letters were brought the governor from the city of the *Assumption*, both from the governor and bishop of that province, both of them owning they could make out nothing certain concerning the gold of *Urvaica*. This enraged the governor of *Buenos Ayres* to see himself imposed upon, and so honourable an order abused; yet he was perplexed about the flight of *Bonaventure*, and the society wished he might be found, and so all doubts taken away. This happened as they had desired; he was taken in the town of the *Japeivians*, and brought in irons to the governor, who asking him in friendly manner to discover the gold he had so much talk'd of, he denied he had ever spoke of any such thing, and stood positively in the denial. The governor, to whom he had often told the story, in a passion ordered him to be racked, and even there he persisted in his denial. Nothing being extorted he was condemn'd to death, but the fathers interceding for him, he had two hundred lashes given him, and was banished the province for ever. Not so satisfied, the enemies of the society sent letters to the king's council at *Madrid*, reviving this imposture, whereupon one *Carabito*, of the royal council of *Peru*, was appointed to examine it again, who having brought the informers to confess the forgery, fined some and banished others. Yet malice stopped not here, but the charge being renewed in *Spain*, the king sent *D. John de Velasco* governor of *Paraguay* to examine further into it, with the title of his inspector; he repairing to the river *Urvaica*, and having narrowly sifted the matter, and convicted all the accusers of manifest forgery, imposed heavy fines on them, the fathers interceding that their punishment might not be severer. Thus this slander cast upon the society was quite expunged almost twenty years after it was first cast upon them, and been carried so far that all the fathers who were not *Spaniards*, had like to have been disgracefully sent out of the provinces of *Parana* and *Urvaica* into *Europe*; for they had added to the rest of the fiction, that the fathers who were not *Spaniards*, had sent a vast quantity of gold to

TECHO. the *French* and *Portugueses*, enemies to *Spain*; but the foundation of the calumny failing, this superstructure of course fell to the ground. Nor did the wicked practices end here, for the invention above mentioned failing, the society was accused of dissuading the converts from paying tribute to the king; but the same *D. John de Velasco* cleared them of this imputation upon strict inquiry made, and writ honourably to the king in their behalf. The ground of this accusation, was the fathers protecting the *Indians* from being made slaves to private persons, the dread whereof was the main thing that obstructed the conversion of those poor souls. Besides, the king to encourage those people to embrace the faith, had allowed all that should be baptized, to be free from paying any tribute for twenty years after they were baptized; and his majesty well knew that those poor people being continually harrassed by the *Mamelucs*, and in arms to defend themselves, could not be expected to pay any tribute, but ought rather to be supported and maintained. This reflection was also taken away by the converts themselves, who when the twenty years of grace were expired, and they had a little respite from the *Mamelucs*, freely promised to pay the tribute to the king. Since we have gone so far, we must go through with all the calumnies raised against the society, and finish this matter in a few words. The enemies of the society further alledged, that the king was at a great expence in sending fathers over to *Paraguay* to no advantage; which imputation could not be of any force, where it was visible such a vast tract of land had been converted to the faith, and reduced under the dominion of his Catholick majesty, by their only labours and sufferings. This failing, it was further whispered in the ears of the magistrates, that they did not teach the converts sound doctrine. To make this out, they urged that the fathers in rendering the names of God, the Son of God, and Mother of God, into the *Guaranian* language, made use of prophane words formerly apply'd to their superstitions. To wipe this off, it was proved that the society made use of the same words all other orders had made use of before their coming into those parts; and that they were the same that had been always used in *Brasil*, between the language of which province and the *Guaranian* there is great affinity; and therefore a synod held at *Lima*, and approved by the pope, cleared the honour of the society in this case, as in the others that had been done before. The last accusation was, that the society disowned the consecration of the bishop of *Paraguay*, for the reasons mentioned at the beginning

of this section, and therefore not to be repeated in this place; and this was objected to them as schismatical; till the pope declaring, that the bishop so consecrated had no jurisdiction, the society was cleared from that imputation of schism; but before all these slanders could be removed, the bishop of *Paraguay* had great strugglings with the society, which do not at all belong to this history, and therefore we will proceed to put an end to the little that remains.

Great disorders were committed this same year 1644, in the colony of the *Foienfians* of the province of *Itatina*, the natives, at the instigation of *Nianduabusuvius*, presuming to mutiny, and openly disobey the fathers, who offering to reprimand them for their insolence, were not only abused in words, but struck. For *Borbebeus*, nephew to *Nianduabusuvius*, after *F. Manno* had been ill treated by another, hit him in the face with a cudgel; and another wounded *F. Arenos* on the head. *F. Badia* reproving their base proceedings, *Nianduabusuvius* himself gave him very ill language, declaring, *He would transmit those customs he had received from his ancestors to posterity.* *Nantabagua*, another nephew of *Nianduabusuvius*, enraged because one of the fathers had taken away the rod of his office as a punishment for his offence, interrupted the sermon in the church, stirring up the people to revolt, and railing against the doctrine of the fathers, as opposite to the manners and customs of their forefathers, prevailed with all the audience to forsake the preacher. From that time the fathers commands, the authority having been thus debased, were made no account of; they themselves were scorned by all degrees, no honour was given to religious things, no body was left to attend the fathers even in the church. The fathers having in vain tried fair words and threats, finding it necessary to take a harsher course, artfully drew *Nianduabusuvius's* son and two nephews out of the town, and had them conveyed to the town of the *Japeivians* on the river *Urvaica*, two hundred leagues distant, that it might not be easy for them to come back. The heads being removed, the face of things immediately changed. The people flocked to the church, and performed all Christian duties, all leudness and barbarous customs were banished, and virtue and submission succeeded in their place. Many heathens, who were before kept back by *Nianduabusuvius's* ill practices, resorted to the town and embraced the faith. Many infidels daily resorted to the town, which gave hopes of greater success; but none so much rejoiced the fathers, as some *Gentiles* from the other side of the river *Paraguay*, where the fathers had not yet been; who

A mutiny
in the
province
of Itatina.

came to acquaint them, that abundance of their countrymen, being exposed to the continual incursions of the *Guaicurians*, were inclined to forsake their own country, and come over into the lands about that town. Besides *Guairamina*, nephew to *Paraliquin* the greatest man among the *Guirapos*, coming to the fathers, and counting to them according to the custom of the country, what nations were on both sides the *Paraguay*, inflamed them with a desire of extending the empire of Christ beyond that river.

Attempt of the fathers beyond Paraguay. Hitherto the fathers of the province of *Itatina*, by reason of their small numbers, the invasions of the *Mamalucs* and troubles among the converts, had kept themselves within this side the river *Paraguay*; but having now obtained peace at home, and being increased in numbers, they were desirous to carry the gospel beyond that river, knowing by information given from many, that the vast tract which extends an hundred and fifty leagues between *Itatina* and *Peru*, was very full of *Indian* villages, where the Christian faith was not yet professed, and where many towns might be built, if the society were once admitted. But this was a difficult province, as being much infested with sorcerers and apostates, and therefore required a man of experience and resolution. For this reason *F. Laquercius*, the provincial, knowing *F. Romero*, to be fit for any such undertaking, ordered him to the province of *Itatina*, and with all speed to pass the river. He being come unto his province, consulted with the other fathers and principal converts, who all resolved the attempt ought to be made without delay, and accordingly he set out in the year 1645, attended by *F. Vansurk* and some faithful converts of both towns; and passing the *Paraguay*, the twenty-second day after his setting out came unto the first village of the *Indians*, where he found many, who having before heard of the society, were not ill disposed to receive the faith. He would have gone further in hopes of a more plentiful harvest, but was held back by his own company, and the natives, who affirmed he would ruin all if he was too hasty. For this reason he settled with *Curapaio*, a *Cacique* of great fame in the first villages; and many resorting to him from the neighbouring parts, he marked out the ground for a town, built a chappel under the invocation of *S. Barbara*, erected a cross, and began to declare the first principles of religion to the people. Finding the heathens inclinable to embrace Christianity, he writ to the provincial, desiring him to send, with all speed, some able persons to assist him in the work so happily begun. This done, he sent away all the converts but six, to their towns, and

F. Vansurk to the city of the *Assumption*, *TECHO*. for necessary tools to build a town. It happened at that time, one *Guiraguera*, a heathen from some remote part, was come to the same place on account of trade, whom *F. Romero* laboured to win, and he craftily promised to use his endeavours to reduce his country people to the new town; but being a cruel and deceitful man, he made it his business when he came thither, to incense them against the Christian preachers. Many, who had fled out of *Peru* and other parts to live more at liberty, seconded him; and above all, one *Mborosenius* an impostor, who being skilled in forcery, assumed the title of a deity. It was easy to persuade one *Tucumbaius*, who was appointed to manage the design of murdering the father, and he taking *Guiraguera* and forty more assassins with him, set out, as if they were to desire to be baptized. To secure him that he might not escape their hands, they sent out before to acquaint him with their coming, and that the design of it was to embrace the faith. *F. Romero* was warned of the danger, and advised to fly, but he despising that which looked like fear, went out to meet them, and having exhorted them to embrace the opportunity, offered them of being admitted into the number of the sons of God, gave them some presents, and went away to say mass. *Tucumbaius*, thinking no time was to be lost, gave the signal to the murderers; one of them gave him three blows on the head with his club, which laid him flat on the ground. The rest of them murdered one *Fernandez* the father's companion, as yet only a novice, and one *Gonzalo* a convert; which done, perceiving the father was still alive, they ript open his belly, pulled out his tongue, cut his throat, chopt off his fingers, and thrust them into his belly, superstitiously believing that would prevent any revenge being taken for murder committed. Then they plundered all they found, and whilst they were so employed, the other five converts fled, and all of them returned safe home, who gave an account of what had happened. When the murderers were gone, the natives of the place returning home from their country affairs, were extremely grieved at this action; and having laid the dead bodies decently together, men and women, as is the custom of the country, made dismal howling in their turns, like singing in a choir, and then were silent by fits, which are the funeral ceremonies; and thus they committed them to the ground, till seven months after those same heathens put the bones of the father and his companions into several coffins, and sent them honourably to the fathers in the province of *Itatina*.

TECHO. At this time, that is, the year 1645, there were in the province of *Paraguay*, about two hundred fathers distributed into nine colleges, and twenty-four residences among the *Indians*. Of an hundred priests but few served the *Spaniards*, being always taken up with the *Blacks* and *Indians*, governing the fodalities of the *Spaniards*, and teaching in the schools. Many lived altogether among the *Indians*, and others were at certain times sent out of the colleges upon apostolick missions; for as *F. Aquariva*, the provincial, foretold, the province of *Paraguay* is not conspicuous for many towns, but that defect is made amends for by these frequent excursions to disseminate the gospel, yet many new expeditions have been put by and obstructed, by the small number there is of fathers, and the invasions of the *Mamalucs*: This scarcity of fathers has been in a great measure caused by the false calumnies before spoken of, cast upon them, which has caused the stopping of many in *Europe* that were to have been sent over. And to say the truth, there has been a great reason in these latter times, to hope for a plentiful spiritual harvest, were there but labourers to ply the work; and the two provincials *F. Lupercius* and *F. Ferrusius*

were forward enough to promote it; so that though it has not been possible to build towns to sociate in, yet has brought many of the scattered *Indians* into the flock of Christ. The provinces of *Parana* and *Urvaica* now flourished under the care of the fathers; that of *Itatina* was again pestered by the *Mamaluc* robbers; and that of *Calchaquina*, tho' few souls were gained there by reason of the obstinacy of the natives, was still possessed by two residences, in hopes of mollitying those hard hearts. It would be tedious, and from our purpose to speak the praises of those many worthy fathers dispersed through the province; yet we cannot but admire the bounty of the Catholick king, who spares no cost to promote its good, sending over, feeding, maintaining, and defending preachers to instruct those people, for which the society, in its general assembly, decreed his majesty their thanks, and ordered him to be prayed for, which is performed in a particular manner in *Paraguay*. And here we will give rest to our pen, wishing *Philip the Great*, as a reward of his zeal in propagating the faith, a long and happy reign here, and an everlasting kingdom hereafter.



ALPHABETICALLY

THE following is a list of the names of the
 persons who have been mentioned in the
 preceding pages, in the order in which they
 are mentioned. The names are given in
 the original language, and in the English
 translation, where it is given. The names
 are given in the order in which they are
 mentioned in the text.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Kingdom of *Tonqueen*,

PAUL BARON

BY

S. BARON, a Native thereof.

Advertisement.

MY design at first was not to undertake an historical narration of Tonqueen, but only to note the errors in Monsieur Tavernier's description of that country, as it was desired of me by Sir John Hoskins and Mr. Robert Hooke out of England; but having made some small progress therein, I was quickly tired with finding faults and noting mistakes, also thinking I should thereby give but small satisfaction to the curiosity of those worthy gentlemen, whose highly active genius's penetrate the very essence of the most occult things, and finding it much more easy for me to compose a new description of Tonqueen (the country of my nativity, and where I have been conversant with persons of all qualities and degrees) than to correct the mistakes of others; these considerations, together with ambition to do the publick acceptable service, and especially to demonstrate in some measure my thankfulness and profound respects to my much-honoured friends Sir John Hoskins and Mr. Robert Hooke, induced me to undertake and finish this work, such as it is. I can freely declare, that there is nothing inserted herein but what I thought, to the best of my knowledge, to be exactly true and real. In dubious matters I had my informations from the most knowing and credible among the natives. As for the order and method, I followed Monsieur Tavernier. The stile and diction thereof, since they are my first essays, must needs be very defective; therefore I intreat my friends to correct and alter what therein they find amiss, and to dedicate it to whom they please; and in so doing they will infinitely oblige

Their most humble Servant,

SAMUEL BARON.

Note; That the original pictures, whereof those in this book are but a copy, were drawn on the place by a Tonqueeneer of eminent quality, and according to my judgment are done as well as things of that nature can be.

T O

Sir JOHN NICHOLS, Kt.

A N D

ROBERT HOOK, Esq;

HONOURED SIRS,

I SEND by this conveyance to Mr. *Charles Chamberlain* the promised description of *Tonqueen*, wherein I think I have noted the most material passages of trade, government, and customs of the country, vice and virtue of the people, at least so far as will content and satisfy a moderate mind, and be sufficient for a new commissioner to conduct business by at his first entrance there. As to the imperfections and errors therein, you will be pleased to favour it with your exact survey and prudent correction, especially to remove or cancel what therein may be either against, or reflectingly spoken of *Monf. Tavernier*, since the intention is to inform the reader of the truth, and not to carp and find faults with others; which when I did, was only for your particular perusal. The pictures are true and exact, tho' not according to art; the map, drawn and computed out of two others, is as near the truth as could be done in this place either by care or diligence. Of the whole the honourable president *Gyfford* sends his judgment to you, whose liberality has chiefly supported my expences thereon; therefore I request you will be pleased to deliver to Mr. *Charles Chamberlain* the money the said description will yield, for the president's use. And if you should think convenient to dedicate it to the right honourable company, then to make honourable and particular mention of Mr. *John Page*, Mr. *James Hobland*, Mr. *Charles Chamberlain*, and Mr. *William Mayor*, my benefactors. I am now on a voyage to *China*, where if I can pick up any curiosity, or discover any thing worthy your sight or information, you are sure to hear from me; in the mean while I recommend myself to the continuation of your favour, as,

Fort St. George at
Madras-patam,
February 2d.
1685-6.

Honoured Sirs,

Your very humble devoted Servant,

SAMUEL BARON.

T O

To the HONOURABLE

William Gyfford, Esq;

President of Coast Cormandell, Bengall, &c.
and Governor of Fort St. George.

HONOURED SIR,

THIS is but a rough draught of what is in a more clear and lively manner impressed in your honour's memory, I mean, the state and constitution of the kingdom of *Tonqueen*, since yourself was the first *English* man that, entering the country, opened that trade, and settled there a factory for the honourable company; in effecting which your patience appeared no less exemplary (having suffered strange rudeness and harsh usages from the natives, their usual welcome to new-comers) than your prudence and dexterity was eminent in that negotiation, wherein (I can say without incurring the imputation of flattery) your generosity respected the honour of your nation and common benefit much more than your particular interest, and with a liberal spirit bestowed your wax and honey most freely on others, thinking, as that heroick *German* expressed himself to the emperor *Charles V.* *If my labour is not for myself, 'tis for posterity.* Equal to this was your honour's deportment, affable, courteous and complaisant to the humours of those people, wherein your condescending temper was very conspicuous; which, tho' it had been accustomed to live in other parts of *India* after another rate and splendor than the *Tonquenesse*, *Chinese* or *Japanese* willingly tolerate any stranger or foreigner to do in their country, did yet know readily how to please them, by your conformity and seasonable receding to their pride, whereby you presently so gained the good-will of courtiers and merchants (of which they are otherwise great niggards to new-comers, yet very loving to them that know their country and customs) as proved no small means to uphold afterwards the *English* name, your person, factory, and what else belonged to your place, with honour, reputation and credit, notwithstanding the *Dutch* war, want of shipping, supplies, and your incapacity to trade, which are mortal distempers for a new settled factory, all the time of your residence, until your departure thence, the space of well nigh six years, in which time you got much experience yourself, and gave so true and exact a character of that country, whereof there had been before but a confus'd idea amongst the *English*, as was very advantageous to commerce.

These, and the respects of your superintendency over the right honourable company's affairs in the *South-Seas*, the honour of your many years acquaintance, have induced me to direct this description to your honour, who, as the most capable to judge and discern the truth thereof, so I hope will have the charity to construe with your innate candor my intention therein. I am sensible of the inconsiderateness of my labour herein, tho' to the best of my might, I did it as well as the troubles I was in would permit me; and that only the subject is to be taken notice of, which is such as Sir *John Hoskins* and Mr. *Robert Hooke*, my most honoured friends, assured me, by reiterated letters out of *England*, would be taking and acceptable, whose approved judgment, which I shall always reverence, did alone encourage me to undertake this task, were it but to satisfy their curiosity and noble desires, ever constant in assiduous application to advance learning, and enrich the publick by new discoveries, which otherwise I would not have ventured on; but since they were the promoters thereof, I submit it to their censure, according to the foregoing advertisement, but leave the whole disposal to yourself, as from,

Fort St. George at Madras-
patam, on the Coast of
Cormandell, August 25
Anno 1685.

Honoured Sir,

Your very humble obedient Servant,

SAMUEL BARON.



The Description of TONQUEEN. BARON.

CHAP. I.

Taverniere's account of Tonqueen animadverted on.

THE kingdom of *Tonqueen* has been discovered by the *Portugueses* above one hundred and twenty years since, and the relations that *Padre Martin* and *Alexander de Rodes*, both jesuits, give of it, is in general more true than this of *Taverniere*; for what contradictions we find in them, may be imputed to the alteration of things by mutation of time.

Taverniere talks of eleven or twelve voyages his brother made to *Tonqueen*, from *Acheen*, *Batavia* and *Bantam*; on the confidence of whose relation, together with what he inquired of the *bonzes*, or priests, that came while he was in *Bantam*, he has compiled his history, as fabulous and full of gross absurdities as lines.

For first, the *Tonqueenefes* have no *bonzes* or priests, however they came to *Bantam* and *Batavia*; and then he saith, when the *Tonqueenefes* make voyages, they take their wives and families with them; I suppose he means those voyages they make in the river of *Tonqueen*, from one village to another; but for foreign voyages they are altogether unacquainted with them, unless it be some few of the poorer sort that go to attend strangers, or are forced otherwise for a livelihood. He notes how the *Tonqueenefes* were ravished with admiration, when he shewed them his Atlas, and some particular maps about the composure and structure of the whole world, and its several kingdoms and states, which they heeded as much as a world in the moon. Neither can I hear of a *Taverniere* that has made eleven or twelve voyages to *Tonqueen* on his own account; only thus much I have heard, that there has been one *Taverniere*, a purser in the *Dutch* service, and once in *Tonqueen*.

He commends his brother for a person of courage and cunning, how justly I cannot tell; but this I am sure, he has used but little cordiality, and less sincerity, notwithstanding all his protestations, in his account of *Tonqueen*: he magnifies the great sums of money his brother carried always with him, when he went on that voyage; but it is

too well known what a purser in the *Dutch* service can do, and what they are allowed to do; hindring so strictly the private trade.

He talks of a large present he gave the king and prince, together with his favourable reception and familiar conversation with them; if this be true, I say the *Tonqueenefes* are much degenerated, yet it cannot be denied, but that strangers at their first entrance into this country, had, in many respects, better usage than at present; but not so, as to permit themselves to play with a foreigner the good companion: at this time they keep their distance to all strangers, making but small account of them. To kiss the king's hand, is not the *Tonqueen* mode, much less permitted to strangers: and when he spoke the *Malayan* language so fluently, he might as well have spoken *French* to them, that understood not a word of either. When he played amongst those lords, I wonder what game it was that he lost so many thousand crowns at, as he mentions; but it is most to be admired, that a calf and two jars of *Tonqueen* arrack, the usual largesse and liberality of this king, (water distilled out of rice) should supply his great losses. He farther tells you, that by the great familiarity his brother had at court, and by the frequent discourses he had with a great many *Tonqueenefes*, (who never stir out of the country, however he met them at *Bantam* and *Batavia*) he laid the foundation of his work, which is both faithful and exact: Furthermore he saith, no other consideration, than the speaking of truth, has invited him to undertake this relation; all which being notorious contradictions and false tales, shame indeed the author the more.

Our author, as all other *Europeans*, terms and intitles the general or *Cbova*, king; because he disposes of the kingdom at his pleasure, receiving all foreign ambassadors, except that of *China*. However, this is a mistake; for they have their king or *Bova*, though he signifies no more than a cypher, as will be noted in several places of this relation.

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BARON. He not only vaunts of his cuts, which he says were drawn on the place, and will contribute much to the divertisement of the reader, but also praises, for its exactness, the map which he gives of the country; than which nothing can be more false; for compare it with our sea draughts, 'twill plainly

appear what it is: But as fabulous stories and fictions, invented at pleasure, are pleasing only to the ignorant, so 'tis most certain, the ingenious reader will blame him for promising so much, and using so little probability in his history.

CHAP. II.

Of the situation and extent of Tonqueen.

WE have no more reason to admire why our predecessors had no earlier knowledge of this kingdom than they had of that of *China*, because its discovery was something posterior to that; for the *Portugueses* had no sooner discovered the last, but they sent out ships to visit this also.

It is true, this kingdom was a province of *China* formerly, and pays tribute still to that emperor: But that was not the reason why we had no sooner knowledge thereof, considering these people have been governed by their native princes for above these four hundred years without interruption, which was long before the *Portugueses* came to make their discoveries in *India*. The true reason seems to be, that the people did never stir abroad, nor do yet, for commerce or other association; and they somewhat affect in this the *Chinese* vanity, thinking all other people to be barbarous, imitating their government, learning, characters, &c. yet hate their persons.

I do not know why *Taverniere* saith most people should believe this country to be in a very hot climate, considering it is situated under the tropick, and some part of it more to the northward; nevertheless he affirms it to be very temperate, by reason of the great number of rivers (and altogether free from those sand-hills and barren mountains that cause such heat in *Commaroon* and other places in the gulf of *Persia*) that water it, together with the rain that falls in its season; whereas the truth thereof is, that the rains, indeed, generally fall in the months of *May*, *June*, *July* and *August*, and sometimes sooner, which moisten the ground, but cause no fresh breezes at all; on the contrary, the said two months of *July* and *August* make the weather here unufferably hot. Doubtless the country would be plentiful in fruits, were there not so many inhabitants, who living by rice chiefly, find therefore the greater necessity to cultivate what ground they have with that grain, not neglecting the least spot.

Situation. To the north-east of this kingdom lies the province of *Canton*; to the west it is bounded by the kingdoms of *Laos* and the *Bowes*; to the north it borders on two other

provinces of *China*, *Funam* and *Quanci*, or *Ai*; to the south and south-east on *Cochinchina*. The climate is temperate and whole- Climate. some from *September* till *March*, sometimes very cold in *January* and *February*; though frost and snow are never seen here; for the months of *April*, *May* and *June* are not so healthful, both because of the rains and fogginess of the air, and the sun's coming to the zenith: but *June*, *July* and *August* are excessive hot months. The winds are here divided between the north and south for six months and six months; the country is delightful from *May* till *August*, the trees being then in their verdure, and the fields all covered with paddy, very pleasant to the beholders.

The great winds that are called amongst our seamen the hurricanes, and known here Touffoons or Hurri- canes. by the name of *Touffoons*, reign on this and the adjacent coasts, and the seas thereof are very terrible; but the time of their coming is very uncertain, sometimes once in five or six years, and sometimes in eight or nine; and though this wind is not known in other oriental seas by that name, and with that excessive violence, yet that which is called the *Elephant* in the bay of *Bengall* and the coast of *Cormandel*, is not much inferior to this; and the sad effects thereof are but too often experienced by the seamen. I cannot find an astronomer in all *Tonqueen*, to ask from whence those winds should proceed, so I cannot affirm that they are caused by the exhalations of the mines of *Japan*.

As for the extent of the country, which Extent. he makes equal to that of *France*, it is a gross mistake; for this kingdom is reckoned by men experienced, to be not much bigger than *Portugal*; but may be thought to contain four times the number of inhabitants. *Taverniere* makes its limits to be unknown, forgetting that he had so lately described the borders and extent thereof.

As for islands belonging to this kingdom, Islands. there are several in the bay of *Tonqueen*, the chief whereof is called by the natives *Twon Bene*, and by the *Dutch*, *Rovers-Island*. It is situated in the latitude of 19 degrees 15 minutes north; is long one and a half, and broad

The City of CHA-CHO,
the Metropolis of
TONQUEEN



- 1 The King's Arsenal
- 2 Sandy Bay with it's Representation of the Thechydam (described P. 151. cap. 15.)
- 3 King's Elephants Stables
- 4 the Designed English Factor
- 5 the Dutch Factor

Their GALLIES and their MANNER of ROWING, referred to as Plates P. 127.



broad half a league at most, the better part high land, and distant from the main one league, between which and the main sea ships may pass, as the *Dutch* did formerly; but the navigator must observe to keep the island side aboard, within a musket shot; where you will find six, seven, and seven and a half fathoms, ouzy ground. On the same side of the island, which is its west part, are two small bays, the northermost has a small pearl bank, but not rich, yet none dare to fish here without the king's special grant. In both the bays there is sweet water, which we found to be exceeding good, and esteemed the best we tasted there. At the south-west point of this island is a ridge of rocks, extending from the said point 100 paces into the sea, and may be discovered at half ebb, by the breach thereon; for the rest, a clear coast.

Towards the north-west, is a fair bay, three fathom and a half and four fathom water, clay ground; here resort many fishing boats, besides what appertain to this village, whose inhabitants I compute between three or four hundred persons, most fishermen.

In this island is the watch-house general, which is a place of the greatest profit in the kingdom of *Tonqueen*: for all trading boats, either to the province of *Tingway* or *Guian*, or from thence to the north, must stop here and pay custom, viz. for a large boat about the value of a dollar and half, with some presents for the waiters, the rest proportionable; so that the customs of this place cannot yield less than a million of dollars *per annum*.

Soil. As for the ground, it is stony and mountainous, therefore not proper to manure; cattle we saw but few (tho' the inhabitants told us of many antelopes that sheltered amongst the rocks and shrubs of the mountains) so that rice and other provisions for sustenance, are brought hither from the adjacent shore. Some good regulations would make this place plentiful, and with small expence this port might be made a good one.

Towns. [Plate 2.] For cities and towns, excepting that of *Ca-cho*, there are not above two or three in the whole kingdom of any note. As for *Aldeas* or villages, questionless the number is great, and more than I can exactly affirm, or any man else that hath not made it his business to inquire after them; neither is it an easy matter to find the truth thereof: the city of *Ca-cho* is the metropolis of *Tonqueen*, lieth in the latitude 21 degrees north,

about 40 leagues from the sea, and may, BARON. for its capaciousness, be compared with many cities in *Asia*, and superior to most for populousness, especially on the first and fifteenth of their new moon; being their market-days, or grand *Bazar*; when the people from the adjacent villages flock thither with their trade, in such numbers, as is almost incredible; several of the streets, tho' broad and spacious, are then so crowded, that one finds enough to do, if he can sometimes advance through the multitude a hundred paces in half an hour. Every different commodity sold in this city, is appointed to a particular street, and these streets again allotted to one, two, or more villages, the inhabitants whereof are only privileged to keep shops in them, much in the nature of the several companies or corporations in *European* cities. The courts of the king, general, princes, &c. *Grandeza*, and high courts of justice, are kept here, of which I can only say, they stand on large tracts of ground; the principal structure makes but a mean appearance, being built of wood, the rest of their houses of bamboos and clay, not well compacted; few of brick except the factories of strangers, which out-vie the rest. Stupendous indeed are the triple walls of the old city and palace; for by the ruins they appear to have been strong fabricks with noble large gates, paved with a kind of marble; the palace to have been about six or seven miles in circumference; its gates, courts, apartments, &c. testify amply its former pomp and glory. In this city is likewise quartered a formidable militia, to be ready on all occasions; and here also standeth the king's arsenal or magazine for war, seated on the bank of the river, near a sandy island, on which the *Thecadaw* is kept, as hereafter will be mentioned. This river is called by the natives *Songkoy*, or the head river: it rises in *China*, and after it has rolled many hundred leagues, it passes here and disgorgeth itself in the bay of *Aynam*, by eight or nine mouths, most of them navigable for vessels of small draught. This river is exceeding commodious for the city, since all sorts of merchandize are brought hither as to the epitome of the kingdom, by an infinite number of boats trading up and down the country; yet they have their houses in their respective *Aldeas*, and do not live altogether in their boats, as *Taverniere* reports, but when they are voyaging.

BARON.

C H A P. III.

Of the nature and productions of the kingdom of Tonqueen.

Rivers.

THIS country is for the most part low and flat, not unlike the united provinces, especially for its moats and banks. The hills make the frontiers towards the north west and south: it is watered by one special river, which disgorgeth itself into the sea, by many branches, most of them navigable for ships of mean burthen. These rivers swarm with boats and large barks, which make it very commodious for traders: indeed in this country grows neither corn nor wine, which is not occasioned by the want of rains, for both of them require rather dry than wet ground; but by reason the inhabitants do not much care for them, as being ignorant of their goodness, and therefore do not plant them. Rice, indeed, is the chief sustenance of these people; and the country produces sufficient quantities thereof; and if this grain would have grown only by the rains of the months of *June* and *July*, we should not have experienced the sad effects of a most dreadful and calamitous famine, that swept away so many millions of souls, in these two preceding years.

From the rice they distil a liquor called arrack, but much inferior to aquavitæ. Their ploughs and the manner of using them, are much after the *Chinese* fashion, described in the history of *China*: the paddy they tread out with their feet, wherein their practice has made them very expert.

Fruits.

The fruits are equally good in their kinds with those of other oriental countries, but their oranges far exceed all that I have tasted: what *Taverniere* calls a palm-tree is, indeed, a cocoa-nut, the pulp within is white, and tastes something like an almond; this fruit is so plentiful in *Siam*, that they lade ships with the oil that is made of the said pulp, to supply their neighbours, which is used to burn in lamps.

The liquor thereof is very cold, and pleasant enough, but reckoned bad for the nerves: questionless it is the most useful tree that is found in *India*, serving for meat, drink, cloathing, firing, building, &c.

The *Guava* is a fruit much like his description; but he is mightily out in the effects thereof, for whether green or ripe, it is always binding, but not usually eaten green.

The *Papay* is a fruit indeed resembling a melon, and somewhat of the taste, not unpleasant.

The *Arreak*, called by the *Malays*, *Penang*, grows streight upright, bearing no branch, but at the top, like a crown; the fruit of which is in bigness like a large pigeon's egg, which most *Indians* use to eat with the leaf called *Beëtle* by the *Portugueses*, and *Sera* by the *Malays*; it is good to sweeten the breath, fasten the teeth, and revive the spirits: in chewing, the juice thereof turns red; it is so much in use, that they think they do not make their friends welcome without presenting them with a dish of it. The *Tonqueeneses*, *Siameses*, *Malays* and *Javas*, had rather lose a third of their diet than be without it. They have a fig called by them *Hungs*, in taste something like a carrot, but much more pleasant, not at all like our *European* figs.

The other sort, called *Bonana*, or plantans, which he calls *Adam's* figs, some are in length above a span, some less.

The highways are here and there beset with trees and many sheds, where they sell tea and beetle, &c. very commodious for travellers: and for those exceeding great trees, that shade so many thousands of men, called the *Baniam*-tree, I cannot contradict him; but what I have seen at *Swallow Marreene* at *Surrat*, far exceed any of those in bigness.

In this country we have the fruit *Lechea*, called *Bejay* by the natives, in great plenty; which indeed no where else comes to maturity but in the latitude from 20 to 30 degrees north: It grows on high trees, the leaves resemble somewhat the laurel; the fruits in clusters on the branches, shew like so many hearts, of the bigness of a small hen egg, when ripe of a crimson colour; the shell thin and rough, yet easy to be pulled off; the kernel is full of a white juice. This fruit is of an excellent taste, and most pleasant to the sight, but it doth not last above forty days in season: the time of its maturity is *April*, about when the general will cause his *chiaop* or seal to be fixed on most trees of the best *Lachea* in the country, belong they to whom they will, which obliges the owner not only not to meddle with his own, but also to watch narrowly that others do not touch them, which would be to his peril, since it is ingrossed by the court, who allow him nothing for his fruit or pains.

The fruit called *Jean* or *Lungung* (that is, *Dragons*-eggs) by the *Chinese*, is very plentiful here: the tree much as the former, the kernel white, but exceeding luscious; the

the fruit round, and less than a small plum, the skin not rough, of a pale olive colour, and near to a withered leaf. This fruit, though it pleases many of the *Tonqueeneses*, yet it is reckoned hot and unwholesome. The season is *May*, and lasts 'till *July*.

The *Na*, or as the *Portugueses* call it, *Annona*, *Pompelmoor*, and two or three sorts of plums, with other kind of *Indian* fruits, (except *Durrions*, which will only grow in hot countries; that is, from *Siam* towards the South, as *Mallaya*, *Mallacam*, *Java*, &c.) are to be found here; but what exceeds all I have tasted in other parts of that kind, is the *Jaca* or *Myte* in *Tonqueen*. This is the largest fruit, I think in the world, and because of its bigness provident nature has placed its growth on the stock or body of the tree, not on the branches, lest it should not be sufficient to bear the burthen: The skin when green, is very hard; but ripe, of a yellow colour, and easy to be cut with a knife. There are several sorts of them, but that which eats dryest, without sticking either to the fingers or lips, is the best and pleasantest. The greatest part are of a slimy substance, and as it were, a yellow pap covers the nuts, which lie in little holes. Some of the poorer people will boil or roast the nuts, and eat them, which have a kind of taste like our chestnuts, but are reckoned hurtful to the lungs.

Mice.

Taverniere tells a long story of the rare mice that are in this country, of many sorts, yet I never was at a feast of any, and therefore am no competent judge of their daintiness; I know the *Portugueses* eat them physically in several distempers.

Birds-nests.

The next thing to be taken notice of, is a particular kind of birds-nests, which indeed are in great esteem amongst all *Indians*, and kept at a great price, being taken as great restoratives, and by some counted stimulators to venery; but *Taverniere* saith, they are not to be found but in the four islands of *Cochin-china* *A. B. C. D.* which I am sure is a great mistake, neither do I know those islands, or of any birds-nests to be found in *Cochin-china*: The birds which make these nests are less than swallows. As to the form and figure of these birds-nests, they are much as he describes them, and the greatest quantities of them come from *Jebor*, *Rebo*, *Pattany*, and other *Malayan* countries; but that they are, when boiled of that exceeding fragrance and odoriferousness, as he pretends, is a fiction. These nests are laid to soak in warm water two hours, then pulled out in strings, the smaller the better, and so stewed with hens, pigeons, or any other flesh, with a little water: In stewing they

dissolve almost to a jelly, without either taste or smell.

BARON.

Tortoises.

And as *M. Taverniere* is very erroneous in his map, so I do not know nor have I heard of those islands 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, that afford, as he says, such infinite numbers of tortoises. The goodness of the said tortoises is sufficiently known to our *English* seamen, in their homeward bound voyages; but that the *Tonqueeneses* or *Cochin-chineses* do not believe that they have entertained their friends at a banquet as they ought, 'till the tortoise is brought in, is altogether fabulous; for when we were at the island *Twon Bene*, or, according to the *Dutch*, *Rovers Island*, a tortoise of about twenty pounds weight was brought to the custom-house, where I lodged, to be sold, and the *Tonqueeneses* not caring to buy it, I had it for a small matter. Moreover, coming from *Siam* I touched at *Pulo Uby*, where my mariners took five or six very large tortoises, and brought them on board, but the *Tonqueeneses* seamen that were with me (who were compelled to take up that imploy, because of the great famine that ravaged their country) would not touch them; neither do I know, as he asserts, that any of those tortoises are wont to be pickled by either of these two nations, or that there is any commerce carried on therewith amongst them; therefore I wonder how *Monseigneur Taverniere* could dream of a war between them, merely on account of catching them.

Tonqueen affords no great store of *Ananas*, or *Pine-apples*. The Citrons he mentions are not altogether so large as those of *Europe*, which look green before they are ripe, and being mature look yellow.

They make good store of silks in the kingdom of *Tonqueen*, of which both rich and poor make themselves garments, since they can purchase them as cheap almost as outlandish calicoes.

Silks.

As for sweet-smelling flowers, tho' I do not profess myself a florist, yet I know above two sorts in *Tonqueen*; but what he calls the *Bague* I cannot smell out: For first, there is a beautiful rose of a white colour mixed with purple; and another of almost the same kind, red and yellow; it grows on a bush without prickles or thorns, but has no scent.

Flowers.

The flower that is nothing else but a bud, and resembles a caper, but much lesser, smells as fragrant and odoriferous as any flower I know, and will retain the scent above a fortnight, tho' off the tree; the ladies of the court use it amongst their wearing apparel.

The *Indian* lily grows here as in several other parts of *India*; the shape somewhat resembles the *European* lily, but is a great

BARON. deal less; it grows on a pretty high tree, is of a white colour, and yields a good scent, tho' a little faintish.

Here is a small flower, snow white, in scent like jessamine, but more vigorous; it grows on a low tree, or rather shrub: in *Persia* there are such great quantities of it, that they load whole ships with the water distilled from it. These flowers being of no great esteem among the natives, I shall pass them by.

Sugar-canes. Here are great plenty of sugar-canes, but they have no great skill to refine the sugar they make from them; however, they do it after their manner, and use it, but not after meals, as *Taverniere* saith, for concoction.

Beasts. Tygers and harts here are, but not many; apes in great plenty; of cows, hogs, hens, ducks, geese, &c. there is no want; their horses are small, but very mettlesome and lively, and were it not that they are so seldom rid, and kept too tender, they might be of good use and fit for service.

Elephants. Their elephants are all trained up for war, and are not of that prodigious bigness he would make one believe, for I have seen larger in *Siam*; neither are they nimbler

than other elephants that are taught to lie down for the rider to mount.

They have many cats, but no great Cats and mousers, which defect is pretty well supplied by their dogs, which are fit for little else.

Birds here are not many, but wild fowl Birds, in abundance.

Near the sea-side and in the city they Muske- have a great many musketoes, but in the toes. country they are not so much troubled with them: Those that will be free of them must either smoak their room, or lie in close curtains, made of thin silks for that purpose. The cold northern wind drives them away, and frees the country of those tormentors for a while.

What he saith of the white emmets is Whiteem- true. This vermin is very mischievous; mets. in *Siam* hardly any house is free from them, so that merchants are forced to make hearths, and to rub the feet thereof with oil of earth, (which scent they cannot endure) in order to secure their merchandize.

The way of pickling hen or duck eggs, Eggs, as *Taverniere* describes, is true, but these eggs serve only for sauces, and not to be eaten otherwise.

CHAP. IV.

Of the riches, trade, and money of the kingdom of Tonqueen.

THE chief riches, and indeed the only staple commodity, is silk, raw and wrought; of the raw the *Portugueses* and *Castilians* in former days, the *Hollanders* lately, and at present the *Chineses*, export good quantities to *Japan*, &c. Of their wrought silks the *English* and *Dutch* expend the most.

This kingdom has no lignum aloes at all, but what is imported by foreign traders.

Musk we have here brought from *Bowes* and *China* annually, sometimes the quantity of five or six *Peculls*, sometimes less; neither have they any gold but what comes from *China*. Their silver is brought in by *English*, *Dutch* and *Chinese* trading to *Japan*. They have iron and lead mines, which afford them just enough of those minerals to serve their occasions.

Their domestick trade consists in rice, salt fish, and other sustenance; little raw and wrought silk for their own wear. They likewise drive a commerce with *Bowes* and *Ai*, though with no great profit, by reason of high expences and large presents to the *Eunuchs*, who command the avenues; nor do the *Chineses* that pass those ways fare better, being often exacted upon, and sometimes stripped of all they have, by the ravenous *Mandareens*: And since it is

one of the policies of the court not to make the subjects rich, lest they should be proud and ambitious, and aspire to greater matters, the king connives at those disorders, and oppresses them with heavy taxes and impositions; and should he know that any persons were to exceed the ordinary means of a private subject, they would incur the danger of losing all on some pretence or other; which is a great discouragement to the industrious, and necessitates them to bury their wealth, having no means to improve it.

As for foreign traders, a new-comer suffers, besides hard usage in his buying and selling, a thousand inconveniencies; and no certain rates on merchandizes imported or exported being imposed, the insatiable *Mandareens* cause the ships to be rummaged, and take what commodities may likely yield a price at their own rates, using the king's name to cloak their griping and villainous extortions; and for all this there is no remedy put patience.

Yet strangers that are experienced here are less subject to those irregularities and oppressions, escaping their clutches, tho' not without some trouble and cost; in a word, the *Tonqueen* trade is at present the most fastidious in all *India*, wherefore I wonder

wonder our author should say, it is a great pleasure to deal with them; for if you bargain for any thing, and are likely to lose thereby, you are sure to bear the loss: Nothing almost is sold but upon trust for three or four months time, and yet then you run the hazard to lose what is so sold, or at least to undergo a thousand troubles for the recovery of the debt, and at last are likely to suffer, either in bad coin or unmerchantable goods. This defect and disorder in trade, proceeds more from their indigency and poverty than from any thing else; for there is not a *Tonqueense* merchant that has or ever had the courage and ability to buy the value of two thousand dollars at once, and to pay it upon the nail. But after all, the *Tonqueenses* are not altogether so fraudulent, and of that deceitful disposition as the *Chineses*; it may be, by reason they are inferior to them in craft or cunning.

There is this further difference between these two nations; a *Tonqueense* will beg incessantly, and torment your purse sufficiently, if you have business with him; whereas a *Chinese* is cruel and bloody, maliciously killing a man, or flinging him into the sea for small matters.

Another occasion of hindrance and stop to trade is, that they permit the greater part of what silver comes into the country (commonly a million of dollars *per annum*) to be carried to *Bowes* and *China*, to be exchanged for copper cash, which rises and falls according as the *Chova* finds it agree with his interest; besides, this cash will be defaced in few years, and consequently not

current, which grand inconvenience causes considerable losses to merchants, and signal prejudice to the publick. Thus goes the silver out of the country, and no provision is made against it, which is very bad policy.

And tho' the *Chova* values foreign trade so little, yet he receives from it, embarrassed as it is, considerable annual incomes into his coffers; as taxes, head-money, impositions, customs, &c. But tho' these amount to vast sums, yet very little remains in the treasury, by reason of the great army he maintains, together with several other unnecessary expences. In fine, 'tis pity so many conveniencies and opportunities to make the kingdom rich, and its trade flourishing, should be neglected; for if we consider how this kingdom borders on two of the richest provinces in *China*, it will appear, that with small difficulty most commodities of that vast empire might be drawn hither, and great store of *Indian* and *European* commodities, especially woollen manufactures might be vended there; nay would they permit strangers the freedom of this inland trade, 'twould be vastly advantageous to the kingdom; but the *Chova* (jealous that *Europeans* should discover too much of his frontiers, by which certainly he can receive no injury) has, and will probably in all time to come, impede this important affair.

They have no coin but copper cash, which comes from *China*, as aforesaid. Gold and silver they cast into bars about fourteen dollars weight, and they are current amongst them.

C H A P. V.

Of the Strength of the kingdom of Tonqueen.

[Plate 3.] THE kingdom of *Tonqueen* might be reckoned very formidable, were the strength wholly to consist in the number of men, for the standing force cannot be less than one hundred and forty thousand, all well trained up, and fit to handle their arms after their mode; and they can raise twice that number on occasion. But since courage in the men is to be likewise attended to, we cannot esteem them very formidable, being of dejected spirits and base dispositions, and their leaders being for the most part capadoes, and want their manhood.

The general may muster up about eight or ten thousand horse, and between three and four hundred elephants; his sea force consists in two hundred and twenty galleys, great and small, more fit for the river than the sea, and rather for sport and exercise

than war. They have but one gun in the prow, which will carry a four pound shot; they have no masts, and are forced to do all by strength of oars; the men that row stand all exposed to great or small shot, and other engines of war. They have about five hundred other boats, called *Twinjaes*, which are good and swift to sail, but too weak for war, being only sewed together with rattans; however, they serve well enough for transportation of provisions and soldiers.

In one of these boats I was forced to go to *Siam* the last year, with three other gentlemen in company with me, we being left by a *Chinese* (in whose junk we had taken passage) on an isle on the westmost part of the bay of *Tonqueen*, where we were forced to this shift; yet, thanks be to God, we got our passage in twenty-three days,

to

BARON. to the admiration of all that knew of it.

They are likewise provided with guns and cannons of all sorts, as also calibres, some of them of their own fabrick, but the greatest part bought of the *Portugueses*, *Dutch* and *English*, and stored with other ammunition suitable to their occasions.

But to return to the condition of the soldiery of *Tonqueen*: It is a very toilsome and laborious situation, and of little advantage; once a soldier and always a soldier, and hardly one in a thousand riseth to preferment, unless he be very dextrous in handling his weapons, or so fortunate as to obtain the friendship of some great *Mandareen*, to present him to the king: Money may likewise effect somewhat, but to think of advancement by meer valour, is a very fruitless expectation, since they rarely find occasion to meet an enemy in open field, and so have no opportunity to improve themselves or display their prowess; not but that some few have, from mean beginnings, mounted to high preferment and great dignity by some bold achievement; but this being extraordinary, is not to be generally reckoned upon.

Their wars consist in much noise and great trains; so they go to *Cochin-china*, look on the walls, rivers, &c. and if any disease or sickness happens amongst their army, so as to carry off some few of their men, and they come within hearing of the shouts of the enemy, they begin to cry out, A cruel and bloody war, and turn

head, running, *re infecta*, as fast as they can home. This is the game they have played against *Cochin-china* more than three times, and will do so in all probability, as long as they are commanded by those emasculated captains called *Capons*.

They have had amongst themselves civil wars, wherein they contended for superiority, and he that has been the cunningest has prevailed always against him that has been valiant. But in former days, when they fought against the *Chineses*, they have shewed themselves bold and courageous, but it was necessity that forced them to it. The general will sometimes take delight in seeing his soldiers exercise, either in his arsenal, or with his gallies on the river, and sometimes when he finds a soldier to exceed his companions, it may be, he gratifies him with the value of a dollar in cash.

The soldiers have very small pay, not above three dollars in a year, besides rice, except those of the life-guard, who have twice as much; they are free of all taxes, and are dispersed among the *Mandareens*, which *Mandareens* have certain *Aldeas* assigned them, which pay an income to them for the maintenance of the soldiers.

Castles, forts, strong-holds, citadels, &c. they have none, nor do they understand the art of fortification, and make but small account of our skill therein; though they have so little reason to depend, like the *Lacedemonians*, on the bravery of their soldiers.

CHAP. VI.

Of the manners of the people of Tonqueen.

THE people of *Tonqueen* are rather of a working and turbulent spirit, (tho' cowards) than naturally mild and peaceable, since quiet and concord can hardly be maintained amongst them, without a heavy hand and severity; for they have often conspired and broke out in open rebellion. True it is, that superstition (to which the meaner sort are miserably addicted) did further the evil very much, and drove them headlong to the precipice, no less than ambition; but persons of great note, or *Mandareens* of quality, are very seldom found to be embarked in those dangerous attempts, and rarely aim to make themselves heads of publick factions, which, questionless, proceeds from the little credit they give to those fictions and fopperies of their blind fortune-tellers, who delude and mislead the ignorant and superstitious vulgar, and from this their consciousness, that their folly and per-

fidiouseness will hardly fail to meet with deserved destruction.

They are not much given to choler, yet are addicted to the far worse passions of envy and malice, even to an extreme degree. In former times they had in great esteem the manufactures of strange countries, but now that passion is almost worn out, and only a few *Japan* gold and silver pieces, and *European* broad cloth remain at present in request with them. They are not curious to visit other countries, believing they can see none so good as their own, and give no credit to those who have been abroad, when they relate what they have seen.

They are of happy memory and quick apprehension, and might prove of eminent abilities by good and due instructions: Learning they love, not so much for its own sake, but because it conducts them to publick

publick employs and dignities. Their tone in reading is much like to singing. Their language is full of monosyllables, and sometimes twelve or thirteen several things are meant by one word, and have no other distinction but in the tone, either to pronounce it with a full mouth, heavy accent, pressing or retaining voice, &c. and therefore it is very difficult for strangers to attain any perfection therein.

I do not find any difference between the court language and the vulgar, except in matter of ceremony and cases of law, where the *China* characters are us'd as the *Greek* and *Latin* sentences among our learned.

Both the sexes are well proportion'd, rather of small stature and weak constitutions, occasion'd, perhaps, by their intemperate eating and immoderate sleeping.

They are generally of brown complexion like the *Chineses* and *Japaneses*, but the better sort and women of quality are almost as fair as the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*.

Their noses and faces are not so flat as the *Chineses*, their hair black, and if long, 'tis reckon'd an ornament; both men and women, without distinction, wear it down as long as it will grow; but soldiers, when they are in their exercises, and handicraftsmen about their trades, put it up under their caps, or tie it in a great roll on the top of their heads. Both boys and girls, when they are past sixteen or seventeen years of age, black their teeth as the *Japaneses* do, and let their nails grow as the *Chineses*, the longest being accounted the finest, which has place among persons of quality and those of wealth only.

Their habit is long robes, very little differing from those of *China*, and not at all resembling the *Japan* garb, or the picture in *Taverniere's* description, where he makes them to wear girdles, a mode that these people are strangers to.

They are forbidden by an old tradition the wear of hose and shoes, except the literadoes (*Literati*) and those that have taken the degree of *Tuncy* (or doctor); however, at present the custom is not observed so strictly as formerly.

The condition of the vulgar sort is miserable enough, since they are impos'd on by heavy taxes, and undergo fore labour; for the males at eighteen, and in some countries and provinces twenty years of age, are liable to pay the value of three, four, five, six and seven dollars *per annum*, according to the goodness and fertility of the soil of their *Aldea*, or village; and this money is gather'd in two several terms, as *April* and *October*, being the harvest of the rice. From this tax are exempted the royal

blood, the king's immediate servants, all **BARON.** publick ministers and officers of the kingdom, together with the literadoes, or learned men, from a *Singdo* upwards, (for the latter are obliged to pay half tax), all soldiers and military persons, with a few others that have obtained this freedom, either *gratis* or bought it for money, which exemption is granted only for life, and is purchas'd of the *Chova*, or general; yet those that desire the continuation of the said privilege, may have their patent renew'd for a moderate sum of money, by the succeeding prince, who seldom denies to grant them their redemption on such an account; but merchants, though they live in the city, are rated in the *Aldeas* or villages of their ancestors and parents, and are liable besides to the *Vecquan*, or lord's service, of the city, at their own expences, and are obliged to work and drudge themselves, or hire another in their room, to perform what the governor orders, whether it be to mend the broken walls, repair the banks and ways of the city, dragging timber for the king's palaces and other publick buildings, &c.

The handicrafts-men, of what profession soever, are bound to this *Vecquan* six moons in the year, and receive nothing, nor dare they demand any thing for their labour in all that time; it depends on their masters, the *Mandareens*, direction and bounty, to allow them the charges for their very vic-tuals; the other half year they are allow'd to make use of for themselves and family, and it must be suppos'd to be hard enough with them, especially if they are burden'd with many children.

As for the poor *Aldeans*, who inhabit barren soils, and therefore are unable to pay their taxes in rice or money, they are employ'd to cut grass for the general's elephants and horses; and though their stations and villages be often very remote from the place where they fetch the grass, they are obliged to bring it by turns the whole year, on their own expences, to the city.

By what is said, it appears with what politick maxims this prince keeps his subjects poor and needy; and, in truth, it seems to be necessary enough, for if their proud turbulent spirits were not kept in the bounds of their duty and allegiance with a strong rein, they would often forget themselves; however, every one enjoys what he gets by his own industry, and may leave his estate to his heirs and successors; always provided, that the rumour of his wealth sounds not so loud as to charm the general's ear.

The eldest son's portion is much larger than the rest of the children of the decess'd;

BARON. the daughters have some small matter allowed them; yet can claim but little by law if there be an heir male.

And as the *Tonqueeneses* are ambitious of many dependants and opulent kindred, so they have a custom among them to adopt one another (both sexes indifferently) to be their children, and of their family; and those so adopted are obliged to the same duty as their own children, *viz.*

At festival times to sombey and present them; to be ready on every occasion in their service; to bring them the first-fruits of the season, and the new rice at harvest; to contribute to the sacrifice made to some of the family, as the mother, brother, wife, &c. or near relations of the *Patroon*, that are dead, or shall die. To these and several other expences, they are obliged several times in the year, at their own cost: And as this is the obligation of the adopted, so the *Patroon* takes care to advance or promote them, according as occasion and their power will admit, defending and protecting them as their own children; and when the *Patroon* dies, they have a legacy almost equal to the youngest children; and they mourn for the *Patroon* as for their own father and mother, though they be both alive.

The manner of adopting is thus: He that intends to be adopted, sends to acquaint the person of whom he requests that favour, with his intention, who, if content therewith, returns a satisfactory answer; upon which the suppliant comes and presents himself before him, with a hog and two jars of arrack, which the *Patroon* receives of the party, who having made four sombeys, and given satisfactory answers to some questions, he is adopted.

Strangers who reside here, or use the trade, have often taken this course, to free themselves from those vexations and extortions which they usually meet with from some insolent courtiers. I myself was adopted by a prince, who then was presumptive,

and now heir apparent to the general, and had his *Chaop*, or *Chop*, which is his seal. I always gave him presents at my arrival from a voyage, which chiefly consisted in foreign curiosities. This prince, though he be of a generous, noble mind, and had an extraordinary kindness for me, yet I was not the better for him in my troubles; for on the decease of his grandfather, it pleased God to visit him, in the height of his prosperity, with madness, which was the overthrow of my business, by incapacitating him to protect me in my greatest trouble and necessity; but lately I understand he is recover'd again.

The *Aldeans*, or villagers, for the most part, are simple people, and subject to be misled by their over-much credulity and superstition. The character that is given of some other nations is applicable enough to them, that is, they are either extraordinary good, or extreme bad.

It is a great mistake, that the people of *Tonqueen* live out of pleasure, or choice, in their boats upon the rivers, when mere necessity and indigence drives them to that course of life; for to run from port to port, and from one village to another, with wife and children, to look out for a livelihood, in a small boat, cannot be very pleasant, although they do not know here what a crocodile means.

The largest of the *Tonqueen* rivers has, as I said before, its source in *China*, and the great rains there in the months of *March*, *April* and *May*, cause the waters to descend here with that incredible rapidity (this country being, without comparison, lower than *China*) as threatens banks and dams with destruction; sometimes the waters will rise so fast, and swell to that degree, as to over-top most barricadoes, all human industry notwithstanding, drowning thereby whole provinces, which causes lamentable disorders and great losses both of men and beasts.

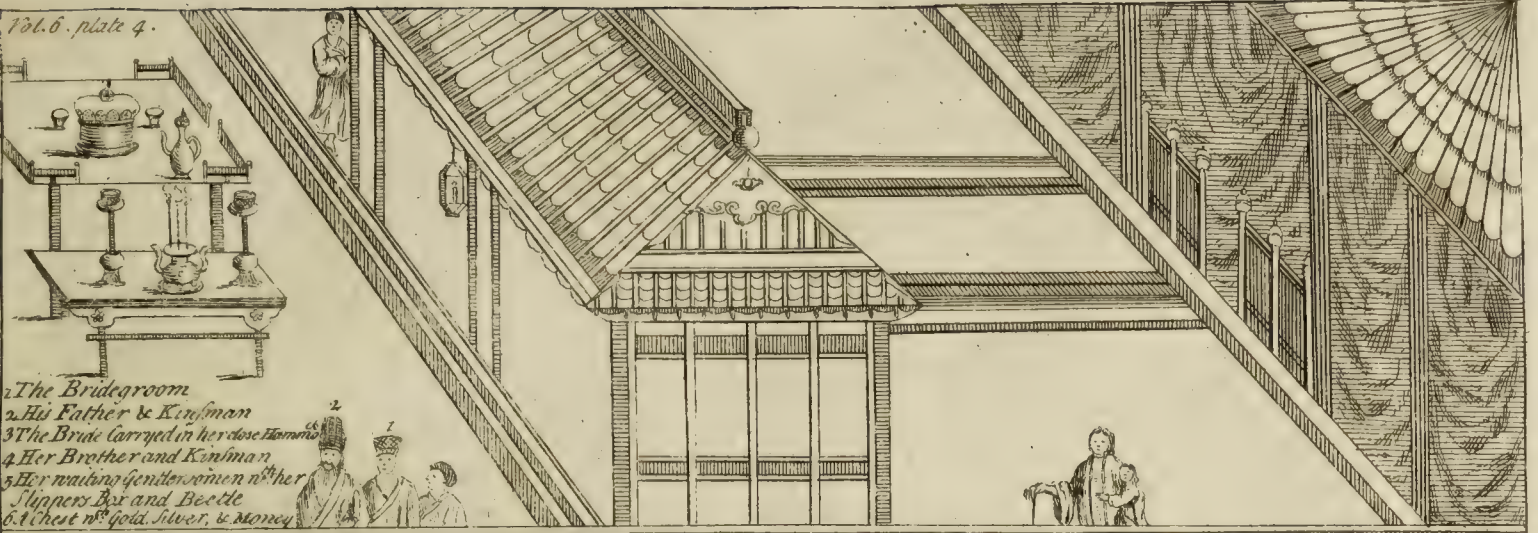
CHAP. VII.

Of the marriages of the *Tonqueeneses*.

[Plate 4.] THE *Tonqueeneses* cannot marry without the consent of their father and mother, or of the nearest kindred. When a young man comes to the age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, his father and mother being resolved to get him a wife, make their application to the parents of the party they design for him, carrying with them an hundred dressed beerles in a decent box, one jar of arrack, or strong liquor, and a

live hog; under favour of such a present only, this is to be proposed. The friends of the maid seeing the visitants thus prepar'd, and knowing by the custom of the country whereto it tends, give fitting answers to the question in hand, according to their inclinations; for if they are unwilling it should be a match, they find their subtuges and excuses, by pretending their daughter's youth, and inability to take upon

Vol. 6. plate 4.



- 1 The Bridegroom
- 2 His Father & Kinsman
- 3 The Bride Carried in her sedan chair
- 4 Her Brother and Kinsman
- 5 Her waiting gentlemen with her
- 6 A Chest of gold, silver, & money



In this MANNER goes the BRIDE to the BRIDEGROOM.



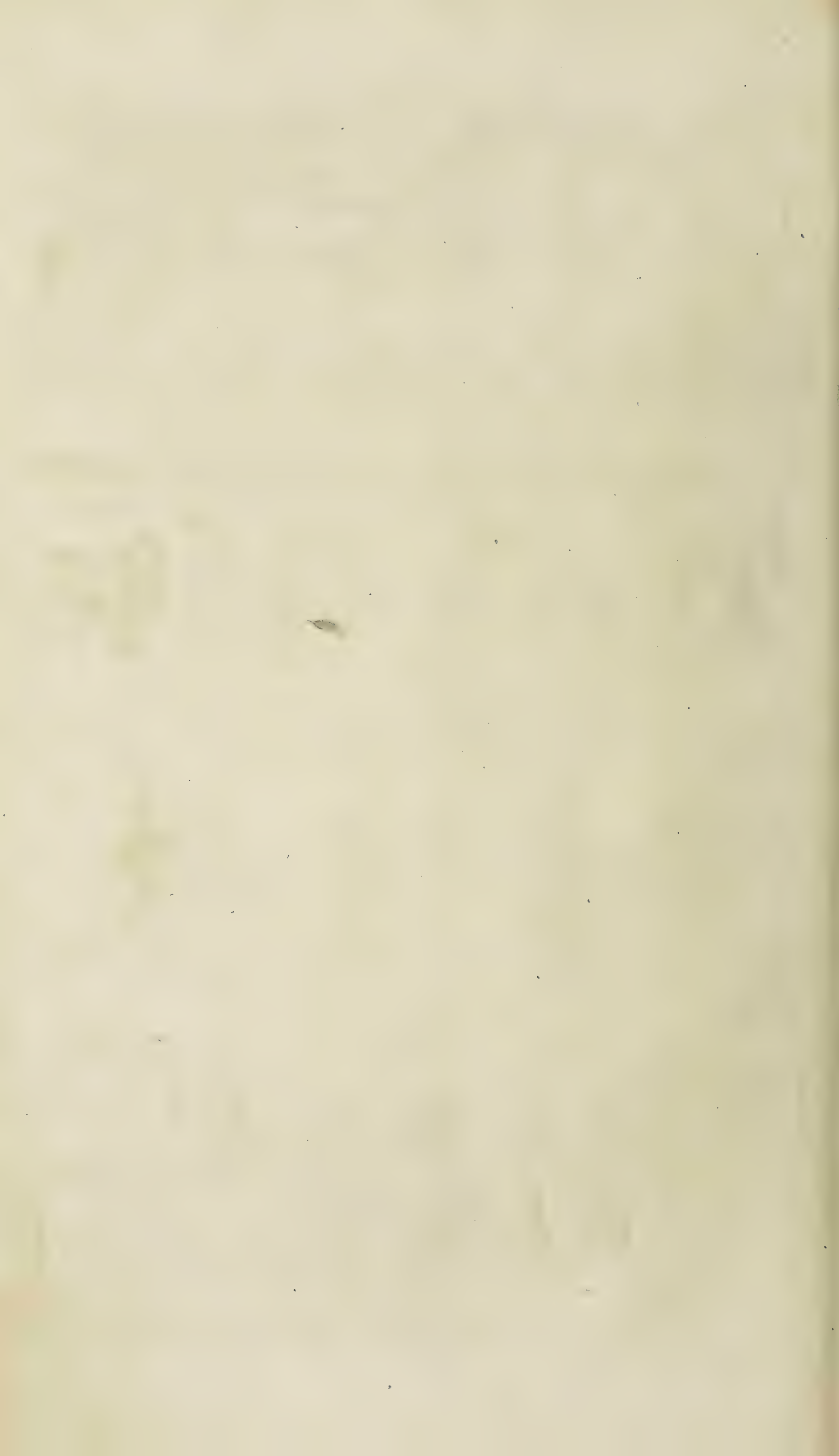
Vol. 6. plate 5.

THE MANNER of their Danceing upon ROPES and other Sorts of PLAYS with their Musical Instruments.

Page 133.



- 1 The Judge
- 2 The Jester or Mimick
- 3 Spectators
- 4 The Rope
- 5 The Musicians
- 6 The Actors



upon her the burden of a household, and that, however, they will consider of the matter further hereafter, and the like compliments, wherewith they and their presents are sent back again.

But in case they are content to bestow their daughter on the young man, the present is readily accepted of, with expressions of their approbation of the business; and then immediately, without any other formality, they consult and agree about the most auspicious time (in which they are guided by their blind superstition) for the solemnization of the wedding: In the meantime the parents of the bridegroom send often presents of victuals to the bride, and visit her now and then, yet the young people are not permitted so much as to speak to each other.

At the prefix'd time the wedding is kept, with a feast agreeable to the condition and abilities of the parents of the young couple, which doth not last above a day. The ceremony of their marriage is barely this; In the afternoon of the day that precedes the wedding, the bridegroom comes to the bride, and brings with him, according to his quality, either gold, silver, or a quantity of cash (the more the greater honour), and victuals prepared, all which he leaves there, and retires to his own home. The next morning being the wedding day, the bride is dress'd in her finest robes, with bracelets of gold, pendants, &c. her parents, acquaintance, and servants are ready to conduct and wait on her to the bridegroom's, whither she goes about ten o'clock in the forenoon, with all this train attending her, whilst all her moveables, household-stuff, and whatever else her father and mother give for her portion, together with what she had of the bridegroom, is carried in great state; and for a more glorious shew, it passes in a long field before her and the whole company, all which enter the bridegroom's house, who receives her and them with kindness and courtesy, after their mode, and presents them with victuals prepared for the purpose, whilst music and other expressions of joy are not neglected: And this is the whole solemnity of the wedding, without any further formalities of either magistrate or priest, as our author talks.

Polygamy is here tolerated; however, that woman whose parents are of the greatest quality, is chief amongst them, and has the title of wife.

Rapes, and the like, are not known, much less practised in this country. The law of the land permits a man to divorce his wife, but the woman has not the same privilege, and can hardly obtain a separa-

tion, against the good-liking of the husband, unless she be of a family that is able to compel him to it, by mere authority. When the husband designs to repudiate his wife, he gives her a note, declaring under his hand and seal, that he has no more pretensions to her person, and that she is free to dispose of herself, as she finds occasion, which liberty capacitates her to marry another; neither would any person dare to pretend to her, without being certain of the said note, for fear of her former husband, who in that case can claim her again, and thereby embroil such a one in the labyrinths of the law, and recover a good sum of money from him.

The woman so repudiated, when she departs from her husband, may take along with her the same quantity of gold, silver, cash, &c. as he brought to her house, at the time of his espousing her. The children born during the time of their mutual cohabitation, the husband keeps; but their *Mandareens* seldom, and only on urgent occasions, or for capital offences, will deal thus severely with their wives, yet their concubines are thus serv'd on every light occasion, when the humour takes them to make an exchange, or that they are satiated with their persons. Among the meaner sort, when a man and his wife disagree, and mutually desire a separation, they are divorced in the presence of some small judge and publick officers, by mutual discharges in writing; but the village husband, that cannot write nor read, breaks a copper cash, this country money, or a stick, in the presence of his wife, as a testimony of his resolution to dismiss her; the one half he keeps himself, the other he gives to her, which she carries to the heads and elders of the *Aldea*, or village, requesting them to bear witness, her husband hath discharged her of her duty to be any longer his wife, and that he has nothing more to pretend to her, for ever; so she may either keep or throw away the piece of cash, or stick, and marry again as soon as she pleases.

As for adultery, if a man of quality surprizes his wife in the fact, he may freely, if he pleases, kill her and her paramour, with his own hands; otherwise the woman is sent to be trampled to death by an elephant; the adulterer is delivered to the justice, who proceeds with him to execution without any farther delay: But with the meaner sort of people it is not so; they must go to law, where the offenders will have severe punishment inflicted on them, if they are proved guilty of the crime.

BARON. The story that monsieur *Taverniere* relates to have happened whilst his brother was in *Tonqueen*, is not at all agreeable to

the customs of this people, or congruous with their dispositions; wherefore, in all probability, 'tis only a fiction.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the visits and pastimes of the Tonqueenefes.

THEIR visits are generally made in the afternoon. It is uncivil to come to any great man's house before dinner, unless necessitated by urgent business, or expressly invited, because they then have the least time to spare; for in the morning very early they go to court to attend the general; which attendance takes them up till eight a clock: when they come home, they employ themselves a while in ordering their domestick concerns, among their servants, (if more important state-affairs will permit it;) the little space that remains between that and dinner is reserv'd for their retirement and repose.

The princes or great *Mandareens* ride either on elephants, or are carried in a *bang-mack*, and follow'd by most of their servants, soldiers, dependants, &c. that are not otherwise occupied in such a season, which is more or less numerous, according to the degree of the person's dignity; those of lesser rank ride on horseback, and are follow'd by as many as they are able to maintain, without limitation, which usually is not above ten persons, but to be sure all that can must go, for they are very ambitious of many attendants.

If he that gives the visit is of greater quality than the person visited, he dares not to offer him any thing of meat or drink, no not so much as a beetle, unless he calls for it: Their water and beetle is always carried with them by their servants.

In discoursing with them, especially if the person be of authority, care must be had not to move any mournful subject, either directly or indirectly; but things that are pleasant, in commendation of them, are best approved. But that which is most intolerable in those lords is, that they permit the men of their train (a rude brutish gang) to enter with them into the most private apartments of other peoples houses, especially when they come to visit *Europeans*, where they behave themselves very apishly, and commit many absurdities and impertinencies in their talk and jestings; and moreover often steal whatever they can lay hold on: In all which their stupid masters rather take delight, than check them for their sauciness and misdemeanours. But if they are invited by their superiors or equals, then they entertain them as they find

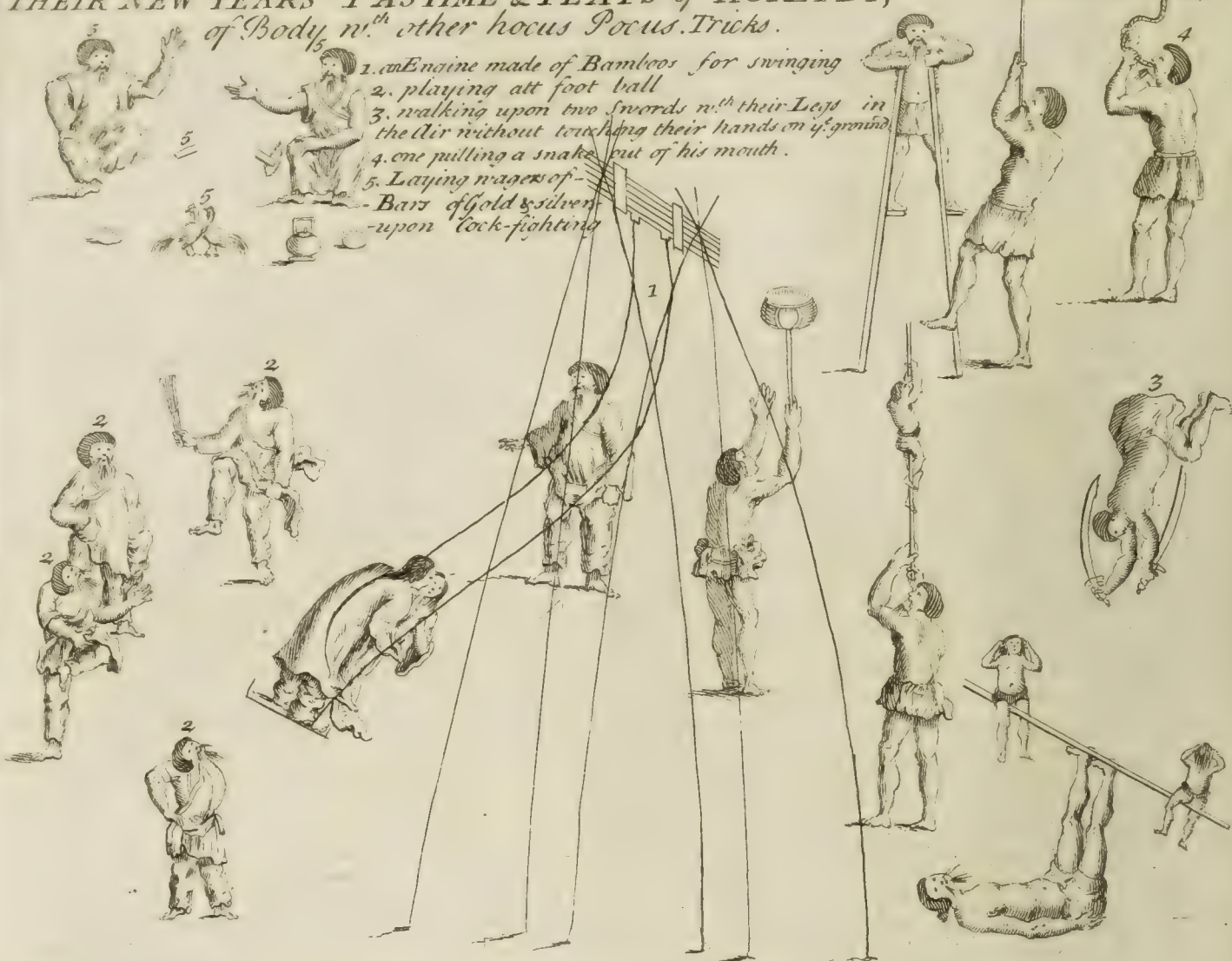
occasion, either with tea or meat, &c. not omitting beetle, which is always the first and last part of the regale. The boxes wherein the beetle is presented, are generally plain lacquer'd, either black, red, or some grave colour; yet the gentry, and the princes and princesses of the royal blood, have them of massy gold, silver, tortoise-shell, or inlaid with mother of pearl; the painted and gaudy ones are only used at their sacrifices in their *Pagoda's*. But such rich boxes as M. *Taverniere* avers to have seen, to the value of four or five hundred thousand livres, at the *Great Mogul's* court, were certainly no *Tonqueen* ones; for diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other jewels, do not grow in this country, neither are they in request among the natives, nor could that have been brought thither by any *Tonqueen* ambassador, since the king sends none thither, nor is there the least commerce between the two nations.

They seldom visit sick persons, and they hardly care to admit any but their kindred and relations to put them in mind of death, how desperate soever their state may be, and the least admonition to settle their affairs and concerns, would be a heinous crime and unpardonable offence; so that those that die make no will, which defect often creates vexatious law-suits among the kindred, if the deceased leaves no children behind him, even to the ruin of their own estates, and the loss of what they contend for.

In the halls of great mens houses are several alcoves, where they sit cross-legg'd upon mats, according to their degree, the higher the more honourable; and these seats are all cover'd with mats, answerable in fineness to their stations; except in time of mourning, when they are oblig'd to use coarse ones. As for carpets, they have none, neither can they afford them; wherefore I wonder at our author's saying, that the mats are as dear as a fine carpet, which at the cheapest costs from thirty to fifty rupees and upwards in *Persia* and *Surat*; whereas the best and finest mat may be bought here for the value of three or four shillings at the most: neither do I believe any *European*, besides himself, has ever seen a *Tonqueen* mat nine ells square, and as soft as velvet: However, this is like the rest of his

THEIR NEW YEARS PASTIME & FEATS of AGILITY,
of Body, nth other hocus Pocus.Tricks.

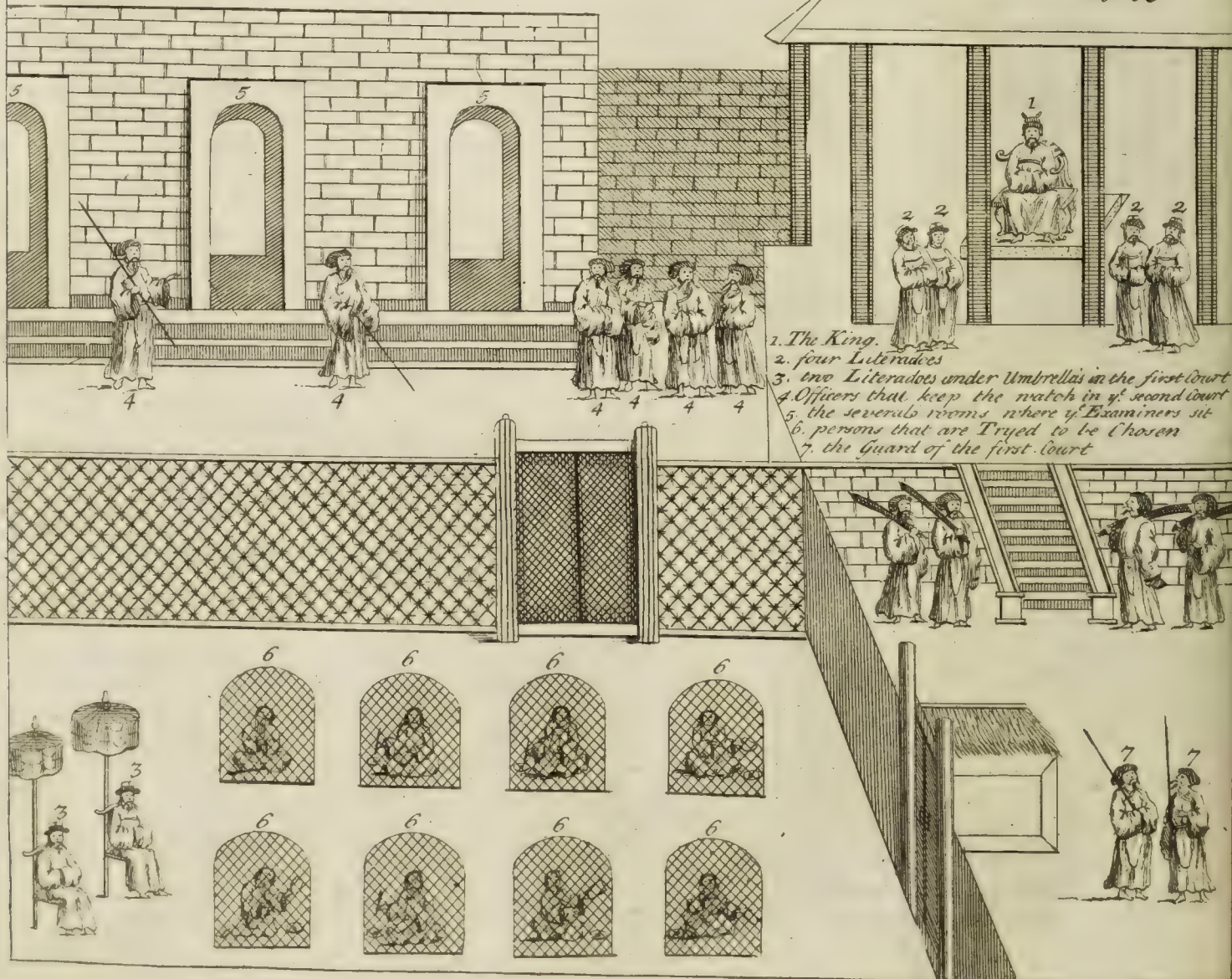
Vol. 6. plate 6. p. 233.



THE MANNER & ORDER of CHOOSING LITERADOES

Vol 6. plate 7.

Page 235.



his fables. As for cushions, these people use none, either to sit or lie on; but they have a kind of bolster made of reeds or mats, to sleep or lean on.

As for their victuals they are curious enough therein, though their diet doth not generally please strangers. The common sort must be content with green trade, rice, and salt fish, or the like; the great lords may, if they please, feed themselves with the best in the land.

I can make no comparison for neatness, between the *Europeans* and them, in their houses, wherein they have but little or no furniture more than usual in the meanest cots, sometimes tables and benches, seldom chairs. They use neither table-cloths nor napkins, nor do they want them, since they do not touch their meat with their fingers, but use two sticks, as the *Chineses* and *Japaneses* do. All their victuals is served in little plates and dishes, not made of wood, and then varnish'd and lacquer'd over, as Mr. *Taverniere* affirms, but of *China* and *Japan* wares, which are in esteem here. Persons of quality or Condition use a kind of formality and decency at their feasts; but as for the rest, as soon as they are at the *bandeses*, which are small lacquer'd tables they do not so much as mind any discourses; and this not out of good manners or reverence to the aged and grave persons, but a greedy desire to fill their guts, they being generally great eaters and true epicures; also they may be afraid to lose their share by prating, whilst others make all the silent haste they can, to empty the platters and dishes. I have often seen the followers and attendants of *Mandareens* at the like sport, and used to admire their eating both for quantity and greediness, in which I believe no nation under the cope of heaven can match them.

As for drinking, though the clowns and meaner sort seldom fall under the excess and debauchery of strong drink, yet amongst the courtiers and soldiers, drunkenness is no vice. A fellow that can drink smartly, is a brave blade. It is no custom of theirs to wash their hands when they go to table, only they rinse their mouths, because of the beetle; yet after meals, they often wash both; and having cleansed their teeth with a piece of bamboo, prepared for the purpose, they eat beetle. At a friend's house the entertained may freely, if he please, call for more boil'd rice, or any thing else, if he is not satisfied, which the host takes very kindly. They do not ask one another, how they do, but compliment them with a Where have you been thus long? and, What have you done all this while? And if they know or perceive by their countenance, that they have been sick or

indisposed, then they ask, How many cups BARON. of rice they eat at a meal? (for they make three in a day, besides a collation in the afternoon, amongst the rich and wealthy) and, Whether he eats with an appetite or no?

Of all the pastimes of the *Tonqueeneses*, [Plate 5, 6] they affect most their balls, ballads, and singing, which are, for the most part, acted in the night, and last 'till morning, and are what Monsieur *Taverniere* calls comedies: A very improper name, and resembling them in no respect; much less are they set out with beautiful decorations and machines, as he says, very pleasing to behold; and they are as skilful to represent sea and river water, and marine combats thereon, as they are able to describe the fight in 1588, between the *English* and the *Spaniards*; neither have they in the city any theatres to act upon, but every *Mandareen's* hall, and the yards of other houses must serve turn: Yet in their *Aldeas* they have singing houses, erected at the expence of three, four or more *Aldeas* or villages, and in this they celebrate their festival times, singing and banquetting, after their mode. The actors of one house are sometimes three, four, or five persons; their fees are no more than a thousand cash, to the value of about a dollar for a whole night's labour: But the liberal spectators give them presents, as often as they perform any thing dexterously. They are usually habited in country taffeties, palong, satins, and the like. They have but few songs, and not above five different tunes, and those composed most in praise of their kings and generals, interspers'd with amorous interjections and poetical elegance. The women only dance, and she that dances must sing too, and will be, between whiles, interrupted by a man that plays the part of a jester, who is generally the wittiest mimick they can find, and such a one as is able to make the company laugh at his inventions and postures. Their musical instruments are drums, copper bassons, hautboys, guittars, with two or three sorts of violins, &c. Besides this, they have another kind of dancing, with a basin filled or piled up with small lamps lighted, which a woman sets on her head, and then dances, turning, winding, and bowing her body in several shapes and figures, with great celerity, without spilling a drop of oil in the lamps, to the admiration of the spectators; this act will last about half an hour,

Dancing on ropes their women are also expert at, and some will perform it very gracefully.

Cock-fighting is a mighty game amongst them, so that it is become a princely sport,

BARON. and much in fashion with courtiers. They lose much that lay against the general, for right or wrong he must and will win, whereby he impoverishes his grandees, so that they are not able to undertake any thing.

They delight much in fishing, and have the conveniency of many rivers, and infinite ponds.

As for hunting, there is scarce a wood or forest proper for this exercise, in all the country, neither are they expert in that sport.

But their grand pastime is their new-year's feast, which commonly happens about the 25th of *January*, and is kept by some thirty days; for then, besides dancing and the recreations aforesaid, all their other sorts of games, as playing at football, swinging on an engine erected of bamboo's, at most corners of the streets, tricks of bodily activity, and a kind of hocus-pocus, are brought on the stage, to increase merriment; neither are they behind-hand to prepare their feasts and banquets plentiful and large, striving to outdo each other therein, for the space of three or four days, according to their ability; and as this is indeed the time to gormandize and debauch to excess, so he is accounted the most miserable wretch that doth not provide to welcome his friends and acquaintance, tho' by so doing he is certain to beg the rest of that year for his livelihood.

The first day of the year the ordinary sort do not stir abroad (unless they are dependants of some lords), but keep themselves close shut up in their houses, admitting none but their nearest relations and domesticks; to others they would deny, on that day, a draught of water, or a coal for fire, and be very angry too at any one's making such a request, superstitiously believing its consequence would be to subject them to infallible malediction, and that if they should give any thing that day, it would be their bad destiny to give continually, and beggar themselves thereby at last. Their reason for not stirring abroad proceeds from the same cause, which is, fear to encounter with some ominous thing or other, that might presage evil to them that day, which would make them unfortunate all the year; for they observe superstitiously many frivolous niceties as good and bad luck: But the second day of the new year, they go to visit each other, and acquit themselves of their duty and obligations to their superiors, to sombay them; as likewise do their soldiers and servants to them. But the *Mandareens* go the first day to the king and general, of which they

are as careful observers as the others are sharp and precise exactors of this attendance.

Some reckon their new year from the 25th of their last moon, but very improperly; their ground for it is, because the *Sup Unn*, implying as much as *The great seal reversed*, is then put into a box, with the face downward, for a whole month's time, and in that interval, the law is, as it were, laid asleep, and no acts whatsoever pass under the said seal; all courts of judicature are shut up; debtors cannot be seized on; small crimes, as petty larceny, fighting, beating one another, &c. escape with impunity; only treason and murder the governors of the City and province take account of, and keep the malefactors prisoners 'till the grand seal comes to be active again, to bring them to their trial, &c. But their new year more properly begins at the first of their new moon, which falls out usually about our 25th of *January* as aforesaid, and lasts, according to the *China* custom, one whole month.

By what is related it appears how excessively our author has hyperboliz'd on these passages, especially where he commends the *Tonqueeneses* for laborious and industrious people, prudently imploying their time to the most advantage, which in some degree may be granted in the women, but the men are so lazy and idle generally, that were they not by mere necessity compell'd to work, I verily believe they would be glad to spend their time only in eating and sleeping; for many will surfeit themselves by over-gorging their stomachs, feeding as if they were born only to eat, and not to eat for the support of life chiefly.

It is also a mistake to say, the *Tonqueeneses* deem it a disgrace to have their heads uncover'd; for when an inferior comes to a *Mandareen*, either upon business or some errand from a *Mandareen*, he has always his black gown and cap on, and the *Mandareen* receives him bare; but if the messenger comes with an order from the king, either verbal or in writing, then they dare not hear the message, or peruse the note, without putting on their gown and cap. Of this more will be said when I come to speak of the court of *Tonqueen*.

As to criminals, they are shaved as soon as they are condemned to die, because they may be known and apprehended if they should chance to out-run their keepers, which is a different thing from being uncover'd, which *M. Taverniere* talks of. So likewise to nail malefactors on crosses, or to dismember them, by four small gallies that row several ways, are torments unheard-of in this country.

CHAP. IX.

BARON.



Of the learned men of Tonqueen.

THE *Tonqueeneses* have a great inclination for learning, because it is the only step to acquire dignity and preferments, which encourageth them to a studious and diligent application to learning; which is often attended with good or ill success, as in other countries, according to their several Talents, and as they are indued with vivacity, spirit, and more especially as they are furnish'd with a good or bad memory; which is the chief requisite for mastering that sort of learning which is in repute in this country, which consisting mostly in hieroglyphick characters, whereof they have as many as words or things, requires a very retentive memory. Hence it is, that some scholars are fit to take degrees upon them after twelve or fifteen years study, others in twenty-five or thirty, many not in their life-time.

They may, as soon as they think themselves able or capable, adventure their trial, without either obligation to continue longer a scholar, or limitation of years: Nor have they any publick schools, but every one chuses such a preceptor for his children as he fancies, at his own cost.

Their learning consists not in the knowledge of languages, as among us in *Europe*, much less are they acquainted with our philosophy: but they have one *Confucius*, a *Chinese*, (or, as the people call him, *Congtu*) the founder of their arts and sciences, which are the same with those of the *Chineses*. This man composed himself but one book, but he compiled four others from the works of the ancient *Chinese* philosophers, containing moral and political precepts, with their rites and sacrifices, &c. Moreover, his disciples have out of his works extracted divers rules, sentences, and similies, fit for the state in general, and every person in particular; all which is collected into one tome, divided into four parts, and entitled *The four Books*, which, with the five before-mention'd, make nine books, and are the ancientest they have, and of that reputation, that they will admit no contradiction whatsoever against them; and these are the sole foundation of the learning not only of the *Chineses* and this nation, but also of the *Japaneses*, some small differences excepted.

The said books comprehend likewise the greatest part of their hieroglyphical characters, the multitude of which none can easily affirm, yet they commonly reckon ninety or an hundred thousand, because

their learned have a way of compounding and connecting them, to shrink that number; and as it is not necessary for the vulgar sort to know so many, so very few do, and twelve or fourteen thousand is sufficient for usual writing.

They are wholly ignorant of natural philosophy, and not more skill'd in mathematicks and astronomy; their poesy I do not understand, and their musick I do not find very delightful or harmonious; and I cannot but wonder by what faculty Monsieur *Taverniere* has discover'd them to be the most excellent of all the oriental people in that art.

Having thus confusedly mention'd a word or two, in general, of their learning, I return to the scholars: They must, in the acquisition of employ and Dignity, (I do not say nobility, for the custom is here, that all the honours die with the person, and descend not to his posterity) pass through three degrees, the first of a *Singdo*, something like the *Bachelors* in *Europe*; the second a *Hung-cong*, resembling our *Licentiates*; the third degree is a *Tuncy*, equal to the degree of *Doctor* with us.

Out of these doctors they choose the ablest and elect him *Trangiveen*, which is as much as to say, a president, or professor of learning.

And indeed, the election of these literadoes is manag'd with the most commendable policy and justice, that I know of, among them; for whereas in all other things they are sway'd by corruption, partiality or private passions; in the distribution of these degrees they respect singularly the deserts of persons, since no man can obtain any of them, unless he is found worthy thereof, by a strict and most exact examination. [Plate 7]

The order and method observed in the promotion of *Singdo's*, or bachelors, is thus: Once in three years it is customary for the king and general to nominate two or three *Tuncies*, with some *Wene Quan*, or justice of peace, who has the degree of *Hung-cong*, to be examiners of the design'd academy in that province where the election is to be made (for in this they proceed from one province to another, by turns) whither they repair immediately on receiving their commission. Great care is taken, that none speak with those to be examined on the way, or receive any bribes of them. Being arrived, they take up their lodgings in houses built of bamboo's and straw, incom-

passed

BARON. passed with a wall of the same materials, leaving a spacious empty place in the midst thereof for a theatre. The *Tuncies* are presently separated from the *Wene Quan* and the rest in distinct apartments, and are not to speak one with the other, during their function, strict guards being kept at the several doors, and all corners in or out are searched for papers, writings, &c. If any is found to have transgressed herein, he is rigorously punished, and loses his dignity.

In the morning of the day prescrib'd for the commencing of the said examination, all the students resort to this place, where they find an Officer, who exhibits to them five short sentences, written in capital letters, whereof every one, as many as there are, may take copies; which being done, they are all searched for papers or other writings, and then plac'd on the bare ground of the yard aforementioned, at good and equal distance, and many watches are set, that none comes to speak with them.

Thus they sit to write their themes, which they must finish before evening, neither must the said answer contain more than twenty-four sides of paper. And as every one brings in his, he fastens to it, on a particular sheet, his name, the names of his parents and village, which the *Tuncies* tear off, and mark the answer and Paper of names with the same number, which are put up severally, according to their provinces and aldeas.

All the papers being thus served, the *Tuncies* send them to the *Wene Quan*, (the names of their authors being kept in the custody of another officer) to be examined, who throws out all the bad, and sends the good ones to the *Tuncies* again. They, upon a strict review, put out a great many more, so that sometimes of four or five thousand pretenders, only one thousand are approved of the first time; the second, perhaps, no more than five hundred; and on the last proof, only three hundred are to be graduated bachelors. Such as have behaved themselves well in the first trial, their names come out in publick within eight or ten days after, to be prepared for the second examination; and those whose names are thus thrown out, need not stay, for they cannot be admitted that sessions any more. In the same manner they continue the second and third trial, only their task at the second trial is but of three sentences, and the answer twelve sides; the last of two sentences, and its reply eight sides, but more difficult than the former. Whosoever passes these trials is declared bachelor, and has his name register'd among those of the same rank, in the book of state, and from that time they pay but half the taxes which they were rated at

before, and likewise enjoy some other petty immunities.

Now follows their manner of electing the *Hung-congs*, or licentiates. These are selected out of the bachelors, more or less, as the king pleases to order; they are examin'd by the same officers, and created alternately in the place aforesaid, where the bachelors were. If they can overcome but one proof more, which is the fourth, including the three preceding of the *Singdoes*, or bachelors, they become licentiates. The formality used in this proceeding is in a manner the same with the former, only they and their examiners are still more severely watched, and they are not permitted to see or speak with any of the competitors; they are separated, and distant enough from each other, when they write their meditations, &c. And all those *Hung-congs* of former creation, must leave, at that time, the province where the school is held, by repairing to the capital city, and abide there till the end of the act; many spies are set over them, and they are numbred every day. The like care is recommended to the governors of the other provinces about the said *Hung-congs*, during the solemnity, to prevent frauds and deceits in that behalf.

The examiners propound three sentences out of the book of their prince of philosophers, *Confucius*, and four more out of the volume of his disciples; the arguments of so many orations, which the candidate is to answer with so many themes in writing, which is to be in an elegant and sententious style, and adorned with the best of their rhetorick; the more concise the better.

The examiners then reject the worst, and present the best, who are to proceed to the *Tuncies*, or chief examiners, and they chuse those that are to be admitted graduates, and expose their names with much ceremony. The privileges and immunities of the licentiates are far greater than the bachelors; besides, they have the honour to be presented to the king, who gives to each of them a thousand small pieces of coin, about the value of a dollar in money, and a piece of black callico for a gown, worth about three dollars more.

The last or third degree, called *Tuncy*, answerable to our doctors, is conferred every fourth year, at the capital city or court of the kingdom, in a particular palace with marble gates, formerly the best in the country, but now, through age, much decay'd. The choicest and learned'st of the *Hung-congs*, or licentiates, are only admitted to this trial; of many competitors few are successful. Their examiners are the king himself, the princes, and most eminent doctors of the realm, with other principal

cipal magistrates. This trial is in most circumstances like the two former, except in the questions propounded, which are both of greater number and more intricate, grave, and specious, being commonly the most difficult part of their ethicks, politics, and civil law, and something of poesy and rhetorick, all which they are to expound and resolve in writing, at four several times, in the space of twenty days, and he that doth it is admitted doctor. This is no easy task, considering what a burthen it is to the memory, to retain all the characters of the four last of the nine books of *Confucius*, which necessarily they must have, word for word, by heart, to acquit themselves well therein.

They write their themes and meditations on the exhibited sentences, in a close cage made of bamboo's for that purpose, and covered with callicoe, wherein they sit from the morning to night, being searched, that they have nothing about them, but pen, ink and clean paper; and to watch them the narrower, two doctors, or *Tuncies*, sit at a good distance from them, under umbrello's. Thus they are served at four distinct times, before they are made *Tuncies* or doctors. The king and general honour this solemnity with their presence the two first days, as the most important, and leave the compleating thereof to the ministers. Those thus graduated are congratulated by their friends, applauded by the spectators, and honoured by their brother doctors with many complimentary expressions; the king presents each of them with a bar of silver, of the value of fourteen dollars, and a piece of silk, besides the re-

venue of some aldeas or villages for their maintenance, which is more or less, according to favour or desert, and they are feasted at the publick expence of their aldeas for some time. Out of these the principal magistrates of the kingdom are chosen, and they are sent Embassadors to *China*, and are permitted to wear *Chinese* boots and caps with their proper vest.

The rejected licentiates may, if they please, continue their study, and try fortune again; if not, they are capable of some magistracy in the country, as justice of peace, head of an aldea, &c.

The bachelors have the same privilege; and those that are unwilling to make any further progress in learning, may find likewise employment, if they have money, among the governors of provinces, in the courts of justice, or as clerks, stewards, secretaries, or solicitors to the *Mandareens*; and in all this an eloquent tongue is not so requisite as a good pen.

Such fire-works as Monsieur *Taverniere* mentions these people to be exquisite in the making of, I have met none all the time I frequented this country, nor any other sorts, unless it be squibs, or the like. And as for those machines, or change of scenes in every act of their comedy, they may be long enough sought after, but will never be found here, where-ever he saw them.

In astrology, geometry, and other mathematical sciences, they are but little skilled, but they understand arithmetick reasonably well; their ethicks are confusedly delivered, not digested into formal method, as is their logic.

CHAP X.

Of the physicians and diseases of the Tonqueenese.

EVERY one that pleases may be a physician in *Tonqueen*, and indeed every one almost is his own doctor, whereby this noble science is become the publick practice of the very dregs of the nation, to the disgrace of the publick in tolerating it.

Their principal study in this science consists only of an examination of some *Chinese* books, that direct them how to boil and compound their roots, herbs, and simples, with some obscure notions of their several qualities, nature and virtue, but generally so confused, that they know little or nothing, until they add thereto their own experience. They understand hardly any thing of anatomy, or the nature and composition of mens bodies, with the divisions of the several parts thereof, which might lead them

to form a judgment of the diseases incident to the human system; but attribute all to the blood, as the principal cause of all the disorders that befall the body, and therefore consider no further the constitution or temper in the application of their remedies; and with them it is enough to succeed well in three or four cures, though by mere chance (for they are hardly ever able to give a reason for what they do) to get the reputation of an excellent *Medicus*, which oftentimes, as it increases their practice, so gives them a greater power to kill their fellow-creatures. Their patients are generally very impatient under the hands of their doctors, who if he doth not afford them present ease and speedy cure, they send for other help, and so often go from

BARON. bad to worse, 'till they are either well or killed, for want of patience on one side, and judgment on the other.

These people generally, on visiting a patient, feel the pulse in two places, and that upon the wrist, as the *Europeans*; but they must be the *Chinese* physicians, whom Monsieur *Taverniere* extolls for their skill in the pulse; and I own that some of that nation excell in it, but the far greater number are mere pretenders to this art, and affect to amuse the patient by ostentatious conjectures and conceited and confused notions, to inspire a belief of their skill in discovering thereby the cause of diseases, and so gull the credulous patients of their money, and oftentimes their health to boot.

These people have no apothecary among them, every one that professeth the art of physick prepares the dose himself, which consists, as I mentioned in the composition of herbs and roots boiled in water.

The pestilence, gravel and the gout are hardly known in these countries: Fevers, agues, dysenteries, the jaundice, small-pox, &c. reign here most; to all which they administer the said drugs for remedies, sometimes with desired success, wherein more is to be ascribed to the patient's own care, sparing diet and abstinence, (in which they are most singular, occasioned perhaps by their more than common fear of death) than the skill and judgment of the physician.

The grandees drink the herb tea of *China* and *Japan*, but 'tis not much admired, they use most their native tea, called by them *Chia Bang*, the leaf of a certain tree, and *Chiaway*, the buds and flowers of another certain tree, which after they are dried and roasted, they boil and drink the liquor hot; the last is of a good pleasant taste. Besides these two sorts, they have many other sorts of liquor, made of beans, roots, &c.

I need not here describe the quality and virtue of the *China* and *Japan* tea, since they are so well known in *England*, and most other parts of *Europe*; only I will note, how grossly M. *Taverniere* was mistaken, to prefer the *Japan* tea before that of *China*, when in the choice of them there is above thirty *per cent.* difference.

Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, is rarely practised amongst this people, and when they do it, 'tis not after our way, in the arm, and with a lancet, but on the fore-

head, and with the bone of a fish tied to a small stick, in form like the horsefleams in *England*, which instrument is applied to the vein of the forehead; then they give thereon a fillip with a finger, and the blood gushes out. Their grand remedy is fire, in most distempers, which is used as they see cause, not regarding therein either the time of day or night precisely: The matter wherewith they burn is the leaf of a tree well dried, and then beaten in a mortar until it grows almost like to our beaten hemp, and this they take and fix on every place to be burnt (for they do it in many places at the same time) so much as will lie on a farthing, striking each parcel with ink of *China* at the bottom, that it may stick to the skin, then they fire it with a match of paper: Many account this a sovereign remedy, how true I cannot affirm; however, I am certain, that it puts the patient to great torment, and that our use of letting blood is but a flea-bite, in comparison of it.

But most common and frequently amongst them cupping is used, because cheap and easier. Their way here is much after the same manner as ours in *Europe*, only that they have calabasses instead of glasses.

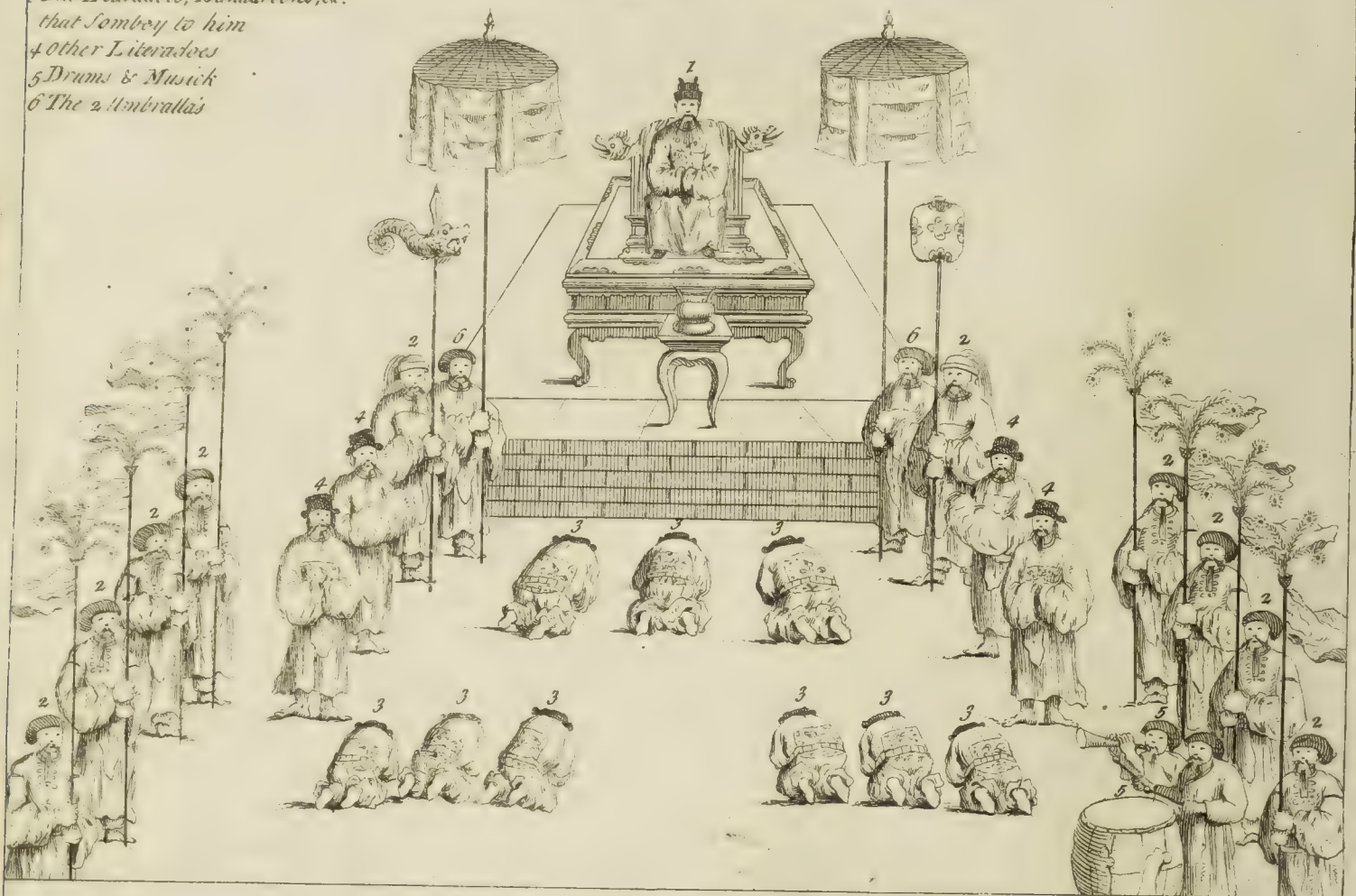
Of anatomy they understand nothing, as I said before, and of surgery little, admiring much our *Europeans* art in that behalf. To broken bones they apply certain herbs, which they say will heal them in the space of twenty-four days, and cement them as strong as ever. They have another remedy, which is to take the raw bones of hens, and beat them to powder, making thereof a paste, which applied to the part affected, is esteemed by them a sovereign medicine.

Their little children are much subject to dangerous obstructions, which deprive them of the benefit of nature, both by stool and urine, causing their bellies to swell so, that often their lives are endangered thereby. Their remedy for this is, cock-roches and onions roasted and beaten together; this they apply to the navel of the child, which is often attended with good success.

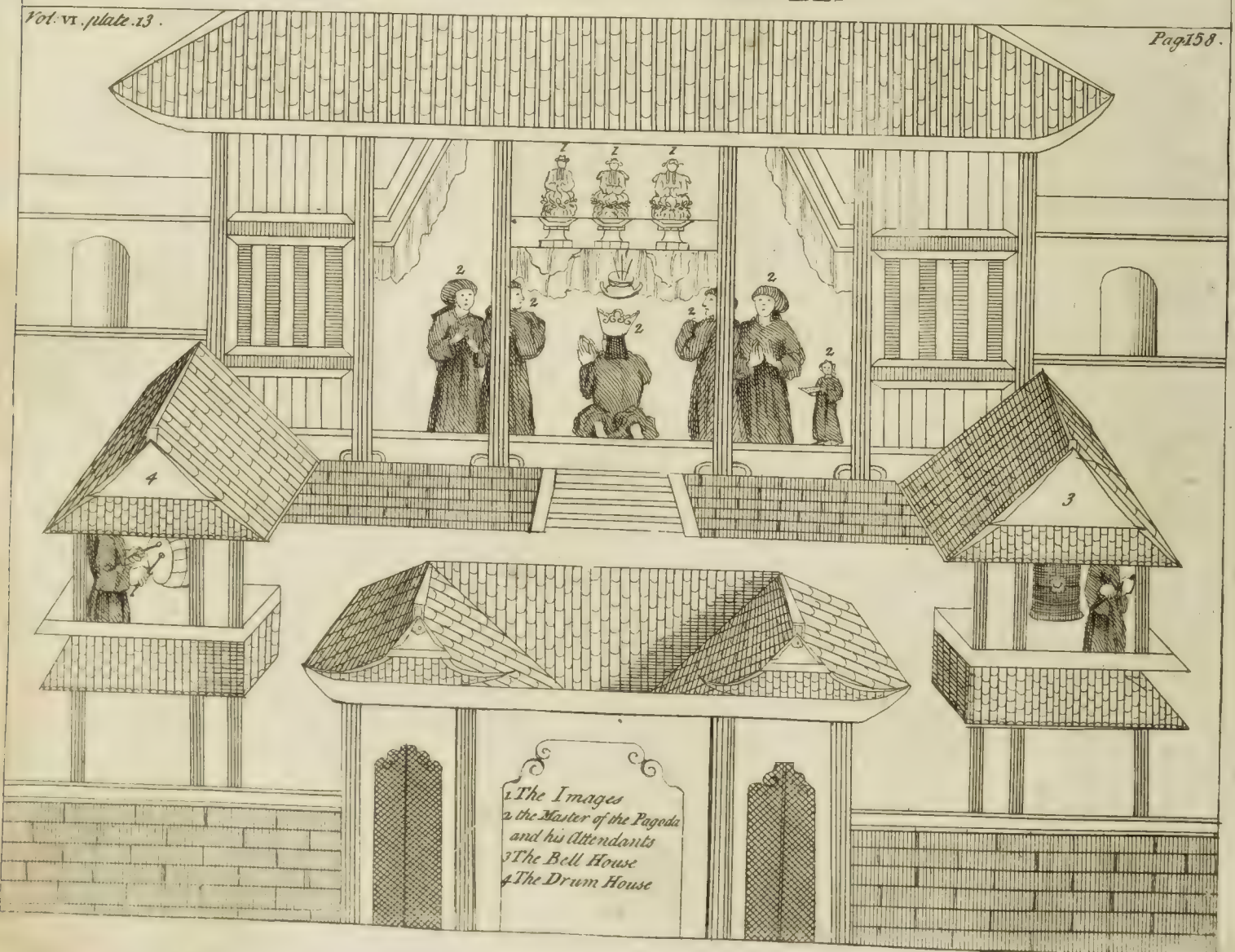
These people affirm, that crabs are turned into stones by the power of the sun, and use them as physick, but not in fevers and dysenteries: Moreover, they take up by the sea-side a kind of cockles, which being beaten to powder, they drink in the cholick.

THE BOVA or KING of TONQUEEN

- 1 The King on his Throne
- 2 His life-guard with pendants & standards
- 3 The Literadoes, Mandareens, &c. that Sombey to him
- 4 other Literadoes
- 5 Drums & Musick
- 6 The 2 Umbrellas



THEIR PAGODAS OR TEMPLES



C H A P. XI.

BARON.

Of the original government, law and policy of the Tonqueeneses, with some considerations thereon.

[Plate 8] **I**T is without all dispute that the *Tonqueeneses* ever were a nation of themselves different from the *Chineses*, who call them *Manfo*, or *Barbarians*, and their country *Gannam*, because situated far to the south, in reference to them, and the inhabitants bearing a great affinity with other *Indians*, in eating penang, colouring their teeth, going barefoot, and that their right great toe standeth athwart from their foot, as is to be seen yet by some of the *Tonqueen* cast. But how this country was governed before it was made a province of *China*, is hard to know, since they had in those days no characters; by consequence no history of that time can be extant among them: what was afterward compiled thereof may be suspected as fictions, invented at pleasure, and indeed they are most of them so unaccountable, that they ought rather to be looked upon as dreams and chimera's than historical narrations; neither is there much appearance of verity in those relations of theirs, which make this people so valiant, that they were not only able to contend with, but vanquish also the formidable armies of the prodigious empire of *China*, and maintain their liberty in spite thereof for many ages: but 'tis most likely that they have set the best face in their narrations, upon their actions, that they might not hand themselves down to posterity and to strangers in the base light, which it seems to me their cowardice and ill conduct have deserved.

They pretend they have had the use of the *Chinese* characters amongst them before the reign of *Ding*, one of their first kings, according to their best historians, which, by computation, cannot be less than two thousand years; if so, I infer, they were once before either conquered, or voluntary subjects to that empire, because the *China* laws, rites, customs, characters, &c. could have been neither of that antiquity, or so intirely and all at once introduced among them, as it was by their own testimony; besides, this agrees with the *China* chronicles, that mention about the same time their empire was in great glory, calling it a triumphant one, whose limits extended as far as *Siam*; therefore there is no reason to believe this neighbouring kingdom could have remained unmolested, since it lies as a bar just in the way to hinder and obstruct their progress, but rather that it

was immediately incorporated with their empire.

Yet it may be, the *Chineses* did not keep the country the first time long under subjection, but left them on the invasion of the *Tartars*, or on some other motives, so that after their departure *Ding* was king: Now, whether they made him so, or whether he usurped the regality, by the assistance of great numbers of vagabonds, and other scum of the nation, is differently delivered. They say, that king *Ding* had enjoyed the scepter but a small time before the great ones murmured against him; the malecontents finding the common people disobedient, whose affections, whether he had lost by cruel and harsh usage, or that they disdained to be any longer subject to their country-man, as it commonly falls out with people accustomed to servitude, to be incapable of using well their new-recovered liberty, (with other occult motives and malignant influences that caused the effects of those distractions,) they fell into open rebellion, and took arms against *Ding*, whom they murdered, whereon ensued bloody civil wars for many years, 'till being weary, they chose by general consent, a puissant prince of theirs, called *Leedayhang*, for their king.

In his reign, they say the *Chineses* invaded the country, not mentioning for what reason: Probably they were *Chinese* rebels that fled thence, and that this people fought many battles against them with good success. Yet, in the height of this war *Leedayhang* dying, whether in battle or otherwise is uncertain, left to his successor *Libatvie*, a politick and valiant prince, the prosecution thereof, which he carried on with no less valour than prosperity; for having encountered and routed the *Chineses* in six or seven battles, he restored peace and tranquility to the whole kingdom, and built that large and magnificent palace of marble, which is now, through age so decayed, that nothing but the gates and some of the walls of that sumptuous structure remain.

They say, that after this king, his posterity possessed the crown to the fourth or sixth generation, successively, and ruled in great prosperity; but the last left the succession to a daughter, having no heir male, which princess coming to the crown, married a powerful lord of the family of *Tran*, who

BARON. who ruled with her jointly but few months; for another of their grandees, called *Hoe*, rebelled against them, and having vanquished them in battle, put them to death, and ascended the throne himself.

He governed not long, for the people conspired against him; for what cause I cannot find; it may be suspected, that he used bad means for the maintaining of his unjust possession; and having called the *Chineses* to their assistance, they killed the usurper, and withal lost their own freedom, for the *Chineses* shewed themselves true auxiliaries, in seizing the whole kingdom for a reward of their labour and victory.

A *Chinese* viceroy or general was then ordered over this people, to govern them as formerly, which continued for the space of sixteen years, when they began to be weary of the *Chineses* oppressions and insolence, and withal commemorating their former condition, they resolved unanimously to endeavour to free themselves from the *Chinese* yoke, and accordingly took arms under the leading of a valiant captain, by name *Lee*, and fought with the *Chineses*, and routed them in several battles, killing many of them, with their viceroy or general *Luetang*; which disaster, with the charges of the war abroad and civil commotions at home, and the small profit this country yielded, were perhaps the motives why the *China* emperor *Humvew* thought convenient to quit it again, which is now about four hundred and fifty years ago. Having therefore imposed on them certain conditions, and taken security for their faithful performance, (*viz.* to come every three years, once to the imperial city, *Pekin*, with several presents, which they call tribute, and to do homage to the emperor, in acknowledgment that they hold this their kingdom and liberty of his mere grace and bounty) he withdrew his troops from *Tonqueen*; and these conditions are punctually observed to this very day.

Among the presents, they are to carry images of gold and silver, made in the posture of criminals, denoting that they are such to the *China* empire, for the murder of *Luetang* the aforesaid general, and that they are to remain evermore supplicants to that court for the said offence. The kings of *Tonqueen* have likewise their *chaop*, or seal, from the *China* emperor, as a mark of their dependency. And tho' this formality be a mere piece of *Chinese* vanity, yet they make no little ado about it. This year (1683.) came here an ambassador from the imperial court of *Pekin*, to bring a title for the *Bova*, that had been inaugurated above eight or nine

years before; he was received with all the pomp and magnificence that the general could devise, or was capable to put in practice, and that not out of love, but mere ostentation, to shew the *Tartars* his grandeur and puissance. They had presented to their view a great number of soldiers, richly cloathed in *English* and *Dutch* manufactures; most of their elephants and cavalry in their best furniture, gilded gallies, &c. But for all this, the ambassador did not deign to visit his highness; as indeed no ambassadors of that empire ever do, making of him no other account than as of a plebeian usurper, obscure in comparison of their emperors.

But to return: The *Chineses* having thus forsaken the country, *Lee* was proclaimed king, who reigned several years, and his family enjoyed the scepter afterwards uninterrupted, for the space of above two hundred years, and then *Mack* usurped the crown. This man was of a low and vile original, born about *Batshaw*, a fisher village, at the river's mouth where the *Europeans* ships enter it; he was a wrestler by profession, and so dextrous therein, that he raised himself to the degree of a *Mandareen*, or lord: But his ambition, that aspired higher, could not be satisfied with any other condition but the sovereignty itself, and accordingly he conspired against the king, and effected his design rather by crafty practices and stratagems than force.

Having thus usurped the crown, he fortified *Batshaw* and other places, because of his many enemies, especially one *Hoawing*, a mighty and powerful prince, in the province of *Tingwa*, of whom he most stood in fear, since he was in open defiance of the usurper. This *Hoawing* married his daughter to *Hoatrin*, a man of singular strength and valour, who had been formerly a notorious robber, and made him general of his forces, and when he died, left him the guardianship and tuition of his only son, at that time about fourteen or fifteen years of age. *Hoatrin* having gotten the forces of his deceased father-in-law at his devotion, made open war against *Mack*, and after many petty encounters, with various success, at last overcame him. The usurper finding himself reduced to a nonplus, was necessitated to fly for his security to *Cabang*, a kingdom on the frontier of *China*, and subject to this king, formerly inhabited by a kind of wild people: But *Hoatrin* came immediately after the victory to *Cacho*, the metropolis, and having first demolished the fortifications of *Mack*, he made proclamation, if there was any heir male of the house

house of *Lee*, he might freely discover himself, promising to place him on the throne of his ancestors, and protested he had taken arms for that end; and accordingly, when a youth of the house of *Lee* was brought to him, he expressed much joy, placed him on the throne with abundance of readiness, and owned him his sovereign, ordering every one to pay obedience to *Lee*, lawful king of *Tonqueen*, &c. and for himself he reserved the title of *Chova*, or general of all the forces. This was to the infinite discontentment of his pupil, the young *Hoawing*, who did not dream but that his brother-in-law would have converted all the effects of his father's forces and army, with the prosperous success thereof, to his particular use, greatness, and advancement, by excluding the orphan; but he was deceived in his account, for *Hoatrin* having previously made the requisite provision for the settlement of the government, he sent a peremptory letter to his brother-in-law, requiring his obedience to this prince of the house of *Lee*, or by default, to declare him a rebel, and open enemy to the state: This occasioned a civil war, and a rent in the kingdom of *Tonqueen*; for young *Hoawing*, altho' he was not against *Lee*, yet could he not endure to think that *Tring* should make himself general, esteeming that place more justly to belong to him. But finding he was too weak to resist the power of *Tring*, and to remain so near as *Tingwa* is to the city of *Cacho*, he thought it the safest way to retire to *Cochin-china*, where he was joyfully received by those governors and soldiers, who immediately elected him *Chova*, or general to *Lee*, their lawful *Bova*, or king, proclaiming *Tring* a traitor and rebel; so that ever since, now above two hundred and twenty years, this kingdom has remain'd divided, under two lieutenant-generals, with royal authority; both own *Lee* as king and ruler, according to their antient laws, customs and rights, but are mortal enemies, and wage continual wars against each other.

I return now to *Tring*, and see why, as victor, he did not ascend the throne, and take upon him the name and title of a king. Certainly it was not for want of ambition, or altogether out of modesty and sense of justice that he did not accept of any higher title, than that of general; but it was in consideration of two very specious reasons; for should he assume the crown and royal title to himself, he would be regarded as an usurper, and expose himself to the general hate and envy of the natives, and more especially to the persecution of *Hoawing*, who would be able, under the most just and plausible pretexts,

to work his ruin and extirpation: The other motive was his apprehension, that the *Chinese* emperor should be against him, as knowing he was a stranger to the royal race of the kings of *Tonqueen*; whereby *Tring* would involve himself in a torrent of troubles, and be, probably, the cause of his own perdition; therefore he thought it was the securest way to set up a prince of the house of *Lee*, with only the bare name of king, and reserve the royal power for himself; and indeed all that belongs to the sovereign resides in the *Chova*, for he may make war or peace as he thinks fit, he makes and abrogates laws, pardons and condemns criminals, he creates and deposes magistrates and military officers, he imposes taxes and orders fines according to his pleasure; all strangers make their application to him, except the ambassadors of *China*; and in a word his authority is not only royal, but absolute and unlimited; wherefore the *Europeans* call him The king, and the true king is called, for distinction sake, The emperor; whilst the *Bova*, or king, is shut up in his palace, attended by none but spies of the *Chova*; neither is he permitted to stir abroad more than once a year, and that on the great solemnity of their annual sacrifices, &c. As for the rest, he serves only to cry *Amen* to all that the general doth, and to confirm, for formality sake, with his *Chaop*, all the acts and decrees of the other; to contest with him the least matter would not be safe for him; and though the people respect the *Bova*, yet they fear the *Chova* much more, who is most flatter'd because of his power.

The general's place is like the king's, hereditary, the eldest son succeeds the father; yet often the ambition of the brothers has occasioned commotions and civil broils, aiming to supplant each other; therefore it is a common saying amongst them, That the death of a thousand *Bova's* doth not endanger the country in the least; but when the *Chova* dies, every one's mind is possessed with great tremors and heavy consternation, expecting fearful changes in state and government.

This kingdom is properly divided into six provinces, not reckoning the country of *Cubang*, and a small part of *Bowes*, which are maintained as conquer'd lands, that people being of a different language and manner from the *Tonqueeneses*; and five of the six provinces are govern'd by their particular governors, which at present are all eunuchs, with ample power; but he that rules in *Giang*, the frontiers of *Cochin-china*, the sixth province, is a kind of viceroy, or lieutenant-general, and the militia under him are not less in number than forty thousand soldiers. His authority is

BARON. in a manner absolute, from whom there is no appeal, except in cases of high treason, to the supreme court of the kingdom. This viceroy is usually a person of great favour, and much confided in by the general, who, to oblige him the more, marries either his daughter or sister to him; for it would be of ill consequence to the whole kingdom, especially for the general, if this man should revolt to *Cochin-china*.

In former times they had eunuchs to govern this province too; but since the trick the *Cochin-chineses* put on one of them, they have not placed there any more as governors in chief. The jest was thus: The *Cochin-chineses* who hate these kind of creatures, and never imploy any of them in business of importance, especially in the militia, knowing the capon-vice-roy of that province was appointed generalissimo for the expedition in hand against them, they sent him, in contempt, a breast-piece of silk, such as is worn by their women, for a present, desiring him to make use of it; giving thereby to understand, that such a dress and ornament better became him, than either to command soldiers or to govern provinces, &c. as approaching so near the female sex.

The governors of provinces have for their seconds a literado *Mandareen*, or lawyer, to assist them in the civil government and administration of their laws, who sit with the governors in publick courts of justice; besides this, each province has its several inferior courts of judicature, and one among the rest that is independent of the governor's authority, the judges whereof have their characters immediately of the sovereign court of the *Quan fo Lew* at *Cacho*.

In small controversies of property of grounds, houses, debts, or the like, they proceed thus: A man that has an action against another gives his complaint in to *Ongshaw*, or the head of his aldea, who takes some cognizance of the matter, and brings it before the *Wean Quan*, head of twenty, thirty, or forty aldeas or villages, where the plaintiff and defendant are heard, and then sentence is given: But if one of the parties be not content to stand to this award, he appeals to the *Foe Quan*, head of eighty, an hundred, or an hundred and fifty aldeas, where the matter is examin'd, with the sentence of the *Wean Quan*, who, as he finds cause, passes his sentence: And in case this doth not satisfy them, the suit is brought before the provincial governor, where it receives its final determination, without further appealing, provided the matter be of no great importance, as I said before; but if the debt be considerable, or the pretensions ample, &c. they

may appeal from the governor to *Inga Hean*, a court, as is noted above, which the provincial governors have no jurisdiction over. In this tribunal a *Tuncy* of the class of the first literadoes always presides, and from thence the suit may be removed to the several courts of the city, if they are firmly resolved, by prosecuting the law, to ruin each other; and altho' the judges cannot hinder the parties appealing from one court to another, yet if two different courts give the like sentence on one and the same cause, then the court from which the appeal is made, has the privilege to inflict some corporal punishment on the appellants, or fine them, as is ordained by law.

Criminal cases, as theft, or the like matters, belong wholly to the governors of the province, who punish immediately small offences; but such as deserve death, their sentences are sent to the general, to have his consent for the execution thereof.

The quarrels of the great ones come generally to the city of *Cacho*; but the names of all the courts, and the precise methods of process, I cannot exactly affirm. However, I think they begin with the courts called *Quan Key Dow*, then an appeal lies to *Quan Gay Chue*, and in case of great moment, petition being made to the general, he remits the cause at last for a revise to *Quan fo Lew*, who hold their assize in the general's palace. The persons who compose this college are most of them old literadoes, reputed wise, and such as have been presidents of the chief courts of judicature, and known, or at least supposed to be of great integrity and honesty, and exalted to be principal ministers and counsellors of state, on whose care and prudence reposes the whole weight of the civil government and laws of the kingdom.

Quarrels indifferent about ground, houses, &c. in and about the city, belong to the court called *Quan fu Dovan*, where all such differences are decided; but the party may appeal to *Quan gnae Sew*, and thus successively to *Quan fo Lew*, by way of petition.

Rebellion and conspiracy against the general, &c. falls under the cognizance of the court of *Quan fo Lew*, and the governors of the city put their sentences or decrees in execution, who are as much as presidents of life and death of the city and its jurisdiction: But more immediately appertain to them all causes of murder, theft, and other like crimes, both to judge and punish the offender without further appeal.

They are the rebels that come before the general with a wisp of straw in their mouths, after they have made their peace and

and obtain'd pardon, to shew, that by their disorderly life they have made themselves equal to brute beasts; but not those guilty of murder, as *Taverniere* is pleas'd to assert.

The *China* laws are in use amongst them, which indeed may be considered as their civil and written law; but the temporal edicts, statutes, and constitutions of their princes and chiefest doctors, intermix'd with their old customs, are of greatest force, and in a manner the whole directory of the government, and the rule of the people's obedience; all which are committed to writing, and digested into several books that make at present their body of law: and to give this people their due, they shew much more good nature and honesty than the *Chineses*, or *Aristotle* himself in that respect, where both their laws tolerate, nay, command the exposing of all maimed, deformed, and female children, which are maxims that these people abhor as unnatural and brutish.

With no less disdain they reject that law of their neighbours which encourageth the most execrable and abominable vice not fit to be nam'd: Questionless their primitive legislators were wise and good-intentioned politicians; but how commendable soever those institutions were, yet the misery of human imperfections, degeneracy by length of time, multiplicity of lawyers, together with the daily increase of other petty officers, has brought justice now to that corruption, that for money most crimes will be absolved, since there are few of their judges but what are subject to bribes.

Justice thus betray'd and perverted even by its officers, has brought the country into much disorders, and the people under great oppressions, so as to be involv'd in a thousand miseries; and woe be to a stranger that falls into the labyrinths of their laws, especially into the clutches of their capon *Mandareens* to be judges of his particular affairs; for to them it commonly happens in the like cases that matters are referred, and he must look for nothing less than the ruin of his purse, and be glad if he escapes without being bereav'd of his senses too; whereof I could alledge many examples of my own knowledge, to my woful experience, were it to the purpose.

Having thus amply spoken of their Laws and their manner of proceeding therein, it remains now to consider the other state column as it stands at present, their Policy, in which is very remarkable their great veneration for the family of their lawful kings, whose title, tho' an empty one, is used in all their writings. The *Chova's* are exceedingly to be commended for their religious observing their promises to main-

tain both the royal stock, and the laws and constitutions of the land, and to innovate nothing therein, tho' repugnant to the interest of their usurped power.

To this is owing chiefly that we see the heir of the crown permitted to live after he is stripped of his rights and royal authority; a thing, I believe, that has no where an example, and is not to be found in the histories of any other nation, and may sound like a strange paradox in the ears of the politicians of other countries. Nor is it altogether the fear of *China* that ties the general's hands so as not to be able to instigate him against the king, nor ignorance of the power of those temptations which generally the lustre of a diadem inspires in the minds even of such as have no reason to pretend to it; nor are they strangers to the practices of other oriental monarchs, who retain their possessions by what means soever they acquire them, tho' it be by the perversion of justice and honesty, and the subversion and violation of all laws human and divine.

But in truth, we may say, these generals were moderate, and that of those qualities proper to tyrants, as ambition, covetousness and cruelty, this last was never found predominant in them; whereof their brothers, who are often intrusted with important employs, as governors of provinces, the conduct of armies, &c. are both convincing proofs and manifest arguments. They are in short too generous to follow the maxim of killing them for their own imaginary security.

One prince indeed I knew, who was poison'd by order of his brother the general; but the necessity (if one may so say) was so urgent, that there was no other way in that exigency, to preserve his own life, as will be noted in the next chapter.

Their method of promoting scholars to their several degrees, which I have already mention'd, is both regular and just, and a great encouragement to learning and the well-deserving therein.

The often removing their *Mandareens* from their government, is good prudence to prevent plots and conspiracies; but as there is no government but what has its defect as well as its perfection, so this is not wanting in both qualities; and it is certainly a great weakness in their politicks, as it is a needless charge to the publick, to maintain such a great army idle, as they do in time of peace, and must needs be a mighty burthen to the commonalty, who feel the weight most.

The general is likewise short, in not making timely provision for the great numbers of his people, since their daily increase will make them too numerous, and

BARON. and incapable of living together; therefore it would be a good expedient to find some out-let for those superfluous humours, for fear they might in time cause some violent convulsion in the state, which perhaps might irretrievably overturn it. The last famine, in particular, swept away two thirds of the inhabitants, who if they had been employ'd against the *Cochin-chineses*, or some other hostile Countries, they might have destroy'd it with their very hands and teeth.

The over-great confidence the general repofes in the capons, as it is a mean thing, so it is contrary to good policy to tolerate so much evil as they occasion in the state, for the small and unjust benefits which he receives by their means.

The custom of selling most offices indifferently to such as will pay most for them, not regarding condition or capacity of persons, is certainly a foul merchandize, and a baseness unbecoming the public, especially as to the offices of judicature; for if they buy their places dear, 'tis likely they will make the most advantage thereof, at the expence of right and justice.

[Plate 9.] Their militia, as it is also much more numerous than is required in a defensive war (which is a conduct, that for several years they have thought it their interest to observe) or befitting peaceable times, so it may prove of dangerous consequence, if they should be troublesome. Some years ago these soldiers mutinied; and had they then found one to head them, it would have gone very hard with the general, who perhaps might have experienc'd from them some such insolences and devastations as several *Roman* emperors met with from their pretorians, and the *Turks* from their janizaries. He doth well to shift them from place to place, and change often their commanders, and to keep them in continual labour or action. But the worst of all is, that the captains of his militia are eunuchs, who, generally, are cowardly fellows; and, it is thought, their baseness has been the grand cause of the many overthrows this nation has received of the *Cochin-chineses*, and will be (as long as they are thus employ'd) always a hindrance in the conquest of that spot of ground, which in comparison of them, contains but a handful of men.

They trust more to their infantry, than to their cavalry or elephants, by reason the country is low, swampy, and full of rivers and brooks, which renders them of small service.

Their soldiers are good marksmen, and in that, I believe, inferior to few; and surpassing most nations in dexterity of handling and quickness of firing their muskets.

Firelocks are not in use amongst them, but the bow is mightily in fashion, in which they are expert to admiration.

In fine, they soon learn their exercise of arms, and are good proficient therein. But to mount the great horse, is no more with them, than the getting astride on a common beast, which this country produces for the most part small, yet very lively.

Their elephants are trained up for war, and imboldened against some sort of fire-works and the noise of guns, as far as the nature of the creature is capable of: as for artificial fire-works, they are rather ignorant than skilful therein.

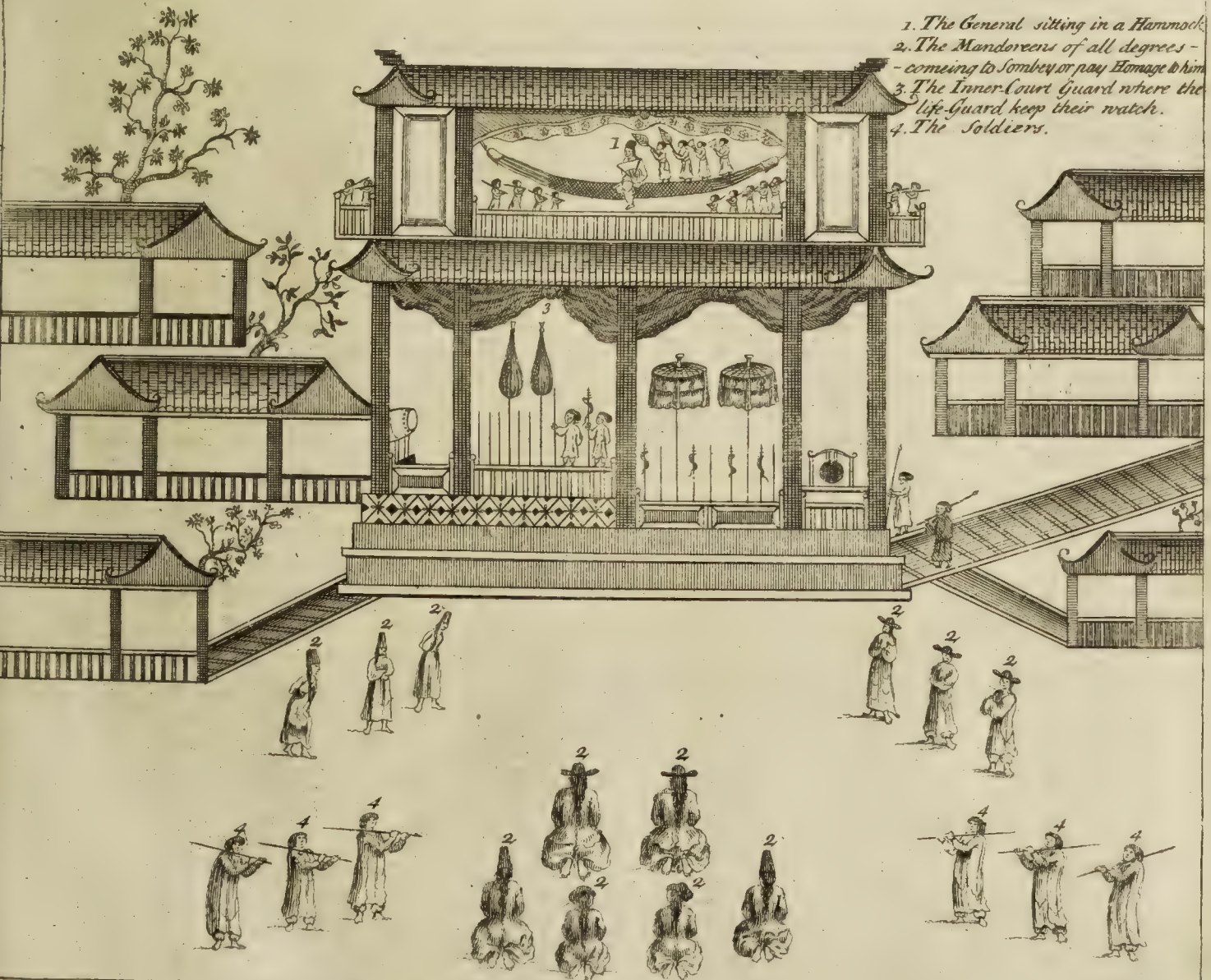
Their finances, or invention to bring in money to the general's coffers, over and above his usual revenue, are, By the sale of most offices in the kingdom; by the fines imposed on *Mandareens* and transgressors; the tenths of all contrabands; considerable shares out of the estates of deceased *Mandareens*; but he is heir general of the eunuchs or capons, and has in a manner all they leave; add to this, his accidental revenue, which comes in by strangers, merchants, &c. (which is more or less according as ships and vessels come to trade in this port); the poll or head-money, excises on provisions, and impositions on inland merchants commodities, &c. so that the general's revenues must needs amount to a very considerable sum. But since this money, for the most part, is taken from one to feed the other, the publick wealth is nothing better'd thereby, but rather the worse; forasmuch as it is the sweat and blood of the industrious, which the lazy and idle often spend most prodigally and profusely; also for that the oppressive taxes do not surcease thereby: which (together with their proceedings in matters of commerce, which they hold in scorn, as much as they despise the traders, neglecting the great convenience they have thereby to render their country rich and flourishing, which is the study of all well-govern'd nations throughout the world) renders them in the main but a mean and miserable people.

I have noted this more particularly in the chapter treating about the trade, &c. of the kingdom; so referring thereto, I shall proceed next to give some account of the general and his grandees and court.

1. Their Exercise w.th Launce on Horse back.
2. Exercise with Muskets.
3. With Sword & Target.
4. With Bows & Arrows.



1. The General sitting in a Hammock.
2. The Mandarins of all degrees - coming to Tombes or pay Homage to him.
3. The Inner-Court Guard where the Life-Guard keep their watch.
4. The Soldiers.



C H A P. XII.

BARON.
*Of the general of Tonqueen, his family, officers and court.*

[Plate 10.] **B**Y what hath been said in the foregoing chapter, it may easily be understood how far the authority of the *Bova* of *Tonqueen* extends, and that the general has really the helm in hand; let us then consider him as the spirit and life of this state. His power is, like that of most *Eastern* kings, monarchical in excess, yet not so tyrannical as many of them, since they ever had their laws and old customs in great veneration, and comported their actions agreeable thereto.

The present general is the fourth of the house of *Tring*, in a direct line, that has, as one may say, swayed the scepter over this people; his family was established in the government as soon as *Mack* the usurper was suppressed, and then laid the foundation of their present greatness. He is aged fifty-three years, and is a sharp subtle politician, but of an infirm constitution. He succeeded his father in the year 1682, with whom he reigned jointly several years. He had three sons, and as many daughters, by sundry concubines; but his eldest and youngest sons dying, the second, just on his grandfather's decease, fell mad or distracted, but is now recovered, and has the title of *Cbu-ta*, that is, young general (the usual title of the eldest surviving son) who keeps his court separate, and almost as magnificent as his father, has his *Mandareens*, servants and officers of the same denomination, only that in precedency they give place to those of the father; but as soon as the prince succeeds the general, then his servants take place of the others, very few excepted, who often for their wisdom and experience keep their former stations.

If the general marries (which seldom happens but in their latter years, when there are but little hopes of issue by the person) this lady, as wife, is chief of all his women, and has the name and title of Mother of the Land, because of her extraction, which is always royal; but concubines he takes early, and sometimes before eighteen, the number not limited, sometimes three hundred, often five hundred, and more, if he pleases, for it is an honour to excel therein; and in the choice of them, their beauty is not so much regarded as their art and skill in singing and dancing, and playing on a musical instrument, and to have the wit to divert the general with diversity of pleasing sports. Of these, she that proves mother of the first son is honoured, as soon as her son is declared heir apparent,

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with the name and title of True and Legitimate Wife, and tho' not quite so much respected, yet far better beloved than the former; the rest of the concubines, that have children by him, are called *Ducba*, or excellent women; his male-children, the eldest excepted, are saluted with the appellation, *Duc-ong*, i. e. excellent person, or man; the daughters are called *Batua*, which is as much as to say princess with us; the like titles have his brothers and sisters, but not their children, nor his grand-children, except those descending from his eldest son.

For his own children, questionless, he provides well, but his sisters and brothers must be content with such revenues as he is pleased to allow them out of the publick, which decreases in their family as it declines and grows remote from his blood, so that those of the fourth or fifth descent can expect no such provision.

The present general has many brothers and sisters, but he is not over kind to them; which I take to proceed from his suspicious temper and weakly constitution. Most of his predecessors were otherwise inclined; they admitted their brothers to publick affairs, and conferred on them the titles and power of generals, field-marsbals, and provincial governors, with the trust of numbers of soldiers, always employing them in honourable charges, and such as became the general's brothers.

As I said before, I never could hear of more than one example amongst them, of killing a brother in cool blood, and is that of the late deceased general against prince *Chechening*; which, all circumstances considered, can hardly be termed cruelty. The history runs thus.

This *Chechening* was second brother to the deceased general, a prince indued with many heroick virtues; his liberality, generosity, and courteous disposition, made him popular and so beloved among the soldiers, that they would call him their father. A prudent captain he was, and no less eminent in valour, for having given the *Cochin-chineses* several overthrows, he was so extremely redoubted, that they called him the Lightning of *Tonqueen*. His fame thus daily increasing both abroad and at home, it at length drove him on the rocks and precipices of his brother's envy and jealousy, which the good prince perceiving, endeavoured to remove; humbly telling him, he would do nothing but what he should order;

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BARON. order; and that the good success he had in arms, proceeded wholly from his wife and prudent direction, protesting, and solemnly swearing, he never did, nor would undertake any thing that might in the least be prejudicial to him; and, that if the soldiers or rabble should dare to offer him his place, he would not only refuse and abhor it, but punish also most severely the movers of such propositions.

This declaration gave for the present some seeming content and satisfaction to the general, but few years after, whether the ground was the envy and jealousy aforesaid, or that he had done somewhat that could be misconstrued or suspected, or was falsely accused, or whatsoever else the matter was, for it is differently reported, the general sent for him and part of his army from the frontiers of *Cochin-china*. In obedience to this command, he came to court, where, by order of the general, he was immediately clap'd in irons, and confined to a certain close prison near the palace.

In this condition he continued several years, by which it seems his faults were not capital, or at least nothing could be proved against him to take away his life; but in the interim, as fate would have it, about the year 1672, the soldiers that were in the city of *Chacho*, a great number, no less than forty thousand meeting all at once, and filling every corner thereof with fear and tumultuous noises, and driving out thereby its vulgar to their several aldeas, came with sad exclamations to the palace gate, yet had so much reverence as not to enter; they brought no arms but their hands and tongues, rudely bawling forth their random thoughts against the general in opprobrious language, reproaching his ungratefulness towards them, and prodigality to his women, whom he permitted to squander and waste the treasure of the land, while they were ready to perish in want and misery, as if he purposely designed their destruction and confusion by the most uneasy and insupportable methods of famine and nakedness; magnifying their own deserts in his service, threatening to take some severe course, if he did not enlarge their pay, and distribute some money among them, committing the mean while a thousand insolent enormities, hovering round the palace, and encamping at the several avenues thereof, as if they intended to besiege the general therein; and in effect none could go out or in without their commission.

In this extremity and streight, the general consulted with the *Quan so Lew*, and other privy counsellors what to do. One of them, a great literado, was of opinion, 'twas best to grant the soldiers their de-

fires; which being moderate they might easily be appeased, alledging, that to quell the country people, when rebellious, 'twas customary to use the soldiers, but to quiet the mutinous soldiers, money was the only expedient; but another literado, by name *Ong Trangdame*, of great fame for his wisdom, and in high respect for his dignity, of a violent resolute nature, opposed the first opinion, saying it was imprudent, and of pernicious consequence to indulge a company of mutinous fellows too far; adding, that it was much the better remedy to seize some of the ring-leaders, and put them to death, which would amaze and astonish the rest so, as to make them shift for their safety and security. The general inclined most to this last advice, for love of his money, yet was doubtful in his resolution. The soldiers having their spies in the palace (as he had his among them) had presently notice of what passed, which so incensed them against *Trangdame*, that watching the time of his coming forth the palace to go home, they immediately seized him, and treated him in the most cruel and barbarous manner an enraged multitude could invent; for having inhumanly bruised and beaten him with their fists, knees, elbows, knobs of their fans, &c. they trampled the breath out of his body with their feet, and then, dead as he was, they drew him ignominiously thro' the street to the sandy island near the arsenal, where they tore and cut his body into small pieces. This audacious cruelty, together with other notorious affronts put on several *Mandareens* at the same time, plunged the general and his courtiers in divers deep perplexities, and filled them with mortal fears, insomuch that most began to creep in holes and corners to avoid the rage of this terrible tempest, leaving their master in a manner desolate.

The discreetest among the soldiers, finding that they had passed the *Rubicon*, thought there was no retiring, and therefore advised their companions to provide themselves with a head who might guide and order their irregular and tumultuous proceedings, proposing prince *Chechening* as fit for the purpose; to which they unanimously consented, and would have fetched him out of prison that instant, and proclaimed him general, but that the night, which was already come on, hindered the enterprize, and caused them to defer it to next morning; but the general having item of their intentions, prepared with his own hands a dose for prince *Chechening*, and sent it him in the dead of the night, by a trusty eunuch, with order that he should drink all the potion. The capon, as soon as he came to the prince, after he had made four sombeys, delivered his errand, and the general's

general's present, which the prince presently guessed to be what it was; but what he said is not well known, only that he made four sombeyes toward the general's palace, and then took off the draught, and in few hours after died. This was the end of prince *Chechening*, whose virtue was his greatest crime, the soldiers unseasonable love causing his untimely death. The next morning he ordered a great quantity of silver and copper cash to be given to the mutineers, quenching thereby in an instant the fire of this popular insurrection; but several of them perished afterwards, few knew how.

It is time now to return from our digression, to take a view of the lords of the blood, *Mandareens*, &c. either civil magistrates or military officers, who at the time of their abode in the city, go every morning early to court to wait on the *Chova* and prince. The *Bova* is complimented on the first and fifteenth of every moon by them, in their violet or blue garb, with caps of their own callico manufactures, in which they are obliged to cloath their retinue. The *Chova* receives them in great state, sitting at a great distance uncovered, for the more pomp (unless on some solemnity) his numerous life-guard in arms in the palace-yard, surrounded by many capon servants, who carry his order and commissions to the *Mandareens*, and bring their answers, or according to their method of speaking, supplications, which they deliver to him on their knees. In fine, at this time, most state-matters are here handled and dispatched; the acts and resolutions of the *Quan fo Liew*, or supreme court (whose Sessions is in this palace) is presented to him, to have his approbation thereon. The prince likewise has his solicitors near the general (for he himself comes hardly once in a moon to court) who gives him notice of all that passes, that he may regulate his proceedings accordingly. No business of requests or petitions slide in this court, except it be greased with presents and gifts answerable to the import of affairs.

It is a goodly sight to see such a croud of lords, and how every thing is carried here with that decency and decorum, that strikes an awe in every beholder, and would have really much majesty in it, if they would dispense with, or abrogate that slavish custom of going barefoot. The general indulges his *Mandareens* much, treating them with respect and tenderness as to their lives, which are seldom in danger, but for treason; for other offences they are fined or disgraced, by being turned out of employ, or banished the court.

When any *Mandareen* intercedes for their friends or kindred that have offended, they come covered before the general, then put-

ting off their caps, they sombey four times, a way of reverence, or rather adoration, which consists in falling first on their knees; then touching the ground with their bodies, after the *Chinese* mode, they request his highness to pardon the crime, and impute the fault to the intercessor, who is ready by the sign of standing bare, which on such-like occasions intimates the condition of a criminal, to undergo such punishment as the prince shall please to inflict on him.

About eight o'clock the general withdraws from the audience place, and the lords, &c. retire from court, all but the captain of the guards, with some that have offices at court who are capons, of which a great number being young, are menial servants, who with the domestick maids are only permitted to enter his privy apartments and seraglio of women and concubines.

Of these capons, a pest of mankind, the parasites, sycophants, and perverters of these princes, there are no less than four or five hundred belonging to the court, who are usually so proud, imperious and unreasonable, as makes them not less hateful and abhorred, than feared by the whole nation; however, the prince confides most in them, both for domestick and state matters; for, after they have served seven or eight years in the inner court, they are raised gradually to publick administrations and dignities, so as to be graced with the most honourable titles of provincial governors, and military prefects, while several of the more deserving, both of the military officers, and the classes of the literadoes are neglected, and suffer for want: But it is certain, the general respects his own present profit (whatsoever the consequence may be) in the advancing them; for when they die, the riches they have accumulated by foul practices, rapine and extortion, fall in a manner, all to the general as next heir; and tho' their parents are living, yet in regard they contributed nothing to their well-being in the world, but to geld them, to which they were prompted by great indigence, and hopes of court preferment, therefore they can pretend to no more than a few houses and small spots of ground; which also they cannot enjoy but with the good-liking and pleasure of the general.

However, not to detract from truth, some of these capons have been of extraordinary merit, and among them more especially these three by name, *Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea*, *Ong-Ja-Ta-Foe-Bay*, and *Ong-Ja-How-Foe-Tack*; these were indeed the delight of *Tonqueen*; but they were such as lost their genitals by chance, having had them bit off either by a hog or dog. These sort of capons are by the superstitious *Tonqueeneses*, believed to be destined

BARON. destined to great preferments and eminence.

The last of these is yet living, and at present governor of *Hein*, and the largest province in the country, admiral of all the sea forces, and principal minister for the affairs of strangers; a prudent captain, a wise governor, and an uncorrupted judge, which renders him admirable to these heathens, and a shame to many christians, who, tho' they are blest with the light of the gospel, rarely arrive at that height of excellence, as to know how to be great, good and poor at once.

Remarkable is what they relate of *Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea*, famous for his sharp brain, and prodigious parts, and no less for his sudden rise, as strange and tragical fall; whose history take as follows.

In the minority of the house of *Tring* (that is to say, before it was firmly established in the government) the then reigning general having great necessity for some able statesman (on whom he might disburden some part of his weighty affairs) and being afflicted with continual perplexities on this head, he chanced to dream that he should meet a man the next morning, whom he could trust and employ; and as it happened, the first man that came to the court in the morning, was this *Tu-Lea*, who agreeing exactly with the imaginary picture of his dream, both in proportion, stature and physiognomy, the general conferred with him; and after some discourse found him of great ability, and exactly acquainted with their *arcana imperii*; whereupon he raised him immediately, and in a little while augmented his authority so greatly, that there was hardly any difference between the master and the servant, but if any, *Tu-Lea* was more respected, courted and feared than the general himself. Whether this was the cause of his displeasure against him, or that this mushroom (raised in a night) forgetting his obligation, prompted by ambitious ingratitude, and blinded by his overmuch prosperity, did conspire really to destroy his master, and to assume the place himself (as the common bruit was) or that this was merely a pretence to colour the general's jealousy of his over-grown greatness, I will not determine; but to be brief, he was by the general's order, torn in pieces by four horses, his body and dismembred limbs cut in pieces, and then burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river.

Every year about the latter end of our *January*, which falls out about their last moon, all the mandareens, officers and military men are sworn to be faithful to the king and general, and that they shall not conceal treasonable machinations against their persons, on forfeiture of their lives.

The *Mandareens* take the like oath of their wives, servants and domesticks. He that reveals high treason, has at most but thirty dollars, and a small employ for a reward, which is far short of our author's multiplication.

They have annual musters for the levy of soldiers through the whole kingdom; in which choice they greatly respect the tallness of persons: Those of extraordinary height are allotted to be of the general's life-guard, the others are disposed of according to occasions. All those that have any degree in learning and handicrafts men are exempt from this muster. How they proceed with deserters I cannot affirm; but am certain the *Tonqueneeses* know not what hanging means: their way is to behead them; only those of the royal blood are strangled. I must needs say, they are neither cruel nor exquisite in these inventions.

As for strangers, they employ none; thinking none so wise as themselves: however, when I came from *Siam*, I was examined about the affairs of that kingdom and *Cochin-china*, and concerning my voyage in the *Tonqueen* *Sing Ja*, and whether those boats might be able to transport soldiers through the high seas; to which I answered as I thought fit. Then I was questioned how, if the general should give me the command of two or three hundred soldiers to be employed against *Cochin-china*? to which I replied, I was by profession, a merchant, consequently ignorant of martial affairs, and therefore incapable of serving his highness in that respect. Which excuse and refusal, tho' it served for that time, yet it operated against me when I was accused by the *Chineeses*.

With the nobility of this country, as I have hinted elsewhere, and acquainted you, that nobility only descends to the posterity of the king and general, and that only to the third degree; but the rest, as they obtained it by arms, learning, or money, so it is but *durante vita*. By the first means few are raised, by the second some, but the third is the true loadstone which attracts most favour.

The general's court stands in *Cacho*, almost in the midst of the city; it is very spacious, and walled about; within and without built full of low small houses for the convenience of the soldiers: Within they are two stories high, most open for air. The gates are large and stately, all of iron-work, as indeed the greatest part of the palace is. His own and womens apartments are stately and costly edifices, set forth with carved, gilded, and lacquer work. In the first plain of the court are the stables for his biggest elephants, and best horses; on the hinder
part

part are many parks, groves, walks, arbours, fish-ponds, and whatsoever else the

country can afford for his pleasure or recreation, since he seldom stirs out.

CHAP. XIII.

That there is no such manner of coronation and intbronization of their kings, as is related by M. Taverniere.

AS our author is most erroneous throughout his book, so this his thirteenth chapter is in a manner one intire error; for, how diligent soever I was to inquire of their learned men, and other persons of quality, I could not find, that they used the solemnity of inthroning or coronation of their kings with such pomp and magnificence, or any thing like it, as he relates; nay, scarce that they observe any ceremony at all.

They told me, that such external gallantries, and all ostentations were contrary to their customs and practice; for when their king or general dies, all publick shews whatsoever that express mirth, or demonstrate any magnificence, or have any sign of glory, so much as the wearing gold, silver, or gaudy cloaths, are not only forbidden throughout the whole kingdom, but reckoned very scandalous to be used. Neither must a courtier, during the time of his mourning for his prince, appear in rich furniture himself, or in his horse, elephants, palankeens, hammocks, &c. but the worst, coarsest and meanest habiliments they can invent, are accounted the properest, especially for the highest dignified, and nearest of blood, with many other nice observations, whereof more amply in due place.

All the ceremony they use on these occasions, consists only to sombey, and present the prince so succeeding, who entertains the complimenters of note with meat, yet not with the usual court-splendor or merriment, by reason of his mourning for his predecessor. But was it usual with them to advance their king (who at present has no interest in the state) with so much grandeur and state to the throne, questionless they would have some degrees of honour likewise for the general when he assumes his dignity, since his power and authority, tho' intruded, controlls all, and that on all occasions he is most respected and observed.

In 1682, when I arrived here from Siam, the old general was newly deceased: his heir made no noise at all when he succeeded; nay, he carried himself so private therein, that none abroad heard of court matters, or perceived the least alteration of government whatsoever; neither would he receive the usual honours from his own Mandareens, or admit strangers to audience, either to condole his sorrow, or to congratulate his ad-

vancement; only their presents were received. Thus, without any other formality, the general took possession of his office; and undoubtedly he would never condescend the king should exceed him in that kind, not only because he is to bear all such charges and expences, but also for fear the other should increase too much in reputation thereby.

Our author then is to be admired for relating things both unknown, and contrary to the customs of this people; confidently affirming his brother was an eye-witness of that ingenious invented romance, on this occasion: For what are they else than fables, to say, that, in this solemnity, all the artillery of the court walls were fired? when there is not so much as a great gun upon the walls, nor ever was, by relation; that all the soldiers were drawn thither from the frontiers; which is to open the gates of the kingdom to the *Cochin-chineses*, who are always upon the watch for such an opportunity, to incorporate with their dominion the two adjoining provinces, which were once ruled by the predecessors of their *Chova*: That they swear fidelity to the king, and that they will defend him and the country against the *Chineses* their inveterate enemies; when, as we have recounted, they are tributary to the *China* empire, now in possession of the *Tartars*, whom they endeavour by all means imaginable not to offend, for fear of losing their country and freedom: That the king's liberality extends that day to one million of *Panes* of gold; which, in silver, amounts at least to one hundred and fifty millions of crowns; a sum, I am sure, the whole kingdom can hardly muster up both in gold and silver, tho' he aims to persuade the world, that the king of *Tonqueen* possesses the riches of *Craesus*: That the king makes presents of money to officers of unknown names, and offices never heard of in the country: That he bestows so many *Panes* of gold and silver on the constable, meaning thereby the general, from whom he receives all he has: That the sacrifices should be so large, as to contain that prodigious number of beasts, whereby necessarily the plow must stand still, and the people be content to fast the whole year, as to flesh.

After this *Epicurean* banquet, together with what he mentions of the bonzes, fireworks, birds nests, colts flesh, &c. impertinent

BARON. *W*orthy contradictions and absurdities, not worthy regard; I must confess he notes some things and passages here proper to *Siam*, and agreeable to the manners and constitutions of that people, so that he is only mistaken in the application. What is to be said of the king's going out, I will note in the next chapter.

The ladies of quality, when they go abroad, are carried according to their several degrees, either in close sedans, or hammocks upon the shoulders of men. Neither doth this nation keep their women so strict from the sight of others, as the *Moors* and *Chinese* do.

The celebration of their nativity they observe very punctually, from the prince to the meanest, each to his ability and power, with feasting, musick, and other pastimes, fire-works excepted; in which they are very deficient, as I hinted before. They are also presented, on the said occasions, by their

kindred, friends and dependents, who attend them to honour the solemnity.

As to the king's liberality, who sent his son and successor a donative of a thousand *Panes* of gold, intrinsic value, an hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and five hundred bars of silver, above seven thousand dollars, at once, it is altogether impossible; because the yearly revenue allowed him, comes to no more than eight thousand dollars. He errs likewise in his multiplication, making those *Panes* of gold and bars of silver to be only an hundred and twenty thousand livres.

As to the king's successor, he himself is often ignorant which of his sons is to succeed him, if he has more than one; and, if but one, it is not certain that he shall be king after him, since it lies in the general's breast, to name such an one as he likes best, provided he be of the royal stock; tho' he seldom puts by the next heir, unless it be for great reasons, and urgent political motives, &c.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the ceremony of the king's blessing the country, vulgarly amongst them called Bova-dee-yaw, or, according to their characters, Can-ja.

[Plate 11.] **T**HE king seldom or never goes out to take his pleasure, but once a year he shews himself in publick (not reckoning when he is carried by the general on particular occasions) on the solemnization of their grand ceremony, at the beginning of their new year, on a particular chosen day; for they believe some to be good, others better, some indifferent, others bad; whereof they are so superstitiously observant, as to undertake nothing of importance, without consulting first most seriously, both their *China* almanacks, and blind country diviners.

The king, general and prince, with most of the *Mandareens* of the court on this solemn occasion, go, before break of day, severally to a place at the south end of the city, purposely built for this occasion, with three gates different from their other pagodas; neither are there any images in the house. Here they stay without in sundry apartments till day-light; the king, in the mean time, is to wash his body, and put on new cloaths, never worn before.

About eight of the clock a piece of ordnance is fired; on which signal the general, prince and *Mandareens* repair to the king to do homage, tho' it extends, as to the general and prince, no further than a bare point of formality. This compliment passes in silence, yet with much state and gravity on both sides: Then immediately the second signal of a gun is heard; whereupon the king is accompanied to the gates of the said house, which are all shut, whereat he

knocks, and is, by the door-keeper, asked who he is. He answers, The king, and they let him in; but none may enter with him, that being contrary to their superstition. Thus he does three several times, till he comes into the house, where he falls to his devotion with prayers and supplications, having kept a strict fast to his gods, after their mode; which done he seats himself in a gilt chair placed in the yard of the said house; and, having paused a little, a plow, with a buffalo tied to it in the same manner as they use them for tilling the ground, is presented him, who holding it by the place usually taken hold of when they work it, he blesses the country, and teaches the people by this emblem, that none should be ashamed to be a husbandman, and that the diligent, industrious and provident, especially in the culture of the ground, may certainly expect the enjoyment of their labour and pains.

I am informed by some, that, at the same time, the ceremony of the cups is used; others again contradict that, and affirm it to be on the day of installing the new king.

Be it when it will, the manner is thus: on a *bandesia*, or lacquer'd table, stand several cups with prepared victuals in them; and among the rest there is one with boiled white rice, another with yellow rice, one with water, and one with herbs or greens: All these cups are neatly covered with fine paper, and with starch fastned thereon, so that one cannot be known from another.

One

- 1 The Bova or true King of Tonqueen.
- 2 The Literados in their China Habit.
- 3 The Captain of a Life Guard riding upon an Elephant.
- 4 an Ordinary Captain on Horse back.
- 5 Soldiers of Extraordinary Stature.
- 6 The Umbrellas and Fans.

This is when the Bova goes to Bless the Ground According to their Annual Superstition, Called Can-Ta, or Bova-dee-yanw, which happens Usually in our Feb^r.



- 1 Two lusty tall fellows with lizards, Targets and Halberds to prepare the way and scare the Devil, that the Corps may pass.
- 2 The Musicians.
- 3 The Pageant wherein a title is written.
- 4 The Pagoda.
- 5 The two Pendants.
- 6 The Mausolea wherein the Corps lies.
- 7 The Chief Mourners.
- 8 The Curtains wherein his Wife and Daughters are.

The MANNER of their FUNERAL POMP



One of these the king takes at adventure, which is immediately opened; and if he lights on the yellow rice, there is great rejoicing, because it portends (as they believe) plenty in the land; if on the white rice, a good harvest; if water, an indifferent year; but the herbs or greens is extreme bad, denoting great mortality, famine and desolation; and so the rest of the cups, every one hath its particular signification and augury, according to what their idolatry and superstition dictates.

With this ends this grand ceremony; and the third gun being fired, the king mounts his open chair, covered with many umbrells, and is carried on the shoulders of eight soldiers, as it were in procession, thro' several streets, to his palace, accompanied by many literadoes in their *China* vests, all on foot. He is likewise attended by a handsome guard of the general's soldiers, some elephants and horses, under the noise of drums, rimbrels, scalmay, copper basons and hautboys, &c. standards and colours flying.

As he passes along he demonstrates his liberality to the poor spectators and aldea people, by throwing cash or copper coin amongst them. A while after the king, the general follows, riding on a stately elephant, waited on by many princes of his own and royal family, with most of the military officers and civil magistrates of the kingdom, richly attired, and guarded by a detachment of three or four thousand horse, and about an hundred, or an hundred and fifty elephants with sumptuous furniture, and an infantry of no less than ten thousand men, all fine and gallantly cloathed, with coats and caps made of *European* manufactures, so that he far exceeds the king in pomp and magnificence. He comes a great part of the same way the king did, till he arrives at the street that leads directly to his palace, where turning, he leaves the other on his march. The prince brings up the rear of this cavalcade; he has half the train of his father, comes the same way, but takes the nearest cut to his own palace.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Theckydaw, or purging the country from all malevolent spirits.

THE *Theckydaw* is observed commonly once every year, especially if there be a great mortality amongst the men, elephants, or horses of the general's stables, or the cattle of the country. The cause of which they attribute to the malicious spirits of such men as have been put to death for treason, rebellion, and conspiring the death of the king, general or princes, and that in revenge of the punishment they have suffered, they are bent to destroy every thing, and commit horrible violence. To prevent which, their superstition has suggested to them the institution of this *Theckydaw*, as a proper mean to drive the devil away, and purge the country of evil spirits. For the performance of which the general consults, and elects a fit day, which commonly happens about the twenty-fifth of our *February*; just on the *Chao*'s re-assuming new life and vigour. When the needful orders are given for preparation, and that every thing is got in readiness, then the general, with most of the princes and other qualified persons of the land, repairs to the arsenal about eight o'clock in the morning of the day appointed; he either rides on an elephant or horse, or else in a palankeen upon wheels, which is pushed forwards by lusty fellows kept for that purpose, and shadowed by many umbrells. The guard that follows him is very numerous, not less than sixteen or eighteen thousand men, besides elephants

and horses, all set forth to the best advantage. The streets thro' which he passes, are adorned with standards, pendants, and armed soldiers, to hinder the people from opening either doors or windows, for fear of sinister designs and machinations, tho' strangers are sometimes permitted to see this stately procession, if they will request it.

Being arrived at the arsenal, the *Mandareens* go to their several posts (which have been kept for them by their soldiers) on the sandy island near the said arsenal, which is heaped up and increased yearly by the descending waters from *China*, whose rapid and violent courses do not only eat away much of the land in some places, and cast it up again in others, but spoil the river too: here, I say, they build many slight houses with bamboos, and raise infinite tents to shelter them from the injuries of rain and sun, and place their soldiers, foot, horse, and elephants, as it were in battle array, with flying colours, standards and pendants, their ordnance placed on advantage, the boats of war along the bank, in good posture, and every thing else in the method of an exact formidable army, noble and glorious to behold; and is indeed a shew that would, above all others, sufficiently express the power of the kingdom, were but their courage proportionable to their conveniences, and their leaders, men instead of capons; for the number of infantry present

See Plate 2d, for a representation of this grand appearance on the sandy island.

BARON. on that occasion, cannot be less than eighty thousand soldiers well disciplined, expert either for sword, pike, musket, aigenats, &c. and the cavalry about five thousand, with rich furniture, armed with bows, arrows, swords and guns; then there are about two hundred and fifty elephants trained up for war, many of them fearless of fire and the noise of guns, having on their backs a box or chair richly gilded and lacquer'd, and two men in them, with a kind of carabines and lances; and there are not less than three hundred pieces of artillery ranged in proper order: nor do the lords, *Mandarcens*, commanders, &c. in their best garb of fine scarlet, with gold buckles on the breast, in manner as we wear our loops, and a cap of the said cloth on their heads, make the least part of this glorious shew. The soldiers of the general's life-guard are stout lusty fellows, some of prodigious height, with caps and coats of the same fashion and fabrick as those of the *Mandareens*, the gold loops excepted, and the cloth not altogether so fine. The general's ten horses and six elephants of state far outshine the rest in splendor, their furniture being massy gold and scarlet, with an infinite number of standards, flags, pendants, hautboys, drums, copper batons, and all other sorts of warlike musick and gallantry ranged promiscuously; and the whole being attended with a vast concourse of people, makes the island very glorious and pleasant for that time.

Every thing being thus ready, three blows on a large drum are heard, keeping good time between every stroke, which sounds almost like the discharge of a small piece of ordnance: on this signal the general comes from the arsenal to the place (where the soldiers stand in order) and enters the house prepared for him. In a while after, three other strokes are given on a great copper bason or gong, in the same manner as on the drum for distance of time; the general beginneth then to offer meat-offerings to the criminal devils and malevolent spirits (for it is usual and customary likewise amongst them, to feast the con-

demned before their execution) inviting them to eat and drink, when presently he accuses them in a strange language, by characters and figures, &c. of many offences and crimes committed by them, as to their having disquieted the land, killed his elephants and horses, &c. for all which they justly deserve to be chastised, and banished the country. Whereupon three great guns are fired, as the last signal; upon which all the artillery and muskets are discharged, that, by their most terrible noise, the devils may be driven away; and they are so blind, as to believe for certain, that they really and effectually put them to flight.

At noon every one may feast himself at his own cost; but the soldiers are fed with the offered meat.

In the evening the general retires to his palace in the same state with which he went forth, much glorying that he has vanquished his enemies on so easy terms.

The *Bova* or king never appeareth in this solemnity; perhaps the general suspects that the soldiers, if they should be dissatisfied with him, might take the opportunity to revolt, and confer on the king the real and essential power which at present resides in him, and therefore finds it unsafe that the king should be then present: but on journeys in the country, be they but for two or three days (if he makes any), and when he goes to war, he never omits to carry the king along with him, not only to cloke all his designs with the royal name, but also to prevent any plots which in his absence the king might give into to his utter ruin, or by condescension, permit others to seize his royal person, whereby they would authorise their pretensions, and gain so much reputation as might subvert and confound both the general's greatness and government.

They imagine our way of firing great guns to compliment friends, or the saluting therewith each other's health, very strange and barbarous, because contrary to their customs, since they entertain only their enemies and the malicious devils with such a noise, as is related.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the funerals in general.

THE *Tonqueeneses*, as they have a great horror at death, so the conceit they have thereof, is not less superstitious; for they believe that only the spirits of young children are transmigrated into the bodies of other infants who are yet in the mother's womb; but all others come to be devils, or at least spirits that can do either good or

harm; and that they would wander up and down as poor vagabonds ready to perish for want and indigence, if they were not assisted by their living kindred, or if they did not steal and commit violence to subsist; so that death, in their estimation, is the ultimate and greatest misery that can befall human nature. They note, with incredible care and

and exactness, the time, hour, and day, (all which are distinguished by several particular names, as apes, dogs, cats, mice, &c.) wherein a party dies; which if it happen at the like time in which his father, mother, or near relations were born, it is reckoned very ominous, and bad for his heirs and successors, who therefore permit not the corpse to be interred till their conjurers and diviners advise them of a good and auspicious time, for which they wait sometimes two or three years, sometimes less, as their critical rites and blind doctors shall direct them. The body is coffin'd the mean while, and kept in a particular place, and must stand no other ways than on four stakes erected for that purpose.

This nicety is only observed among the rich, but others who do not die in this scruple, are buried within ten or fifteen days; but the longer the corpse is kept, the more expensive it is, not only to the wife and children (who present him daily three times with victuals, and keep always lamps and candles burning in the room, besides the offering of incense, perfumes, and a quantity of gold and silver paper, some made in the shape of gold and silver bars, others in the likeness of horses, elephants, tygers, &c.) but the rest of the kindred and relations are also obliged to contribute their several shares to the funeral feast, but most liberally at this time; besides, it is very toilsome and a great deal of trouble, both to the children and all that are of kin, to resort so often to the corpse to salute and adore it, by prostrating themselves four times on the ground, and lamenting him three times a day, at the hours of repast, with endless other ceremonies, too tedious here to relate.

All that have means are very careful to provide their own coffin, when they are well advanced in years, in which they are extraordinary choice, both as to the thickness and goodness of the wood, as well as workmanship, and regard no expences to have it to their fancies.

They observe this distinction in the sexes. If a male die, he is cloathed with seven of his best coats; if a female, with nine. In the mouth of those of quality are put small pieces of gold and silver, with some seed pearl. This they fancy will not only render him honourable in the other world, but prevent also want and indigence; yet the poorer sort use the scrapings of their fingers and toes, believing that the mouth of the deceased being filled with this filth, he cannot plague and torment his living relations. Likewise some will place on the coffin a cup of rice, which is shifted every meal, and at last buried with the corpse.

They use no nails to fasten the lid to its coffin, but cement it with laquer, so tight, as is really admirable, esteeming it a great injury to nail up the body of the deceased.

When the sons accompany the corpse, they are clad for that day, in very coarse robes, made of the refuse of silk, and caps of the same stuff, which are tyed with cords on their heads; they have staves in their hands to lean on, for fear grief should cause them to faint.

The wives and daughters of fashion have a curtain very large, held over their heads, that they may not be seen; yet they are easily heard by their moans and lamentations, which are made *viva voce*, and very loud. As the corpse is carried through the streets, the eldest son will lie down now and then on the ground, for the corpse to pass over him (which, in their opinion, is the greatest mark of filial duty); then rising again, he pushes the coffin back with both his hands, as 'twere to stop it from going further on, which is continued till they come to the grave.

Painted and gilded images, in the shapes of men and beasts, all of paper-work, follow the hearse in great numbers, with some fryers, with the noise of drums, timbrels, hautboys, copper basons, &c. much in the nature of a popish procession; which paper finery is to be burnt immediately after the Interment.

More or less sumptuous is the funeral, according to the condition or quality of the person; for those of account are not only carried by many men, but have also double coffins, one in another, and over it a canopy of state, richly set forth, attended by soldiers, and honoured with the presence of great *Mandareens*.

Their manner is to cut their hair to the shoulders, and to wear ash-coloured cloaths, and a particular sort of straw hats, for the space of three years, for either father or mother, yet the eldest son must add thereunto three months more; for other relations less.

Their way of reckoning is very strange, for if one should die, or a child be born in *January*, be it the last day of the moon, *February* following being the first moon of their new year, they count him to have been dead two years, or the child to be two years old, when, in effect, it is no more than one day.

During the time of their mourning, they seldom use their wonted lodgings; they lie on straw mats on the bare ground; their diet is not only mean and sparing, but the very bandesia and cups the victuals are served in, are coarse, and of the worst sort. They forbear wine, and go to no feasts or banquets; they must lend no ear to musick, nor

BARON. eye to dancing, nor contract matrimony; for on the complaint of their kindred on this head, the law will disinherit them. They have a great care not to appear in publick any wise fine, but rather austere abstinence from all merriment and finery whatsoever: but as the three years grow near an end, they gradually decline too in the severity of this discipline.

Their sepulchres are in the several *Aldeas* of their parents nativity, and unhappy is he deemed whose body or bones are not brought home, as they term it; but how to chuse the best place to inter the dead, is the grand mystery, and held to be of that consequence that they verily believe, that infallibly thereon depends the happiness or misery of their successors; wherefore they usually consult many years with *Tay de lee*, before they come to a conclusion in that affair.

During these times of mourning, they feast the dead four times a year, in the months of *May*, *June*, *July* and *September*, spending in each of them two, three, or four days; but the sacrifice which is made at the expiration of the three years is the greatest and most magnificent of all, tho' they are in the rest prodigal enough, and will spend not only their whole substance therein, but run themselves in debt too, and yet are for so doing both highly respected and commended of friends and acquaintance. After this they keep their anniversary offering on the day of the party's decease, which is punctually observed from generation to generation, to perpetuity. I have in jesting told some of them, I should not like to die a *Tonquenesse*, were it only because the custom of the country, whilst living, allowed me three meals a day, but when dead they would feed me but once a year; a severity more than sufficient to starve the dead, had they need of food.

It cannot fail of being entertaining to our readers, to add to our author in this place, what the learned father *Calmet* has collected, in relation to the practice of setting food upon the tombs of the dead; and of repasts made at their funerals; whereby it will be perceived, that this custom is not confined to *Tonqueen*, or even to *China*; but that it had obtained almost universally in the darker ages of the world. What he says, will be found under the head of *REPAS*, and is so curious, that we shall give the translation of it intire.

“*REPAST*, or food, says he, that was set upon the tombs of the dead. *Cæna mortui*. *Baruch* mentions it in these words. *Rugiunt autem clamantes contra deos suos, sicut in cæna mortui*. The pagans howl in the presence of their gods, as in the repast which is made for the

“dead. He speaks of certain solemnities, wherein the idolaters used to make great lamentations: for example, in the feasts of *Adonis*. As to the repasts for the dead, they are distinguished into two kinds: One was made in the house of the defunct, at the return of the mourners from the grave. To this were invited the kindred and friends of the deceased; where they did not fail to express their grief by cries and lamentations. The other kind was made upon the tomb itself of the dead person, where they provided a repast for the wandering souls, and believed that the goddess *Trivia*, who presides over the streets and highways, repaired thither in the night-time. But in truth they were beggars and poor people, who came thither in the darkness of the night, and carried away what was left upon the tomb.

Est honor & tumulis animas placare paternas, Ovid. Fast.
Parvaque in extructas munera ferre pyras.

“Sometimes, however, the relations made a small repast upon the tomb of the deceased. *Ad sepulchrum antiquo more siliernum confecimus, id est, περικείμενον, quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii Vale.* Nonnius Marcell. ex Varone.

“The custom of setting food upon the sepulchres of the dead, was common among the *Hebrews*. *Tobit* thus advises his son; *Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.* Tob. iv. 17. That is to say, not to partake in the repast with the relations, who performed the same ceremony. And *Jesus* the son of *Sirach* affirms, that *delicates poured upon a mouth shut up, are as messes of meat set upon a grave.* What is thus set upon a tomb, is utterly lost as to the dead person; he can have no benefit from it. And elsewhere; *A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living, and for the dead detain it not.* Ecclus. vii. 33.

“This custom was almost universal, We find it among the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and almost all the people of the east. It still obtains in *Syria*, in *Babylonia*, and in *China*. *St. Austin* observes, that in his time, in *Africa*, they laid victuals upon the tombs of the martyrs, and in church-yards. The thing at first was done very innocently, but afterwards it degenerated into an abuse; and the greatest saints, and most zealous bishops, as *St. Austin* and *St. Ambrose*, had much difficulty to suppress it. *St. Monica* being at *Milan*, had a mind, according to custom, to offer bread and wine to the memory of the martyrs; but the porter would not open the door to her, because *St. Ambrose* had forbid him; she there- fore

“ fore submitted with an humble obedience.

“ The repast that was made in the house
 “ of the deceased among the Jews, was
 “ also of two kinds. One was during the
 “ time that the mourning continued, and
 “ these repasts were looked upon as unclean,
 “ because those that partook of them were
 “ unclean, as having assisted at the obse-
 “ quies of the dead person. *Hosea* says;
 Hos. ix. 4. “ *Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the*
 “ *bred of mourners; all that eat thereof*
 “ *shall be polluted.* And in the form that
 “ the *Israelites* made use of when they of-
 “ fered their first-fruits, they addressed
 “ themselves thus to the Lord; *O Lord, I*
 “ *have not neglected thy ordinances; I have*
 “ *not used these things while I was in mourn-*
 “ *ing; I have made no use of them at the*
 “ *funerals of the dead.* God would not
 “ permit *Ezekiel* to mourn for his wife.

“ *Cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread* BARON:
 “ *of men.* And *Jeremiah*; *Neither shall* Eze. xxiv.
 “ *men give them the cup of consolation, to* 17.
 “ *drink for their father, or for their mother.* Jer. xvi. 7.

“ The other repasts made in the time of
 “ mourning, are those which were given
 “ after the funeral. *Josephus* relates, that *Joseph. de*
 “ *Archelaus* treated the whole people in a bello, l. 2.
 “ magnificent manner, after he had com- c. 1.
 “ pleated the seven days mourning for the
 “ king his father. He there adds, that it
 “ was the custom of his nation to make
 “ great feasts for the relations, which could
 “ not be done without an injury to many
 “ families, which were not in a condition
 “ to support such large expences. *Saint Paulin.*
 “ *Pauline* commends *Pammachius*, for ha- illustrat. p.
 “ ving made a great feast for the poor, in 29, 30.
 “ the basilicon of *St. Peter*, on the day of
 “ the funeral of his wife *Paulina*.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the funeral pomp of the chova or general of Tonqueen.

THE funeral obsequies of the chova, or general of *Tonqueen*, are performed with the same pomp and magnificence as were usually observed at the burial of their former kings, and in many respects exceed that of their present kings. As soon then as the general dies, his successors and courtiers endeavour, with all imaginable art, to conceal his death, for the space of three or four days; for should it presently be known abroad, it would unavoidably put the country, especially the chief city of *Cacho*, in great terror and consternation, because it has constantly happened at the decease of every one of them (this last excepted), that the state was disturbed with broils, contentions and civil wars, amongst the surviving sons and brethren, who strive for superiority; wherefore it is no marvel, if in this case the people are affected with their contention.

The first thing they do to their dead general is, to wash his body, and to put him on seven of his best coats, and to present him with victuals, with which he is served in the best manner possible. Then his successor, and all the princes and princesses of the blood come to lament his departure, prostrating themselves five times before him, weeping aloud, asking him Why he would leave them, and what he wanted, &c. After them the *Mandareens*, most in favour, are permitted to perform their duty, but their ceremony of condolence is to be returned them again, by the prince successor and eldest son, tho' they dare not to receive it. Except those persons, none are admitted to have a sight of

the defunct; nay, those related afar off cannot have this honour. After which ceremony they put into his mouth small pieces of gold, silver, and seed pearl. The corpse is laid in a stately coffin, laquered over very thick, and of excellent wood; at the bottom of which they strew powder of rice and carvances, to prevent any noisome smell, over which they spread fine quilts and carpets. The corpse thus served, is placed in another room, where lamps and candles are continually kept burning; thither all his children, wives, and nearest kindred, repair three times a day, when the deceased is presented with victuals, viz. in the morning between five and six o'clock, twelve at noon, and five in the evening, and they pay their adoration to him. This continues all the time he is above ground.

There is no such thing as embalming the body to lie in state sixty-five days, and liberty for the people to come and see him, as our author pretends; neither do the bonfes and poor partake of the victuals set before him; nor does the provincial governor receive any order from court how long the country is to mourn, since their custom directs them therein sufficiently, without such particular provisions. The whole country is obliged to mourn, as well for the general as king, the space of twenty-four days; the prince successor three years and three months, his other children and wives three years; the other near relations one year; and those further off, some five, and others but three months; but all the great *Mandareens* three years, equal with the children.

BARON. I cannot imagine in what part of the palace those towers, he speaks of, stood, or what became of those bells that never left tolling, from the general's expiring to the bringing of the corpse into the galley, since they were silent at the last funeral pomp of the general in 1683.

When the needful preparations are ready, then the galleys appointed to transport and accompany the body, wait near the arsenal, which is not distant two days journey, as he says, from the palace, but only something less than half an hour, whither the corpse is conducted in the following manner.

[Plate 12.] Several companies of soldiers, all in black, with their arms, being led by their respective captains, or *Mandareens*, bring up the van of this funeral pomp, marching on gravely and silently; then follow two fellows of gigantick stature, carrying a kind of partizans, with targets in their hands, and a mask or vizard on their face, to scare the devil, and open the way for the hearse to pass; next come the musicians with their drums, hautboys, copper basons, &c. playing their mournful tunes, which really are very doleful. Next is carried the funeral elogium and titles, which are more illustrious than what he had in his life time; and he is stiled, The incomparable greatness, most precious and noble father of his country, of most splendid fame, and the like; all which is embroidered in golden characters, on a piece of fine scarlet, or crimson damask, which is fixed on a frame of two or three fathom high, and almost one fathom wide, and erected on a pedestal, and carried on the shoulders of twenty or thirty soldiers of the life-guard.

After this their idol, or pagoda, takes place, carried in a small gilded house, but with great reverence; then the two pennants, followed by the mausoleum or state cabin, richly gilded, and curiously carved, wherein is the general's corpse. The said mausoleum doth not stand in a chariot, nor is it drawn by eight stags, trained to that service, and led by so many captains of the life-guard, as related by our author (for it is a rare thing to see either deer or stag in this country); but it is carried on the shoulders of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty soldiers, in good order and great silence, with many fans and umbrells round about it, as well to shade it, as for state.

Just behind the hearse comes the eldest son and successor, with his brothers, all clad with coats made of refuse silk, not unlike our sackcloth, of a brown colour, tied with cords to their bodies; their caps are of the same, and fastned in like manner; they all have sticks in their hands, and only the eldest has straw shoes. These are immediately followed by the deceased's wives,

concubines, and daughters, under a curtain, or pavillion of white callico, very coarse, their garb of the same stuff, howling and lamenting. Behind these come the servants of the inner court, both damsels and young capadoes; as the front, so the rear and flanks are guarded by armed soldiers, under their several commanders, so that in this funeral pomp neither elephants, horses, nor chariots, appear, as he relates, unless those of paper and painted wood, whereof great quantities accompany the interment, to be burnt at the grave.

Being arrived at the galleys, in one of them, which is all black, laquered plain, and without any ornament of carved and gilded work, the corpse is placed; the rest of the galleys that attend the solemnity are but ordinary, fifty or sixty in number: Thus they set forth from *Cacho* for *Tingeva*, the aldea and birth-place of his ancestors, a journey of five or six days at least, as they make it; for the galley the corpse is in, is towed leisurely, by five or six others, and must use neither oars, nor make the least noise by drums or musick, for fear of disturbing the dead. The other galleys are also to keep as much silence as may be. By the way they stop at certain places, in each province appropriated by the said governors to sacrifice; for which service they prepare large provisions of cows, buffaloes, hogs, &c. The new general, however, very often stays at home, and seldom permits any of his brothers to go, for fear of plots and innovation, but his sisters are commanded to attend the funeral. The ordering the whole solemnity is intrusted to the care and conduct of some great favourite.

When they arrive at the intended aldea, there is more than a little to do with their obsequies and ceremonies, according to their rites: the particular place where he is buried few know precisely, and those are sworn to secrecy; and this not for fear of losing the treasure that is interred with him, as *M. Taverniere* fancies, (for there is none but what is put into their mouths, as I mentioned before) but out of superstitious motives, as well as state-jealousy; for as they believe, they shall be happy and great if they meet with a good favourable sepulchre for their relations; so the general is always fearful that the place where his predecessor rests being known to their enemies, it would depend on their malicious power to ruin his family, only by taking out his ancestor's bones, and interring those of their own family in their place. Indeed we have many examples in this country of such fools, as thought to make way for their exaltation, by thus transplacing the bones of the dead men; but as many as have attempted it have suffered for their foolish presumption.

As

As to those lords and ladies that, according to him, will needs be buried alive with the king or general; it is a thing so contrary to their customs, as well as repugnant to their natures, that I verily believe, if they thought we had such an opinion of them, they would treat us as brutes and savages. Nor do I know of any city and its fair castle, in the whole kingdom of *Tonqueen*, that is called *Bodligo*; but indeed those banks of the river, opposite to the city of *Cacho*, are call'd *Bode*; but, however, there is neither king's house, palace, or castle, on or near the same.

But it remains to speak something of their third annual sacrifices and feast, for the defunct general, which happens about three months before the mourning expires. The celebration whereof extends not only to his family, but all the mandareens that hold any office must appear at this grand solemnity, to pay their offering, in token of their gratitude to their deceased benefactor and common father.

The manner is thus: Just before the arsenal, on the sandy island, there are built of bamboos and slight timber, many large and spacious houses, after the manner of their palaces, with wide yards and open courts, wrought most curiously with basket-work, &c. The apartments thereof, especially that where the altar stands, are richly hang'd with gold and silver cloth; the posts and stands are either covered with the same, or with fine scarlet or other *European* manufactures; the roof is canopy'd with silk damask, and the floor is covered with mats and carpets. The altar itself is most curiously carved, lacker'd, and splendidly daub'd with gold, to profusion of cost, labour and diligence. And as this is the general and his family's share, so the mandareens of quality, according to their abilities, strive to out-do each other in their funeral piles, as I may call them, which are placed round about the former work, in good order, and at an equal distance and height, and of a like fashion, either four, six, or eight feet square, about fifteen or twenty feet diameter, resembling much our large lanterns, open on all sides, with shutters within the banisters and rails, very neatly set forth with rich, painted, carved, and lacker'd work, and hangings of costly silks and good pieces of broad cloth; the structure itself of slight timber and boards: The great mandareens each build two of these; the others one apiece; so that this barren place is covered in less than the space of fifteen days, with all this finery, which makes it resemble another city, or an *Antiochian*-like camp: in which interim the whole country flocks thither to see this goodly and pompous erection; and many strange beasts, as tygers, bears, baboons,

monkeys, and what other wild creatures ^{BARON.} they can get, are brought thither from far places; for which they have been sometimes diligently seeking, perhaps days and years. From all which the people (who gather together in such prodigious crowds, as give a great idea of the populousness of the country) take occasion to admire the general's grandeur and love to his deceased father. But for about three days before the time prefix'd for this sacrifice, no spectators are so much as to approach this place, because then they are busy'd in setting the image of the defunct before the altar, richly habited with many coats; and to serve it with victuals; and to present him with amber, pearl and coral necklaces, gold and silver tankards, cups, basons, tables, and, in short, with all the finery and toys that he delighted in, and made use of in his life-time; and at the same instant they erect, in the court-yard, where this altar stands, a machine; in the making whereof they had before employ'd five or six months, under the direction and oversight of three or four great mandareens, resembling somewhat the mausoleum, which *M. Taverniere* describes; which they call *Anja Tangb*. It is about three or four stories, or forty feet high, and about thirty feet long, and twenty broad, made of thin boards and slight timber, to be light and portable; and the different parts of it are so contriv'd as to take off and on; the undermost part stands on four wheels, whereon the rest are placed, one by one, by means and help of such instruments and engines as our carpenters use to mount their heavy timber. The pageant, or fabrick itself, is mighty neat, handsome, and glorious, adorn'd with carved, gilded, painted, and lacker'd work, as rich and costly as possible can be made of that kind, with many pretty little inventions of galleries, balconies, windows, doors, porches, &c. to adorn it the more. On this magnificent throne is placed another image of the dead general, in rich cloaths, which is afterwards burnt with the rest.

Matters being brought to this order, the general and his family repair thither early in the morning of the last three fore-mentioned days, the ways being lined with soldiers, and he attended by his life-guard, follow'd by *Mandareens* and grandees, where most of the day is spent in tears, mourning and lamentations, sombeys, sacrifices and offerings for his father; but, in the evening, the offered viands and other victims are divided amongst the assistants and soldiers.

Of the wild and savage creatures some are drowned, to send their ghosts to the deceased prince, to be at his devotion in the other world, and others are given away.

BARON. About ten o'clock, an infinite number of images of all sorts of fowls, horses and elephants in paper-work, &c. are burnt in the open court, just before the machine or mausoleum, where likewise the general, with his relations and *Mandareens*, sombeys to the image of his predecessor therein; their magicians, *Thay*, *Phou*, *Tbwée*, all the while singing, reading, jumping, and playing so many antick tricks, and making such terrible postures, as would scare some, and persuade others, they were either really demoniacal, or at least possessed with mad-

ness. About three hours after mid-night fire is set to all this finery, the general, &c. retiring, taking along with him the pearls, amber, gold and silver that was on the altar (which are reserved for the service of the defunct, in a peculiar place of his palace). The *Mandareens* also send to their houses again whatsoever gold, silver, &c. they brought thither, leaving the rest to be consumed by the flames; and its ashes the wind scatters where it pleases, so that but very little, if any, comes where it was designed.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the sects, idols, worship, superstition, and pagodas or temples of the Tonqueeneses.

[Plate 13.] **T**HOUGH there are many sects amongst this people, yet only two are chiefly followed. The first is that of *Congfutu*, as the *Chineses* call him, (the *Tonqueeneses*, *Ong-Congtu*, and the *Europeans*, *Confucius*) the ancientest of the *Chinese* philosophers. This man they esteemed holy; and, for wisdom, he is reputed not only amongst them and the *Chineses*, but the *Japaneses* too, the *Solomon* of all mortals: Without some proficiency in whose learning, none can attain any degree in their civil government, or be any ways allow'd to know matters of importance; tho' the truth thereof, and very quintessence of his doctrine, is nothing else but what we call moral philosophy, and consists in the following position, "That every one ought to know and perfect himself, and then, by his good and virtuous example, bring others to the same degree of goodness, so as they jointly may attain the supreme good; that it is therefore necessary to apply themselves to the study of philosophy, without which none can have a proper insight or inspection of things, and be able to know what is to be followed or avoided, nor rectify their desires according to reason;" with other the like precepts, wherein consists the *Chinese* doctrine and wisdom.

But his disciples, building on his principles, have extracted therefrom many rules and precepts, which soon after became the main subject of their superstition and religion. They acknowledge one supreme deity, and that all terrestrial things are directed, governed and preserved by him: that the world was eternal, without either beginning or creator. They reject the worship of images; they venerate and pay a kind of adoration to spirits. They expect reward for good deeds, and punishment for evil. They believe, in a manner, the immortality of the soul, and pray for the deceased. Some of them also believe, that

the souls of the just live after separation from the body; and that the souls of the wicked perish as soon as they leave the body. They teach, that the air is full of malignant spirits, which is their dwelling place; and that those spirits are continually at variance with the living. They particularly recommend to their pupils, to honour their deceased friends and parents; and do much concern themselves in performing certain ceremonies thereunto belonging, as I have mentioned already; and hold several other things very rational, and, in my opinion, in many things nothing at all inferior to either the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*. Neither must we think, that the wiser and better sort amongst them are so shallow-brained, as to believe the dead stand in need of victuals, and that therefore they are so served, as I have mentioned in its due place; no, they know better, and tell us, they do it for no other reason, than to demonstrate their love and respect to their deceased parents; and withal to teach their own children and friends thereby, how to honour them when they shall be no more.

However, the vulgar sort, and those that carry their judgment in their eyes, credit that as well as many other impertinent impossibilities of their superstition. In fine, tho' this sect hath no pagodas erected, nor particular place appointed to worship the king of heaven in, or priests to preach and propagate the said doctrine, nor a due form commanded or observed, but it is left to every one's discretion to do as he pleases in these respects, so as he gives thereby no scandal, yet it has their kings, princes, grandees, and the learned men of the kingdom for its followers.

In former days the king of the land might only sacrifice to the king of heaven; but, since the general has usurped the royal power, he has assumed this sovereign prerogative, and performs the said ceremony in his

his palace himself, in case of publick calamity, as want of rain, famine, great mortality, &c. befalling the kingdom, which no other may do, on peril of their lives.

The second sect is called *Boot*, which signifies the worship of idols or images, and is generally followed by the ignorant, vulgar and simple sort of people, and more especially the women and capadoes, the most constant adherers thereunto. Their tenets are, to worship images devoutly, to believe transmigration. They offer to the devil, that he may not hurt them. They believe a certain deity coming from three united gods. They impose a cloyster and retired life, and think their works can be meritorious, and that the wicked suffer torments together; with many foolish superstitious niceties, too idle to repeat: however, they have no priest, any more than the former sect, to preach and propagate their doctrine; all they have, are their Sayes, or Bonzes, as M. *Tavernier* calls them (which, by mistake, he terms priests) which are a kind of friers or monks. They have some nuns also, whose dwellings are about, and sometimes in their pagodas, who most commonly are invited to celebrate their funerals with their drums, trumpets, and other musick: they subsist for the most part by alms, and the charity of the people. In brief, this is that sect that has spread its fopperies and impertinences very far; and, in effect, with its schism and imposture, has overspread, in part or whole, most of the eastern countries, as this of *Tonqueen*, *China*, *Japan*, *Correa*, *Formosa*, *Cambodia*, *Siam*, the *Gentues* of coast *Cormandel* and *Bengal*, *Ceylon*, *Indosthan*, &c. From one of these two last places it was first brought into *China*, on the following occasion.

One of the *Chinese* emperors coming to the knowledge of a famous law that was taught in the west, which was very efficacious for instructing and conducting mankind to wisdom and virtue, and that the doctors and expounders thereof were persons extremely celebrated for their exemplary lives and stupendous and miraculous actions, &c. he therefore dispatched several sages to find out this law, and bring it to *China*. These ambassadors, after they had travelled, or rather erred, to and fro the space of almost three years, arrived either in *Indosthan* or *Mallabar*; where finding this sect of *Boots* very rife, and of mighty veneration, and being deceived by the devil, and weary of travelling any further, they thought they had found what they sought for; and so, without more ado, they got seventy-two books of those false tales, of the natives, with some able interpreters, and returned to *China*, where the emperor received them most kindly and joyfully; and

ordered directly, that the said sect should be publickly taught throughout all his dominions. In which miserable blindness they have ever since continued. BARON.

I cannot help making an observation in this place, for the honour of the christian religion; and that is, that, in all appearance, this new law which the *Chinese* emperor at that time had heard of, could be no other than the first promulgation of the gospel in and about *Judea*; and its being then preached to *Jews* as well as gentiles, by the holy apostles, which was attended with so many miracles, that it was no wonder the fame thereof should extend to the remotest regions, and reach the ears of the *Chinese* emperor: and this is still the more probable, because, by the nearest calculation that can be made, the time which the emperor of *China* is recorded to have heard of the publication of this new doctrine, agrees punctually with that of the appearance of our Saviour, and the preaching of the apostles. And had the sages sent by that emperor, proceeded as they ought, not only the great empire of *China*, but all the vast territories adjacent, that now lie immers'd in paganism and the dregs of superstition, might have been converted, and brought to the glorious light of christianity.

Some other sects, as that of *Lanzo*, are but slenderly followed, as is said before, tho' their magicians and necromancers, as *Thay-Boo*, *Thay-Boo-Twe*, *Thay-de-Lie*, are the proselytes and followers thereof, and in great esteem with the princes, and respected by the vulgar, so that they are consulted by both in their most weighty occasions; and they receive their opinions and false predictions as very oracles, believing they speak by divine inspiration, and have the fore-knowledge of future events: wherefore it is not probable, that they were of this sort that were sent to the frontiers for soldiers, as M. *Taverniere* has it.

I know indeed, that the general rummages sometimes a certain sort of vagabonds that haunt every corner of the kingdom, pretending to be conjurers and fortune-tellers, cheating and misleading thereby the simple and ignorant people, and infecting them with notions contrary to the belief of the sects publickly tolerated. But as the *Tonqueenese* are really very credulous, and ready to embrace almost every new opinion they meet withal, so are they not less tenacious in retaining any notions which they are in possession of, and observe carefully times and seasons, as good and bad; in which they will not undertake any voyages or journey, nor build houses, cultivate grounds, nor bargain for any thing considerable; nor even will they attempt, on ominous days,

to

BARON. to cure their sick, bury their dead, nor, in a manner, transact any thing without the advice of their soothsayers and blind wizards, who are principally divided into three classes, that is, those who are followers of *Thay-Boo*, or *Thay-Boo-Twe*, or *Thay-de-Lie*, and have not the least sense of their being most grossly cheated and deluded by the fallacious pretensions of those impudent fellows, who live wholly by selling their directions to them at excessive rates, as the most desirable and current merchandize. And, since these pretended conjurers are so much observed and venerated by the deluded people, I will descend to the particular functions of every one of them, and speak first of *Thay-Boo*, and his class.

These pretend to declare all such future events as concern marriages, building of houses, and, in general, pretend to foretell the success of any business of consequence. All that come to him, or those of his class, are kindly used, for their money, and receive, for answers, what is suppos'd will satisfy them best, but always so ambiguous, as will bear a double and doubtful interpretation. The magicians of this tribe are generally blind, either born so, or come to be so by some accident or other. Before they pronounce their sentence on the proposed question, they take three pieces of copper coin, inscribed with characters, which they throw on the ground several times, and feel what side of it falls uppermost; then prating and mumbling some strange kind of words to themselves, they deliver the result of the conjuration.

Secondly, *Thay-Boo-Twe*, to whom they resort in all distempers. This class of pretended magicians have their books, by which they pretend to find out the cause and result of all sickness; and never miss to tell the sick party, that his distemper proceeds from the devil, or some water gods; and

pretend to cure it by the noise of drums, bassons and trumpets. The conjurer of this tribe is habited very antickly, and sings very loud, and makes hideous noises, pronouncing many execrations and blasphemous words, founding continually a small bell, which he holds in his hand, jumping and skipping as if the devil were really in him; and all this while there is store of victuals prepared for an offering to the devil, but it is eaten by himself: and he will continue this sport sometimes for several days, till the patient be either dead or recovered, and then he can give an answer with some certainty.

It belongs to them to dispossess such as are possess'd by the devil, which is the ultimate of their conjuration, and is commonly effected after this manner. They curse, and most impiously invoke I do not know what demon; and they paint the pictures of devils, with horrible faces, on yellow paper, which is fixed to the wall of the house; then they fall to balling so terribly, and scream so loud, dancing and skipping, as is most ridiculous, sometimes fearful to see and hear. They also bless and consecrate new houses; and if they be suspected to be haunted, they drive the devil out of them by their conjuration, and the firing of muskets.

Thay-de-Lie's business is, to be consulted, which are the fittest places for burial of the dead; so that the living relations and kindred may, by this means, be happy and fortunate; and the like follies.

I will speak nothing of *Ba-Cote*, because they are only the pretended witches amongst the baser sort.

As for temples and pagodas, since the *Tonqueeneses* are not very devout, there are neither so many, nor those so sumptuous, as I have seen in some of the neighbouring countries; and the preceding plate will give you a sufficient idea of them.



A

VOYAGE to VIRGINIA.

B Y

Colonel NORWOOD.

Time of
setting out.

THE month of *August* anno 1649, being the time I ingag'd to meet my two comrades, major *Francis Morrison* and major *Richard Fox*, at *London*, in order to a full accomplishment of our purpose to seek our fortunes in *Virginia*, (pursuant to our agreement the year before in *Holland*) all parties very punctually appear'd at the time and place assign'd, and were all still in the same mind, fully bent to put in practice what we had so solemnly agreed upon, our inclinations that way being nothing abated, but were rather quicken'd by the new changes that we saw in the state of things, and that very much for the worse: For if our spirits were somewhat depress'd in contemplation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our king in the *Isle of Wight*, to what horrors and despair must our minds be reduc'd at the bloody and bitter stroke of his assassination at his palace of *White-ball*?

This unparallel'd butchery made the rebels cast away the scabbards of their swords with both their hands, in full resolution never to let them meet again, either by submission or capitulation; so that the sad prospect of affairs in this juncture, gave such a damp to all the royal party, who had resolv'd to persevere in the principle which ingag'd them in the war, that a very considerable number of nobility, clergy and gentry, so circumstanc'd, did fly from their native country, as from a place infected with the plague, and did betake themselves to travel any where to shun so hot a contagion, there being no point on the compass that would not suit with some of our tem-

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pers and circumstances, for transportation into foreign lands.

Of the number who chose to steer their course for *America*, such of them as inclin'd to try their fortunes at *Surinam*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua* and the *Leeward Islands*, were to be men of the first rate, who wanted not money or credit to balance the expence necessary to the carrying on the sugar-works: And this consideration alone was enough to determine our choice for *Virginia*, had we wanted other arguments to ingage us in the voyage. The honour I had of being nearly related to Sir *William Barkeley*, the governor, was no small incitation to encourage me, with a little stock, to this adventure: Major *Morrison* had the king's commission to be captain of the fort; and Mr. *Fox* was to share in our good or bad success: But my best cargaroon was his majesty's gracious letter in my favour, which took effect beyond my expectation, because it recommended me (above whatever I had or could deserve) to the governor's particular care.

To proceed then, without any further exordium, to the subject of this narrative: It fell out to be about the first day of *September* anno 1649, that we grew acquainted on the *Royal Exchange* with Capt. *John Locker*, whose bills upon the posts made us know he was master of a good ship (untruly so call'd) *The Virginia Merchant*, burden three hundred tons, of force thirty guns, or more: We were not long in treaty with the captain, but agreed with him for ourselves and servants at six pounds a head, to be transported into *James-River*; our goods to be paid for at the current price.

S f

About

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WOOD.

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WOOD.

About the fifteenth day we were order'd to meet the ship at *Gravesend*, where the captain was to clear with his merchants, and we to make our several payments; which when we had perform'd, we staid not for the ship, but took post for the *Downs*, where, with some impatience, we expected her coming there. About the sixteenth *ditto* we could see the whole fleet under sail, with a south-west wind; which having brought them to that road, kept them there at anchor, until our money was almost spent at *Deal*.

September 23 the wind veered to the east, and we were summoned by signs and guns to repair on board. We had a fresh large gale three days, which cleared us of the channel, and put us out of soundings. With this propitious beginning we pursued our course for about twenty days, desiring to make the *Western Islands*; at which time the cooper began to complain, that our water-cask was almost empty, alledging, that there was not enough in hold, for our great family (about three hundred and thirty souls) to serve a month.

Scarcity
of water.

Our early want of water gave the master an alarm, and an occasion to consult with his officers, for a remedy to so important an evil as that might be, if not timely helped. We were now, by all accounts, very near the *Western Islands*: *Fyall* was that we were likely first to see, and our captain resolved to touch there to supply this defect, as the most commodious port for our purpose; and this was good news to the passengers, who are always glad at sight of land.

The day-break of *October 14* shewed us the peak of that island, the highest and most conspicuous land of any I have heard the seamen mention for land-marks, except that of *Teneriff*. We stood directly for the harbour, which is also a good road, land-lock'd by the peak, which stands easterly about a mile distant from the town.

As soon as we had saluted the castle, and return'd thanks for being civilly answer'd, captain *John Tatam*, our countryman, did the same from aboard his goodly ship the *John*. He was newly return'd from *Brasil*, in the kingdom of *Portugal's* service, and now bound for *Lisbon*, with a rich freight, and some lady of great note, who, with her family, took passage with him.

The *English* merchants from the town came soon on board our ship, and gave us a very civil welcome. Of them, one *Mr. Andrews* invited me, with my two comrades, to refresh ourselves with fruit and meat, such as the island produced.

Our captain din'd with us at his house, and so did captain *Tatam*, who in like courteous manner engaged us all to dine on board his ship the next day. We visited the peach-trees for our desert, of which I took at least a double share, and did not fail to visit and revisit them in the dead of night, to satisfy a ravenous appetite Nature has too prodigally given me for that species.

The next morning we survey'd the island, and thought the castle well fortified, especially on the sea-barr'd parts. The governor very civilly declared, he had lately received command from his majesty the king of *Portugal*, to treat all ships that belong'd and were faithful to the king of *Great Britain*, with more than common courtesy, as he, for his part, did in all we could desire.

A little before the time of dinner captain *Tatam* had sent his boats to bring us on board his ship; and it was well for us he did so, our ship's long-boat having been stav'd in pieces the night before, by the seamen's neglect, who had all tasted so liberally of new wine, by the commodiousness of the vintage, that they lay up and down dead drunk in all quarters, in a sad pickle.

The loss of our long-boat, as it was likely to make our watering tedious, and chargeable to the owners, so did it expose us to the hazard of many inconveniencies and perils in the whole course of our voyage, wherein frequent occasions occur that render that boat necessary to preserve the whole fabrick, and lives of the ship and company; but to this breach no other reparation was applicable, but by recourse to that great stock of patience we were to be furnish'd withal, for our support in the mighty straights we must encounter before we come to safe port.

Our captain, disabled hereby to take the best course for our dispatch, made choice of the next best way to effect it, by the island boats; and having order'd his officers to use all diligence, and greater care than before, he led the van into *Tatam's* boat, which brought us safe on board the *John*.

At our arrival we were welcomed with a whole tire of guns, and with a very kind aspect in the captain. He gave us excellent wines to drink before dinner, and at our meat as good of other sorts for concoction. There was a handsome plenty of fish and fowl, several ways cook'd, to relish the *Portuguese* and the *English* palates; and, which made our entertainment more complete, he had prevail'd with that great lady, with her pretty son of about twelve years old (though contrary

contrary to the custom even of the meaner sort at land) to sit at the table with us. She was taller than the ordinary stature of that nation, finely shap'd, had a very clear skin; her eyes and hair vying for the blackness and beauty of the jet; her modesty served, without any other art, to put a tincture of red upon her face; for when she saw herself environ'd with a company of strange faces, that had or might have had beards upon them, her blushes raised in her face a delicate complexion of red and white.

The captain was our interpreter to tell her how much we esteemed ourselves honoured with her presence, which (for her better justification) she was in a manner forced to grant us, the ship affording her no other place fit for her retreat whilst we were there. Her young son sat by her, on whom all our eyes were fix'd; and our minds united with one opinion, that the air and lineaments of his face, full of sweetness, made him so like our king when he was of that age, that, every one whispering his thoughts to his neighbour, we all broke out at length in an open admiration of so great resemblance.

The healths of the two kings were passing about with thundering peals of cannon; the youth was permitted by his mother to kiss the cup, and drink a small portion to that of our king; and she was in so pleasant an humour at this honour done to her son, that, to close our feast, she ordered the table to be covered anew, and a handsome banquet placed upon it, which we must partake of before we parted. To conclude this rare treat, she repeated the health of our king in a sort of choice rich wine that they make in *Brazil*, and drank the proportion she would take, without the allay of water, which till then she drank with little or no wine.

The approaching night made us take leave sooner than our inclinations would have led us ashore, the merchants having told us, there was no safe walking the streets in the night, for fear the *Pycaroes* (a sort of land-pirates) should snatch away our hats and looser garments, as they use to treat strangers.

When we had paid our thanks to the captain, we desired his best language to make our compliments to the lady and her son, which she return'd with her wishes for our happy voyage.

Whilst we were caress'd in this manner on shipboard, the seamen on shore continued in their debauchery, with very little advance of our dispatch; the getting water was so tedious in itself for lack of our boat, and so full of delays by drunken

contests of ours with the islanders, and with themselves, that after some days stay upon the island, when our captain resolv'd to sail away, he found the ship in worse condition for liquors, than when we came on shore; for if we got a new supply of water, the proportion was hardly enough to balance the expence of beer that was spent in the time we got it.

Some days before we parted, we saw the *John* under sail, bound for *Lisbon*; where the captain no sooner arrived and discharged his ship, but he lifted himself as a man of war in a squadron of ships then there, under the command of prince *Rupert*: which I mention for his honour, because I have heard the prince acknowledge in his favour, that he did his duty very well when there was like to be an occasion of trying his valour.

It was about the 22^d of *October* that we took leave of our landlord and *Fyal*.^{22.} October

We had store of black pigs for fresh meat, and I carry'd peaches without number. We parted with an easterly wind a topsail gate, which soon brought us into a trade-wind that favour'd us at fifty or sixty leagues in twenty-four hours, till we came to the height of *Bermudas*. In that latitude it is the general observation of seamen, that the seas are rough, and the weather stormy. It was my fortune to have a curiosity to look out, when the officer on the watch shewed me a more than ordinary agitation of the sea in one particular place above the rest; which was the effect of what they call a spout, a raging in the bowels of the sea (like a violent birth) striving to break out, and at last springs up like a mine at land, with weight and force enough to have hoisted our ship out of her proper element into the air (had the helm been for it) and to have made her do the superfluous; but God's providence secured us from that danger.

The sight of the island was welcome to all: the mariners learned thereby our true distance from cape *Hatteras*; and passengers were reliev'd with hopes to be soon at shore from a hungry pester'd ship and company.

The gale continued fair till *November 8*. Nov. 8. then we observed the water changed; and having the lead, we had thirty-five fathom of water, which was joyful news; our want of all things necessary for human life, made it so.

Towards break of day, weary of my lodging, I visited mate *Putts* on the watch, and would have treated him with brandy, but he refused that offer, unless I could also give him tobacco, which I had not. He said, it was near break of day, and he

NOR- he would look out to see what change
WOOD. there was in the water. No sooner were
his feet upon the deck, but with stamps
and noise he calls up the seamen, crying
out, *All hands aloft! Breaches, breaches on
both sides! All hands aloft!*

The seamen were soon on deck with this
dismal alarm, and saw the cause thereof;
but instead of applying their hands for
their preservation (through a general de-
spondency) they fell on their knees, com-
mending their souls as at the last gasp.
The captain came out at the noise to recti-
fy what was amiss; but seeing how the
case stood, his courage failed. Mate *Putts*
(a stout seaman) took heart again, and
cried out, Is there no good fellow that
will stand to the helm, and loose a sail?
But of all the ship's crew there were but
two foremast men that would be per-
swaded to obey commands, namely, *Tho-*
mas Reasin and *John Smith*, men of innate
courage, who, for their good resolution
on that and divers other occasions in the
various traverses of this voyage, deserve
to have their names kept in lasting remem-
brance.

One of them got up and loosed the
fore top-sail, to put the ship (if possible)
in steerage way, and under command;
the other stood to the helm, and he shifted
it in a nick of time; for the ship was
at the point of dashing on the starboard
breach: and although, in the rest of the
voyage, she was wont to be blamed for
the ill quality of not feeling the helm,
she did, in this important instance, re-
deem her credit, and fell round off for
our rescue from that danger. But the
sense of this escape lasted but a moment;
for no sooner was she fallen from that
breach, but another on the larboard-bow
was ready to receive her. The ship's crew,
by this time (reproached by the courage
of *Reasin* and *Smith*) were all at work;
and the helm shifting opportunely, she
fell off again as before. The light of the
day (which now broke forth) did discover
our condition to be altogether as perillous
as possible; for we now saw ourselves sur-
rounded with breaches; scarce any water
like a channel appeared for a way to shun
them. In this sad condition the ship
struck ground, and raised such a war of
water and sand together, which fell on
the main-chains, that now all hopes of
safety were laid aside; but the ship being
still afloat, and the seamen all of them
now under command, nothing was omit-
ted for our preservation that was in their
power.

Tom Reasin seeing the ship go a-head
in the likeliest water for a channel, and
ordering the helm accordingly, heaved

the lead; and after a little further ad-
vance into that new channel, wholly a-
gainst his hopes, he had a good deal of
water more than the ship drew, which
soon mended upon us, the next cast of
the lead affording eighteen or twenty
foot. We stood to this channel, and the
light of the morning enabling the quarter-
masters to con the ship, we were by this
miraculous mercy of God, soon clear of
the breaches at cape *Hatteras*, and got out
to sea.

No sooner was the ship freed of this
danger, and gotten a little into the offing,
but the seamen (like so many spirits) sur-
veyed each other, as if they doubted the
reality of the thing, and shook hands like
strangers, or men risen from the other
world, and did scarce believe they were,
what they seemed to be, men of flesh
and blood. As they recovered force, they
made what sail they could to stand to
sea-ward.

The gale came fresh at north-west, and A storm.
this fresh gale did soon grow up to a
violent storm, which increased to so great
a rigour, separating us from the land at
the rate of eight leagues a watch, merely
with our fore-courses, insomuch that the
master thought it necessary to stop that
career; and, in order thereunto, he did
advise with his officers to bring the ship
about, to furl all sails, and to try with
the mizzen.

The mountainous trowning north-west
seas that this storm made, were so unruly,
that the seamen knew not how to work the
ship about. We were already at a great
distance from land, and something must
be done to hinder our running off at that
excessive rate. The first thing they did,
was to lower the main-yard, to give some
ease to that mast, by laying it on the ship's
waste. Our great difficulty was, how to
deal so with the fore-sails, that the ship
might work about with safety, or at least
with as little hazard as possible. All hands
were too little to hale the sheet close, in
order to bring the ship about. Many
great seas were shipp'd as she came to
work through the trough of the sea: a-
mongst the rest one chanced to break upon
the poop (where we were quartered) and
that with so sad a weight, that we guessed
a tun of water (at the least) did enter the
tarpaulin, and set us all on float who were
in the round-house. The noise it made by
discharging itself in that manner, was like
the report of a great gun, and did put us
all into a horrible fright, which we could
not soon shake off. This shock being
past, the ship about, and our fore-sail
handled, we now lay trying with our miz-
zen.

Great
numbers
of porpoi-
ses.

NOR-
WOOD.

I cannot forget the prodigious number of porpoises that did that evening appear about the ship, to the astonishment of the oldest seamen in her. They seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as our eyes could discern; insomuch that a musket bullet, shot at random, could hardly fail to do execution on some of them. This the seamen would look upon as of bad portent, predicting ill whether; but in our case, who were in present possession of a storm, they appeared too late to gain the credit of foretelling what should come upon us in that kind.

The seas thus enraged, and all in foam, the gale still increasing upon us, the officers on the watch made frequent visits to the round-house, to prepare the captain for some evil encounter which this mighty tempest must bring forth: and their fears proved reasonable; for, about the hours of ten or eleven, our new disasters did begin with a crash from aloft. All hands were summon'd up with loud cries, that the fore-topmast was come by the board, not alone, but in conjunction with the fore-mast head broken short off, just under the cap.

This was a fore business, and put all to their wits end to recover to any competent condition; what could be done was done to prevent further mischiefs; but the whole trim and rigging of a ship depending much upon stays and tackle fixed to that mast, we had reason to expect greater ruins to follow, than what had already befallen us. Mate *Putts* was then on the watch, and did not want his apprehension of what did soon ensue, which in all likelihood was to end in our utter perdition; for about the hours of twelve or one at night, we heard and felt a mighty sea break on our fore-ship, which made such an inundation on the deck where the mate was walking, that he retired back with all diligence up to his knees in water, with short ejaculations of prayers in his mouth, supposing the ship was foundering, and at the last gasp. This looked like a stroke of death in every seaman's opinion: the ship stood stock still, with her head under water, seeming to bore her way into the sea. My two comrades and myself lay on our platform, sharing liberally in the general consternation. We took a short leave of each other, men, women, and children. All assaulted with the fresh terror of death, made a most dolorous outcry throughout the ship, whilst mate *Putts* perceiving the deck almost freed of water, called out aloud for hands to pump. This we thought a lightning before death, but gave me occasion (as having the best

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sea legs) to look out and learn the subject of this astonishing alarm, which proved to arise from no less cause than the loss of our fore-castle, with six guns, and our anchors (all but one that was fastened to a cable) together with our two cooks, whereof one was recovered by a strange providence.

This great gap, made by want of our fore-castle, did open a passage into the hold for other seas that should break there before a remedy was found out to carry them off, and this made our danger almost insuperable; but it fell out propitiously, that there were divers land-carpenter passengers, who were very helpful in this distress; and, in a little time, a slight platform of deal was tack'd to the timbers, to carry off any ordinary sea in the present straight we were in; every moment of this growing tempest cutting out new work to employ all hands to labour.

The bowsprit, too top heavy in itself, having lost all stays and rigging that should keep it steady, sway'd to and fro with such bangs on the bows, that at no less rate than the cutting it close off could the ship subsist.

All things were in miserable disorder, and it was evident our danger increas'd upon us: the stays of all the masts were gone, the shrouds that remained were loose and useless, and it was easy to foretel our main-topmast would soon come by the board. *Tom Reasin* (who was always ready to expose himself) with an ax in his hand, ran up with speed to prevent that evil, hoping thereby to ease the main-mast, and preserve it; but the danger of his person, in the enterprize, was so manifest, that he was called down amain; and no sooner was his foot upon the deck, but what was feared came to pass with a witness, both main and top-mast all came down together, and, in one shock, fell all to the windward clear into the sea, without hurt to any man's person.

Our main-mast thus fallen to the broad-side, was like to incommode us more in the sea, than in her proper station; for the shrouds and rigging not losing the hold they had of the ship, every surge did so check the mast (whose but-end lay charg'd to fall perpendicular on the ship's side) that it became a ram to batter and force the plank, and was doing the last execution upon us, if not prevented in time by edge-tools, which freed the ship from that unexpected assault and battery.

Abandon'd in this manner to the fury of the raging sea, tossed up and down without any rigging to keep the ship steady, our seamen frequently fell over-

T. t

board,

NOR- board, without any one regarding the
WOOD. loss of another, every man expecting the
same fate, tho' in a different manner. The ceilings of this hulk (for it was no better) were for the same cause so uneasy, that, in many tumbles, the deck would touch the sea, and their stand still as if she would never make another. Our mizzen mast only remained, by which we hoped to bring the ship about in proper season, which now lay stemming to the east.

In this posture did we pass the tenth and eleventh days of *November*; the twelfth in the morning we saw an *English* merchant, who shewed his ensign, but would not speak with us, tho' the storm was abated, and the season more fit for communication. We imagined the reason was, because he would not be compelled to be civil to us: he thought our condition desperate, and we had more guns than he could resist, which might enable us to take what he would not sell or give. He shot a gun to leeward, stood his course, and turn'd his poop upon us.

Before we attempted to bring the ship about, it was necessary to refresh the seamen, who were almost worn out with toil and want of rest, having had no leisure of eating set meals for many days. The passengers, overcharged with excessive fears, had no appetite to eat; and (which was worst of all) both seamen and passengers were in a deplorable state as to the remaining victuals, all like to fall under extreme want; for the storm, by taking away the fore-castle, having thrown much water into the hold, our stock of bread (the staff of life) was greatly damaged; and there remained no way to dress our meat, now that the cook-room was gone: the incessant tumbling of the ship (as has been observ'd) made all such cookery wholly impracticable. The only expedient to make fire betwixt decks, was, by sawing a cask in the middle, and filling it with ballast, which made a hearth, to parch pease, and broil salt beef; nor could this be done but with great attendance, which was many times frustrated by being thrown topsy-turvy in spite of all circumspection, to the great defeat of empty stomachs.

Nov. 13.

The seas were much appeas'd the thirteenth day, and divers *English* ships saw, and were seen by us, but would not speak with us; only one, who kept the pump always going, for having tasted too liberally of the storm, he was so kind as to accost us. He lay by till our wherry (the only surviving boat that was left us) made him a visit. The master skew'd our men his leaks, and propos'd, that ours would

spare him hands to pump in lieu of any thing he could spare for our relief. He promised however to keep us company, and give us a tow to help to weather the cape, if occasion offered; but that was only a copy of his countenance; for in the night we lost each other, and we never heard more of him, tho' he was bound to our port.

The weather now invited us to get the ship about with our mizzen; and having done so, the next consideration was, how to make sail. The fore mast, all this while (as much as was of it) stood its ground: and as it was without dispute, that a yard must in the first place be fixed to it, so was it a matter of no small difficulty how to advance to the top of that greasy slippery stump, since he that would attempt it, could take no hold himself, nor receive any help for his rise, by other hands. This was a case that put all the ship's crew to a nonplus; but *Tom Reasfin* (a constant friend at need, that would not be baffled by any difficulty) shewed by his countenance, he had a mind to try his skill to bring us out of this unhappy crisis. To encourage him the more, all passengers did promise and subscribe to reward his service, in *Virginia*, by tobacco, when God should enable us so to do. The proportions being set down, many were the more generous, because they never thought to see the place of payment, but expected to anticipate that by the payment of a greater debt to nature, which was like to be exacted every hour by an arrest of the merciless sea, which made small shew of taking bail for our appearance in *Virginia*.

The manner of *Tom Reasfin's* ascent to this important work, was thus. Among the scatter'd parcels of the ship's stores he had the luck to find about half a dozen iron spikes fit for his purpose. His first onset was to drive one of them into the mast, almost to the head, as high as he could reach; which being done, he took a rope of about ten foot long and having threaded the same in a block or pulley, so as to divide it in the middle, he made both ends meet in a knot upon the spike, on both sides of the mast; so that the block falling on the contrary side, became a stirrup to mount upon for driving another spike in the same manner: and thus from step to step, observing the best advantage of striking with his hammer in the smoothest sea, he got aloft, drove cleats for shrouds, to rest upon, and was soon in a posture of receiving help from his comrades, who got a yard and sails (with other accommodation)

dition) such as could be had, and thus we were enabled, in few hours time, to make some sail for our port.

The main-yard, that in the storm had been lowered to the waist to lie out of harms way, was now preferred to the place of a main mast, and was accordingly fitted and accoutred, and grafted into the stump of what was left in the storm, some eight or ten foot from the deck. It was a hard matter to find out rigging answerable to that new-fashioned mast and yard; top-gallant sails and yards were most agreeable to this equipage, and was the best part of our remaining stores. The seas grew every moment smoother, and the weather more comfortable; so that for a while we began to shake off the visage of utter despair, as hoping ere long to see our selves in some capacity to fetch the cape. We discovered another ship bound to *Virginia*, who as frankly promised to stand by us, the wind at N. N. W. We did what could be done by a ship so mangled, to get the weather-gage of the cape *Henry*, conceiving ourselves to the southward of cape *Hatteras*: but by taking an observation on a sun-shine day, we found our selves carried by a current we knew not of, to the windward, much beyond all our dead reckonings and allowances for sailing, in-somuch that when we thought we had been to the southward of the cape, we found ourselves considerably shot to the north of *Achomat*, and that in the opinion of mate *Putts*, who was as our north star.

We passed this night with greater alacrity than we had done any other since we had left *Fyall*; for mate *Putts*, our trusty pilot, did confidently affirm, that, if the gale stood, there would be no question of our dining the next day within the capes. This was seasonable news, our water being long since spent, our meat spoiled (or useless) no kind of victuals remaining to sustain life, but a biscuit cake a day for a man; at which allowance there was not a quantity to hold out many days. In the dark time of the night, in tacking about, we lost our new comrade, and with much impatience we expected the approaching day; the wind N. W.

Nov. 15. The morning appeared foggy, as the wind veered to the east, and that did cover and conceal the land from our clearer sight; howbeit we concluded by mate *Putts*'s computation, we were well to the northward of the capes. Many times he would mount the mizzen top for discovery, as the weather seemed to clear up, and would espy and point at certain hum-

works of trees that used to be his several land-marks in most of the twenty-two voyages he had made to that plantation. Under this confidence he made more sail, the day-light confirming him in what he thought was right.

All the forenoon we lost the sight of land and marks by trees, by reason of the dark fogs and mists that were not yet dispelled; but as soon as the sun, with a north-west gale, had cleared all the coast (which was about the hours of two or three o'clock) mate *Putts* perceived his error from the deck, and was convinced, that the hum-works of trees he had seen and relied on for sure land-marks, had counter points to the south cape, which had misguided him; and that it was the opening of the bay which made the land at distance out of sight.

This fatal disappointment (which was now past human help) might have met an easy remedy, had our sails and rigging been in any tolerable condition to keep the windward gage (for we had both the capes in our sight); but under our circumstances it was vain to endeavour such a thing; all our equipage, from stem to stern, being no better than that of a western barge, and we could not lie within eleven or twelve points of the wind.

Defeated thus of lively hopes we had the night before entertain'd to sleep in warm beds with our friends in *Virginia*, it was a heavy spectacle to see ourselves running at a round rate from it, notwithstanding all that could be done to the contrary. Nothing was now to be heard but sighs and groans through all that wretched family, which must be soon reduced to so short allowance, as would just keep life and soul together. Half a biscuit cake a day to each (of which five whole ones made a pound) was all we had to trust to. Of liquors there remained none to quench thirst: *Malaga* sack was given plentifully to every one, which served rather to inflame and increase thirst, than to extinguish it.

The gale blew fresh (as it uses to do) towards night, and made a western sea that carry'd us off at a great rate. Mate *Putts*, extremely abashed to see his confidence so miserably deluded, grew sad and contemplative, even to the moving compassion in those whom his unhappy mistake had reduc'd to this misery. We cherish'd him the best we could, and would not have him so profoundly sad, for what was rather his misfortune than his fault.

The wind continued many days and nights to send us out into the ocean, in-somuch

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NOR-wood. somuch that until we thought ourselves at least an hundred leagues from the capes, the north-west gale gave us no truce to consider what was best to do. All little helps were used by top-gallant sails, and masts placed where they could be fixed, to keep the windward gage; but, for lack of borolins and other tackle to keep them stiff to draw, every great head-sea would check them in the wind, and rend and tear them in pieces; so that it was an ordinary exercise with us to lie tumbling in the sea a watch or two together, driving to leeward, whilst the broken sails were in hand to be repaired.

It would be too great a trial of the reader's patience to be entertain'd with every circumstance of our sufferings in the remaining part of this voyage, which continued in great extremity for at least forty days from the time we left the land, our miseries increasing every hour: I shall therefore omit the greatest number of our ill encounters, which were frequently repeated on us, and remember only what has in my thoughts been most remarkable, and have made the deepest impression in my memory.

Nov. 19. To give us a little breathing, about the nineteenth day the wind shifted to the east, but so little to our avail (the gale so gentle, and the seas made against us like a strong current) that, with the sail we were able to make, we could hardly reckon the ship shortened the way, but that she rather lost ground. In less than two watches the gale faced about; and if we saved our own by the change, it was all we could pretend unto.

Our mortal enemy, the north-west gale, began afresh to send us out to sea, and to raise our terrors to a higher pitch. One of our pumps grew so unfix'd, that it could not be repair'd; the other was kept in perpetual motion; no man was excus'd to take his turn that had strength to perform it. Amongst the manifold perils that threatened every hour to be our last, we were in mortal apprehension, that the guns which were all aloft, would shew us a slippery trick, and some of them break loose, the tackle that held them being grown very rotten: and it was another providence they held so long, considering how immoderately the ship rolled, especially when the sails were mending that should keep them steady, which was very near a third part of our time, whilst we plied to the windward with a contrary gale.

To prevent this danger which must befall when any one gun should get loose, mate *Putts* found an expedient by a more than ordinary smooth water; and by

placing timber on the hatch-way, to supply the place of shrouds, he got them safe in hold; which tended much to our good, not only in removing the present danger, but by making the ship (as seamen say) more wholesome, by having so great weight removed from her upper works into her centre, where ballast was much wanted.

But the intolerable want of all provisions both of meat and drink, jostled the sense of this happiness soon out of our minds. And to aggravate our misery yet the more, it was now our interest to pray that the contrary gale might stand; for whilst the westerly wind held, we had rain water to drink, whereas at east the wind blew dry.

In this miserable posture of ship and provision, we reckoned ourselves driven to the east, in less than a week's time, at least two hundred leagues, which we despaired ever to recover without a miracle of divine mercy. The storm continued so fresh against us, that it confounded the most knowing of our ship's company in advising what course to take. Some reckoned the ship had made her way most southerly, and therefore counselled we should put ourselves in quest of the *Bermudas* islands, as to the nearest land we could hope to make: but that motion had great opposition in regard of the winter season, which would daily produce insuperable difficulties, and give greater puzzle in the discovery of it, than our circumstances would admit. Others would say, The furthest way about, in our case, would prove the nearest way home; and judged it best to take advantage of the westerly winds, and impetuous seas made to our hands, to attempt returning back to the western islands, as a thing more likely to succeed (tho' at a great distance) than thus to strive against the stream without any hopeful prospect of gaining the capes. But that motion met with a more general aversion, because the run was so long, that tho' the gale had been in our own power to continue it, we could not have subsisted. Backwards we could not go, nor forwards we could not go in the course we desired: it followed then of consequence, that we must take the middle way; and it was resolved, that without further persisting in endeavouring to gain our port by a close hale, we should raise our tackle, and sail tardy for the first *American* land we could fetch, tho' we ran to the leeward as far as the coast of *New England*.

Whilst this determination was agreed A famine. and put in practice, the famine grew sharp upon us. Women and children made dismal

disfmal cries and grievous complaints. The infinite number of rats that all the voyage had been our plague, we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were insnared and taken, a well grown rat was sold for sixteen shillings as a market rate. Nay, before the voyage did end (as I was credibly informed) a woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a rat, which the proprietor refusing, the woman died.

Many sorrowful days and nights we spun out in this manner, till the blessed feast of *Christmas* came upon us, which we began with a very melancholy solemnity; and yet, to make some distinction of times, the scrapings of the meal-tubs were all amassed together to compose a pudding. *Malaga* sack, sea water with fruit and spice, all well fryed in oyl, were the ingredients of this regale, which raised some envy in the spectators; but allowing some privilege to the captain's mess, we met no obstruction, but did peaceably enjoy our *Christmas* pudding.

My greatest impatience was of thirst, and my dreams were all of cellars, and taps running down my throat, which made my waking much the worse by that tantalizing fancy. Some relief I found very real by the captain's favour in allowing me a share of some butts of small claret he had concealed in a private cellar for a dead lift. It wanted a mixture of water for qualifying it to quench thirst; however, it was a present remedy, and a great refreshment to me.

I cannot forget another instance of the captain's kindness to me of a like obligation. He singled me out one day to go with him into the hold to seek fresh water in the bottoms of the empty casks. With much ado we got a quantity to satisfy our longing, tho' for the thickness thereof it was not palatable. We were now each of us astride on a butt of *Malaga*, which gave the captain occasion to taste of their contents. We tasted and tasted it again; and tho' the total we drank was not considerable, yet it had an effect on our heads that made us suspend (tho' we could not forget) our wants of water. The operation this little debauch had upon the captain, was very different from what it wrought on me, who felt myself refreshed as with a cordial; but the poor captain fell to contemplate (as it better became him) our sad condition; and being troubled in mind for having brought so many wretched souls into misery, by a false confidence he gave them of his having a good ship, which he now thought would prove their ruin; and being conscious, that their loss would lie all at his

door, it was no easy matter to appease his troubled thoughts. He made me a particular compliment for having engaged me and my friends in the same bottom, and upon that burst into tears. I comforted him the best I could, and told him, We must all submit to the hand of God, and rely on his goodness, hoping, that the same providence which had hitherto so miraculously preserved us, would still be continued in our favour till we were in safety. We retired obscurely to our friends, who had been wondering at our absence.

The westerly wind continued to shorten our way to the shore, tho' very distant from our port; but this did not at all incline us to change our resolution of sailing large for the first land; it did rather animate and support us in our present disasters of hunger and thirst, toil and fatigue. The hopes of touching land was food and raiment to us.

In this wearisome expectation we passed our time for eight or nine days and nights, and then we saw the water change colour, and had soundings. We approached the shore the night of *January* 3d, with little sail; and as the morning of the fourth day gave us light, we saw the land; but in what latitude we could not tell, for that the officers, whose duty it was to keep the reckoning of the ship, had for many days past totally omitted that part; nor had we seen the sun a great while, to take observations, which (tho' a lame excuse) was all they had to say for that omission. But in truth it was evident, that the desperate estate of the ship, and hourly jeopardy of life did make them careless of keeping either log or journal; the thoughts of another account they feared to be at hand, did make them neglect that of the ship as inconsiderable.

About the hours of three or four in the afternoon of the twelfth eve, we were shot in fair to the shore. The evening was clear and calm, the water smooth; the land we saw nearest was some six or seven *English* miles distant from us, our soundings twenty-five fathoms in good ground for anchor-hold.

These invitations were all attractive to encourage the generality (especially the passengers) to execute what we had resolved on for the shore; but one old officer who was husband for the ship's stores whilst there were any, would not consent on any terms to trust the only anchor that was left us for preservation, out of his sight at sea. His arguments to back his opinion were plausible; as *first*, The hazard of losing that only anchor by any sudden storm, bringing with it a necessity

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Jan. 3.
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WOOD. to cut or slip, on which every life depended. 2dly, The shortness of the cable, very unfit for anchorage in the ocean: And 3dly, The weakness of the ships crew, many dead and fallen over board, and the passengers weakened by hunger, dying every day on the decks, or at the pump, which with great difficulty was kept going, but must not rest.

Against the old man's reasonings was urged the very small remains of biscuit, at our short allowance, which would hardly hold a week; the assurance of our loss by famine if we should be forced to sea again by a north-west storm, and the great possibility of finding a harbour to save our ship, with our lives and goods, in some creek on the coast. These last reasons prevailed upon the majority against all negatives; and when the anchor was let loose, mate *Putts* was ordered to make the first discovery of what we might expect from the nearest land. He took with him twelve sickly passengers, who fancied the shore would cure them; and he carried major *Morrison* on shore with him in pursuit of such adventures as are next in course to be related; for according to the intelligence that could be got from land, we were to take our measures at sea, either to proceed on in our voyage in that sad condition that has been in some proportion set forth, or to land ourselves, and unload the ship, and try our fortunes amongst the *Indians*.

In four or five hours time we could discover the boat returning with mate *Putts* alone for a fether, which we looked upon as a signal of happy success. When he came on board his mouth was full of good tidings, as namely, That he discovered a creek that would harbour our ship, and that there was a depth of water on the bar, sufficient for her draught when she was light. That there was excellent fresh water, (a taste whereof major *Morrison* had sent me in a bottle.) That the shore swarmed with fowl, and that major *Morrison* stayed behind in expectation of the whole ship's company to follow.

I opened mine ears wide to the motion, and promoted the design of our landing there with all the rhetorick and interest I had. The captain was no less forward for it, hoping thereby to save the lives of the passengers that remained; and that he might not wholly rely on mate *Putts*'s judgment in a matter wherein he was most concerned, he embarked with me in the wherry, with a kinsman of his and some others; and the seamen were glad of my help to put the boat to shore, my hands having been very well seasoned at the pump, by taking my turn for

many weeks at the rate of three hours in twenty-four. My passionate desires to be on shore at the fountain head to drink without stint, did not a little quicken me, inasmuch that the six or seven miles I rowed on this occasion, were no more than the breadth of the *Thames* at *London*, at another time, would have been toilsome to me.

In our passage to the shore, the darkness of the evening made us glad to see the fires of our friends at land, which were not only our beacons to direct us to their company, but were also a comfortable relief to our chill bodies when we came near them, the weather being very cold (as it ever is) the wind north-west on that coast.

As soon as I had set my foot on land, Land. and had rendered thanks to almighty God for opening this door of deliverance to us, after so many rescues even from the jaws of death at sea, major *Morrison* was pleased to oblige me beyond all requital, in conducting me to the running stream of water, where, without any limitation of short allowance, I might drink my fill. I was glad of so great liberty, and made use of it accordingly, by prostrating myself on my belly, and setting my mouth against the stream, that it might run into my thirsty stomach without stop. The rest of the company were at liberty to use their own methods to quench their thirst; but this I thought the greatest pleasure I ever enjoyed on earth.

After this sweet refreshment, the captain, myself, and his kinsman crossed the creek in our wherry, invited thither by the cackling of wild-fowl. The captain had a gun charged, and the moon shining bright in his favour, he killed one duck of the flock that flew over us, which was roasted on a stick out of hand by the seamen, whilst we walked on the shore of the creek for further discovery.

In passing a small gullet we trod on an oyster bank that did happily furnish us with a good addition to our duck. When the cooks had done their parts, we were not long about ours, but fell on without using the ceremony of calling the rest of our company, which would have been no entertainment to so many, the proverb telling us, *The fewer the better cheer*. The bones, head, legs, and inwards were agreed to be the cooks fees; so we gave God thanks, and returned to our friends, without making boast of our good fortunes.

Fortified with this repast, we informed ourselves of the depth of water at the bar of the creek, in which the captain seemed satisfied, and made shews in all his deportment,

portment, of his resolution to discharge the ship there in order to our safety. Towards break of day he asked me in my ear, If I would go back with him on board the ship? I told him, No, because it would be labour lost, in case he would persist in his resolution to do what he pretended, which he ratified again by protestations, and so went off with his kinsman, who had a large coarse cloth gown I borrowed of him to shelter me from the sharpest cold I ever felt. That which had sometimes been a paradox to me, was by this experience made demonstrable, (*viz.*) That the land on the continent is much colder than that of islands, tho' in the same latitude; and the reason is evident to any who shall consider the many accidents on the continent that cool the air by winds that come from the land; as in those parts of *America*, the mighty towering mountains to the north-west, covered all the year with snow, which does refrigerate the air even in the heat of summer; whereas winds coming from the sea are generally warm; and this hath proved a fatal truth to the inhabitants of *Virginia*, who, in the south-east winds, have gone to bed in sultry heat and sweat, without any covering, and have awaked in the night stiff and benumb'd with cold, without the use of their limbs, occasioned by a shifting of the wind in the night from sea to land.

No sooner had the captain cleared himself of the shore but the day-break made me see my error in not closing with his motion in my ear. The first object we saw at sea was the ship under sail, standing for the capes with what canvass could be made to serve the turn. It was a very heavy prospect to us who remained (we knew not where) on shore, to see ourselves thus abandoned by the ship, and more, to be forsaken by the boat, so contrary to our mutual agreement. Many hours of hard labour and toil were spent before the boat could fetch the ship; and the seamen (whose act it was to set sail without the captain's order, as we were told after) cared not for the boat whilst the wind was large to carry them to the capes. But mate *Putts*, who was more sober and better natured, discovering the boat from the mizzen-top, lay by till she came with the captain on board.

Left on an island. In this amazement and confusion of mind that no words can express, did our miserable distressed party condole with each other our being so cruelly abandoned and left to the last despairs of human help, or indeed of ever seeing more the face of man. We entered into a sad

consultation what course to take; and having in the first place, by united prayers, implored the protection of Almighty God, and recommended our miserable estate to the same providence, which in so many instances of mercy had been propitious to us at sea; the whole party desired me to be as it were the father of this distressed family, to advise and conduct them in all things I thought might most tend to our preservation. This way of government we agreed must necessarily reside in one, to avoid disputes, and variety of contradictory humours, which would render our deliverance the more impracticable; and it was thought most reasonable to be placed in me, for the health and strength it had pleased God to preserve unto me above my fellows, more than for any other qualification.

At the time I quitted the ship my servant *Thomas Harman*, a *Dutchman*, did at parting advertise me (for I left him on board to look to my goods), that in the bundle I ordered to be carried with me on shore, I should find about thirty bisket cakes, which he, by unparallel'd frugality, had saved out of his own belly in the great dearth and scarcity we lived in. The thoughts of these biskets entering upon me at the time I was pressed to accept this charge, I thought myself obliged in christian equity, to let every one partake of what I had; and so dividing the bread into nineteen parts (which was our number) perhaps I added the fraction to my own share.

It was, to the best of my remembrance, Jan. 5. upon the fifth day of *January* that we entered into this method of life, or rather into an orderly way unto our graves, since nothing but the image of death was represented to us; but that we might use our utmost endeavours to extract all the good we could out of those evil symptoms that did every way seem to confound us, I made a muster of the most able bodies for arms and labour; and in the first place, I put a fowling-piece into every man's hand that could tell how to use it. Amongst the rest, a young gentleman, *Mr. Francis Cary* by name, was very helpful to me in the fatigue and active part of this undertaking. He was strong and healthy, and was very ready for any employment I could put upon him. He came recommended to me by *Sir Edward Thurlan*, his genius leading him rather to a planter's life abroad, than to any course his friends could propose to him in *England*; and this rough entrance was like to let him know the worst at first.

All our woodmen and fowlers had powder and shot given them, and some geese were

NOR- were killed for supper. Evening came
WOOD. on apace, and our resolution being taken
to stay one night more in these quarters,
I sent my cousin *Cary* to head the creek,
and make what discovery he could as he
passed along the shore, whether of *Indians*
or any other living creatures that were
likely to relieve our wants, or end our
days. To prepare like men for the lat-
ter, we resolved to die fighting, if that
should be the case; or if on the contrary,
the *Indians* should accost us in a main
of amity, then to meet them with all ima-
ginable courtesy, and please them with
such trivial presents as they love to deal
in, and so engage them into a friendship
with us.

My cousin *Cary* was not absent much
above an hour, when we saw him return
in a contrary point to that he sallied out
upon. His face was clouded with ill news
he had to tell us, namely that we were
now residing on an island without any
inhabitant, and that he had seen its whole
extent, surrounded (as he believed) with
water deeper than his head; that he had
not seen any native, or any thing in hu-
man shape, in all his round, nor any
other creature besides the fowls of the air,
which he would, but could not bring
unto us.

This dismal success of so unexpected a
nature, did startle us more than any single
misfortune that had befallen us, and was
like to plunge us into utter despair. We
beheld each other as miserable wretches
sentenced to a lingering death, no man
knowing what to propose for prolonging
life any longer than he was able to fast.
My cousin *Cary* was gone from us with-
out notice, and we had reason (for what
followed) to believe he was under the
conduct of an angel; for we soon saw
him return with a cheerful look, his hands
carrying somewhat we could not distin-
guish by any name at a distance; but by
nearer approach we were able to descry
they were a parcel of oysters, which, in
crossing the island, as he stept over a small
current of water, he trode upon to his
hurt; but laying hands on what he felt
with his feet, and pulling it with all his
force, he found himself possessed of this
booty of oysters, which grew in clusters,
and were contiguous to a large bank of
the same species, that was our staple sub-
sistence whilst we remained there.

Whilst this very cold season continued,
great flights of fowl frequented the island,
geese, ducks, curlews, and some of every
sort we killed and roasted on sticks, eat-
ing all but the feathers. It was the only
perquisite belonging to my place of pre-
ference to the rest, that the right of car-

ving was annexed to it, wherein, if I was
partial to my own interest, it was in cut-
ting the wing as large and full of meat as
possible; whereas the rest was measured
out as it were with scale and compass.

But as the wind veered to the south-
ward, we had greater warmth and fewer
fowl, for they would then be gone to
colder climates. In their absence we were
confined to the oyster bank, and a sort of
weed some four inches long, as thick as
houseleek, and the only green (except
pines) that the island afforded. It was
very insipid on the palate; but being
boiled with a little pepper (of which one
had brought a pound on shore) and help-
ed with five or six oysters, it became
a regale for every one in turn.

In quartering our family we did ob-
serve the decency of distinguishing sexes:
we made a small hut for the poor weak
women to be by themselves; our cabin
for men was of the same fashion, but
much more spacious, as our numbers
were. One morning, in walking on the
shore by the sea side, with a long gun in
my hand loaden with small shot, I fired
at a great flight of small birds called *Ox-
eyes*, and made great slaughter among
them, which gave refreshment to all our
company.

But this harvest had a short end; and
as the weather by its warmth chased the
fowl to the north, our hunger grew shar-
per upon us. And in fine, all the strength
that remained unto us was employed in a
heartless struggling to spin out life a little
longer; for we still deemed ourselves
doomed to die by famine, from whose
sharpest and most immediate darts tho' we
seemed to be rescued for a small time, by
meeting these contingent helps on shore,
yet still we apprehended (and that on too
great probability) they only served to re-
prieve us for a little longer day of execu-
tion, with all the dreadful circumstances
of a lingering death.

For the south-west winds that had car-
ried away the fowl, brought store of rain;
which meeting with a spring-tide, our
chief magazine, the oyster bank, was
overflowed; and as they became more
accessible, our bodies also decayed so
sensibly, that we could hardly pull them
out of their muddy beds they grew on.
And from this time forward we rarely
saw the fowl; they now grew shy and
kept aloof when they saw us contriving
against their lives.

Add to this, our guns most of them
unfixed and out of order, and our pow-
der much decayed, insomuch that no-
thing did now remain to prolong life, but
what is counted rather sauce to whet, than
substance

substance to satisfy the appetite; I mean the oysters, which were not easily gotten by our crazy bodies after the quantity was spent that lay most commodious to be reached, and which had fed us for the first six days we had been on the island. And thus we wished every day to be the last of our lives (if God had so pleased) so hopeless and desperate was our condition, all expectation of human succour being vanished and gone.

They feed
on their
dead com-
panions.

Of the three weak women before-mentioned, one had the envied happiness to die about this time; and it was my advice to the survivors, who were following her apace, to endeavour their own preservation by converting her dead carcase into food, as they did to good effect. The same counsel was embraced by those of our sex: the living fed upon the dead; four of our company having the happiness to end their miserable lives on *Sunday* night the — day of *January*. Their chief distemper, 'tis true, was hunger; but it pleased God to hasten their *exit* by an immoderate access of cold, caused by a most terrible storm of hail and snow at north-west, on *Sunday* aforesaid, which did not only dispatch those four to their long homes, but did sorely threaten all that remained alive, to perish by the same fate.

Great was the toil that lay on my hands (as the strongest to labour) to get fuel together sufficient for our preservation. In the first place I divested myself of my great gown, which I spread at large, and extended against the wind in nature of a screen, having first shifted our quarters to the most calm commodious place that could be found to keep us, as much as possible, from the inclemency of that prodigious storm.

Under the shelter of this traverse I took as many of my comrades as could be comprehended in so small a space; whereas those who could not partake of that accommodation, and were enabled to make provision for themselves, were forced to suffer for it. And it was remarkable, that notwithstanding all the provision that could possibly be made against the sharpness of this cold, either by a well-burning fire consisting of two or three loads of wood, or shelter of this great gown to the windward, we could not be warm. That side of our wearing cloaths was singed and burnt which lay towards the flames, whilst the other side that was from the fire, became frozen and congealed. Those who lay to the leeward of the flame, could not stay long to enjoy the warmth so necessary to life, but were forced to quit and be gone to avoid suffocation by the smoke and flame.

When the day appeared, and the sun got up to dissipate the clouds, with downcast looks and dejected the survivors of us entered into a final deliberation of what remained to be done on our parts (besides our prayers to Almighty God) to spin out a little longer time of life, and wait a further providence from heaven for our better relief. There were still some hands that retained vigour, tho' not in proportion to those difficulties we were to encounter, which humanly did seem insuperable. The unhappy circumstance of our being cooped up in an island, was that which took from us all probable hopes of escaping this terrible death that did threaten us every hour. Major *Morrison*, on whose counsel I had reason to rely most, was extremely decayed in his strength, his legs not being able to support him. It was a wonderful mercy that mine remained in competent strength, for our common good, which I resolved, by God's help, to employ for that end to the last gasp.

In this last resolution we had to make, I could not think on any thing worthy my proposal, but by an attempt to cross the creek, and swim to the main (which was not above an hundred yards over) and being there to coast along the woods to the south-west (which was the bearing of *Virginia*) until I should meet *Indians*, who would either relieve or destroy us. I fancied the former would be our lot when they should see our conditions, and that no hurt was intended to them; or if they should prove inhuman, and of a bloody nature, and would not give us quarter, why even in that case it would be worth this labour of mine to procure a sudden period to all our miseries.

I opened my thoughts to this purpose to the company, who were sadly surprized at the motion; but being fully convinced in their judgment, that this was the only course that could be depended on (humanly speaking) for our relief, they all agreed it must be done.

To fortify me for this expedition, it was necessary that some provision should be made for a daily support to me in this my peregrination. Our choice was small; our only friend the oyster bank was all we had to rely on; which being well stewed in their own liquor, and put up into bottles, I made no doubt, by God's blessing, but that two of them well filled, would suffice to prolong my life in moderate strength, until I had obtained my end. To accomplish this design, my cousin *Cary* laboured hard for oysters, hoping to make one in the adventure.

NOR-
WOOD.
Jan. 14.

About the ninth day of our being in the island, I fell to my oyster-cookery, and made a good progress that very day; when in the heat of my labour my cousin *Carey* brought me word, That he had just in that instant seen *Indians* walking on the main, I suspended my cookery out of hand, and hastened with all possible speed to be an eye-witness of that happy intelligence; but with all the haste I could make I could see no such thing, but judg'd it a chimera that proceeded from some operations of my cousin's fancy, who was more than ordinary of a sanguine nature, which made him see (as it were by enchantment) things that were not, having many times been deluded (as I judged) by the same deception.

Defeated in this manner of my hopes to see *Indians* without the pains of seeking them, I returned to my work, and continued at it till one bottle was full, and myself tired: wherefore, that I might be a little recreated, I took a gun in my hand; and hearing the noise of geese on our shore, I approached them privately, and had the good hap to be the death of one. This goose, now in my possession without witnesses, I resolved to eat alone (deducting the head, bones, guts, &c. which were the cook's fees) hoping thereby to be much the better enabled to swim the creek, and perform the work I had upon my hand. I hung my goose upon the twist of a tree in a shrubby part of the wood, whilst I went to call aside our cook with his broach, and a coal of fire to begin the roast. But when we came to the place of execution, my goose was gone all but the head, the body stolen by wolves, which the *Indians* told us after, do abound greatly in that island.

The loss of this goose, which my empty stomach looked for with no small hopes of satisfaction, did vex me heartily. I wished I could have taken the thief of my goose to have served him in the same kind, and to have taken my revenge in the law of retaliation. But that which troubled me more, was an apprehension that came into my mind, that this loss had been the effect of divine justice on me, for designing to deal unequally with the rest of my fellow-sufferers; which I thought, at first blush, looked like a breach of trust: but then again when I considered the equity of the thing, that I did it merely to enable myself to attain their preservation, and which otherwise I could not have done, I found I could absolve myself from any guilt of that kind. Whatever I suffered in this disappointment, the cook lost not all his fees;

the head and neck remained for him on the tree.

Being thus over-reached by the wolf, it was time to return to my cookery, in order to my sally out of the island; for I had little confidence in the notice frequently brought me of more and more *Indians* seen on the other side, since my own eyes could never bear witness of their being there.

The next morning, being the ninth or tenth of our being there, I fell to work afresh, hoping to be ready to begin my journey that day; and being very busy, intelligence was brought, that a canoo was seen to lie on the broken ground to the south of our island, which was not discovered till now, since our being there: but this I thought might be a mistake cast in the same mould of many others that had deceived those discoverers, who fancied all things real according to their own wishes. But when it was told me, That *Indians* ^{Relieved by Indians} had been at the poor women's cabin in the night, and had given them shell-fish to eat, that was a demonstration of reality beyond all suspicion. I went immediately to be informed from themselves, and they both avowed it for truth, shewing the shells (the like whereof I never had seen) and this I took for proof of what they said.

The further account these women gave of the *Indians*, was, that they pointed to the south-east with their hands, which they knew not how to interpret, but did imagine by their several gestures, they would be with them again to-morrow. Their pointing to the south-east was like to be the time they would come, meaning nine o'clock to be their hour, where the sun will be at that time. Had the women understood their language, they could not have learned the time of the day by any other computation than pointing at the sun. It is all the clock they have for the day, as the coming and going of the *Cabunks* (the geese) is their almanack or prognostick for the winter and summer seasons.

This news gave us all new life, almost working miracles amongst us, by making those who desponded, and totally yielded themselves up to the weight of despair, and lay down with an intent never more to rise again, to take up their beds and walk. This friendly charitable visit of the *Indians* did also put a stop to my preparations to seek them, who had so humanely prevented me, by their seeking ways to preserve and save our lives.

Instead of those preparations for my march which had cost me so much pains, I passed

I passed my time now in contriving the fittest posture our present condition would allow us to put on when these angels of light should appear again with the glad tidings of our relief; and the result was, that every able man should have his gun lying by his side, laden with shot, and as fit for use as possible, but not to be handled unless the *Indians* came to us like enemies (which was very unlikely, the premises considered) and then to sell our lives at as dear a rate as we could; but if they came in an amicable posture, then would we meet them unarm'd, cheerfully, which the *Indians* like, and hate to see a melancholy face.

In these joyful hopes of unexpected deliverance by these *Indians*, did we pass the interval of their absence. Every eye look'd sharply out when the sun was at south-east, to peep through the avenues of the wood to discover the approaches of our new friends. When the sun came to the south we thought ourselves forgotten by them, and began to doubt the worst, as losing gamesters, at play for their last estate, suspect some stabcast to defeat the hopes of the fairest game. We feared some miscarriage, either from their inconstancy by change of their mind, or that some unlook'd-for misfortune, that our evil fates reserved for us, had interposed for our ruin.

Scouts were sent out to the right and left hands, without discovery of any body all the forenoon: and then, considering our case admitted no delay, I began to resume my former resolution of swimming to them that would not come to us. But how wholesome soever this counsel might seem in itself, it was most difficult to be put in practice, in regard of the cold time.

The northerly wind that in these climates does blow very cold in the heat of summer, does much more distemper the air in the winter season (as our poor comrades felt that *Sunday* night to their cost) and did send so cold a gale upon the surface of the water in the creek I was to pass, that, in the general opinion of all the concern'd, it was not a thing to be attempted; and that if I did, I must surely perish in the act. I was easily perswaded to forbear an action so dangerous, and the rather, because I verily believed the *Indians* would bring us off, if our patience would hold out.

About the hours of two or three o'clock it pleased God to change the face of our condition for the best; for whilst I was busy at the fire in preparations to wait on them, the *Indians*, who had placed themselves behind a very great

tree, discovered their faces with most cheerful smiles, without any kind of arms, or appearance of evil design; the whole number of them (perhaps twenty or thirty in all) consisting of men, women and children; all that could speak accosting us with joyful countenances, shaking hands with every one they met. The words *Ny Top*, often repeated by them, made us believe they bore a friendly signification, as they were soon interpreted to signify *My friend*.

After many salutations and *Ny Tops* interchanged, the night approaching, we fell to parley with each other; but performed it in signs more confounded and unintelligible than any other conversation I ever met withal; as hard to be interpreted as if they had expressed their thoughts in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean* tongues.

They did me the honour to make all applications to me, as being of largest dimensions, and equip'd in a camlet coat glittering with galloon lace of gold and silver, it being generally true, that where knowledge informs not, the habit qualifies.

The ears of *Indian* corn they gave us for present sustenance, needed no other interpreter to let them know how much more acceptable it was to us than the sight of dead and living corpses, which raised great compassion in them, especially in the women, who are observed to be of a soft tender nature.

One of them made me a present of the leg of a swan, which I eat as privately as it was given me, and thought it so much the more excellent, by how much it was larger than the greatest limb of any fowl I ever saw.

The *Indians* stayed with us about two hours, and parted not without a new appointment to see us again the next day: and the hour we were to expect them by their pointing to the sun, was to be at two a'clock in the afternoon. I made the chief of them presents of ribbon and other slight trade, which they loved, designing, by mutual endearment, to let them see, it would gratify their interest as well as their charity, to treat us well. *Ha-na Haw* was their parting word, which is farewell, pointing again at the place where the sun would be at our next meeting. We took leave in their own words *Ha-na Haw*.

The going away of the *Indians*, and leaving us behind, was a separation hard to be born by our hungry company, who nevertheless had received a competent quantity of corn and bread to keep us till they returned to do better things for our relief,

NOR- relief ; we did not fail to give glory to
WOOD. God for our approaching deliverance, and
the joy we conceived in our minds in the
sense of so great a mercy, kept us awake
all the night, and was a cordial to the sick
and weak to recover their health and
strength.

The delay of the *Indians* coming next
day, beyond their set time, we thought
an age of tedious years : At two o'clock
we had no news of them, but by attending
their own time with a little patience, we
might see a considerable number of them,
men, women and children, all about our
huts, with recruits of bread and corn to
stop every mouth. Many of them desired
beads and little truck they use to deal in, as
exchange for what they gave us ; and we as
freely gave them what we had brought on
shore ; but to such of us as gave them no-
thing, the *Indians* failed not however to give
them bread for nothing.

One old man of their company, who
seemed, by the preference they gave him,
to be the most considerable of the party,
applied himself to me by gestures and signs,
to learn something (if possible) of our coun-
try, and occasion of the sad posture he saw
us in, to the end that he might inform
his master, the king of *Kickotank*, (on whose
territories we stood) and dispose him to suc-
cour us, as we had need.

I made return to him in many vain words,
and in as many insignificant signs as him-
self had made to me, and neither of us one
jot the wiser. The several nonplus's we both
were at in striving to be better understood,
afforded so little of edification to either par-
ty, that our time was almost spent in vain.
It came at last into my head, that I had
long since read Mr. *Smib's* travels thro' those
parts of *America*, and that the word *Wero-
wance* (a word frequently pronounced by the
old man) was in *English* the king. That
word, spoken by me, with strong empha-
sis, together with the motions of my body,
speaking my desire of going to him, was
very pleasing to the old man, who there-
upon embraced me with more than com-
mon kindness, and by all demonstrations of
satisfaction, did shew that he understood
my meaning. This one word was all the
Indian I could speak, which (like a little
armour well placed) contributed to the sa-
ving of our lives.

In order to what was next to be done,
he took me by the hand and led me to
the sea side, where I embarked with him-
self and one more *Indian* in a canoo, that
had brought him there, which the third
man rowed over to that broken ground,
where, not long before, we made discovery
of a canoo newly laid there, and (as they
told us) was lodged there on purpose to be

ready for our transport, at such time as
they thought fit to fetch us off ; and the
reason of their taking me with them was to
help launce this weighty embarkation, which
was very heavy for its proportion, as being
made of the body of an oak or pine, some
twenty-two foot in length, hollowed like a
pig-trough, which is the true description of
a canoo. The manner of its being put in-
to motion is very particular ; the labourers
with long booms place their feet on the star-
board and larboard sides of the boat, and
with this fickle footing do they heave it
forward.

I cannot omit a passage of one major
Stephens, who had been an officer in the late
civil war, under Sir *William Waller*, and
was now one of our fellow-sufferers. He
could not be persuaded by any means to give
his vote for prosecuting the way we were in
for our relief, but differed as much in judg-
ment with us, in this our design of going
to the king of this country, as he had done
in *England*, by engaging against his natural
sovereign ; he cry'd out these rogues would
draw us into their power, and take away
our lives, advising, rather than to put our
trust in this king, we should put ourselves
into one of these canoos, and taking advan-
tage of the calm time, we should try to get
the north cape.

His fears and objections were so unreason-
able, that they were not worth an answer,
and his project of going thus by sea was so
ridiculous, that it did exceed all chimera's
of knight-errantry, and his apprehending
the king would insnare us we all esteemed
vain, as nothing could be more childish :
We had been in the king's power (though
we knew it not) ever since we set foot on
that ground, so that had his mind been that
way bent, he need use no other stratagem
to end our lives, than to have forborn the
sending us relief ; every one dissented to the
main project, and I did unfeignedly pro-
fess, for my own part, that I would much
rather expose my life to the honour of a
king (tho' never so mean) than to the bil-
lows of the sea, in such a bottom ; which
would be to tempt God to destroy us, and
punish our presumption by his justice, at the
same time that he was saving us by a miracle
of his mercy.

I should not have remembered this passage
of major *Stephens*, had he only shewed his
antipathy in this single instance, but because
he repeated the rancor of his mind in two
other very small occasions, which will fol-
low ; 'tis just that the malignity of so ill an
humour should suffer some reprimand.

The canoos being fitted to take us in and
waft us to the main, I made a fair muster
of the remnant we had to carry off, and
found we wanted six of the number we
brought

brought on shore, (*viz.*) four men and two women: five of those six we knew were dead, but missing one of our living women, we made the *Indians* understand the same, who as readily made us know that she was in their thoughts, and should be cared for as soon as we were settled in our quarters.

In passing the creek that was to lead us to an honest fisherman's house, we entred a branch of it to the southward, that was the road-way to it. The tide was going out, and the water very shoal, which gave occasion to any one that had a knife, to treat himself with oysters all the way. At the head of that branch we were able in a short time to discover that heaven of happiness where our most courteous host did with a chearful countenance receive and entertain us. Several fires were kindled out of hand, our arms and powder were laid up in safety, and divers earthen pipkins were put to boil with such varieties as the season would afford. Every body had something or other to defend and save them from the cold; and my obligation to him, by a peculiar care that he had of me, exceeded all the rest. I had one intire side of the fire, with a large platform to repose on, to my self; furs and deer skins to cover my body, and support my head, with a priority of respect and friendly usage, which, to my great trouble, I was not able to deserve at his hands, by any requital then in my power to return.

Our kind entertainment in the house of this poor fisherman, had so many circumstances of hearty compassion and tenderness in every part of it, that as it ought to be a perpetual motive to engage all of us who enjoyed the benefit of it, to a daily acknowledgment of the Almighty's goodness for conducting us in this manner by his immediate hand, out of our afflictions, so may it ever be look'd upon as a just reproach to christians, who, on all our sea-coasts, are so far from affording succour to those, who by shipwreck and misfortunes of the sea do fall into their power, that they treat with all inhuman savage barbarity those unhappy souls whom God hath thus afflicted, seizing on their goods as their proper perquisites, which the waves of the sea (by divine providence) would cast upon the shore for the true proprietors; and many times dispatching them out of the world to silence complaints, and to prevent all after-reckonings. And the better to intitle themselves to what they get in this way of rapine, they wickedly call such devilish acquets by the sacred name of God's good, prophaning

and blaspheming at the same time that holy name, as they violate all the laws of hospitality and human society: whereas, on the contrary, our charitable host, influenced only by natural law, without the least shew of coveting any thing we had, or prospect of requital in the future, did not only treat in this manner our persons, but did also, with as much honesty, secure for us our small stores of guns, powder, &c. as if he had read and understood the duty of the gospel, or had given his only child as a hostage to secure his dealing justly with us; so that I can never sufficiently applaud the humanity of this *Indian*, nor express the high contentment that I enjoyed in this poor man's cottage, which was made of nothing but mat and reeds, and bark of trees fix'd to poles. It had a loveliness and symmetry in the air of it, so pleasing to the eye, and refreshing to the mind, that neither the splendor of the *Escorial*, nor the glorious appearance of *Versailles* were able to stand in competition with it. We had a boiled swan for supper, which gave plentiful repasts to all our upper mefs.

Our bodies thus refresh'd with meat and sleep, comforted with fires, and secured from all the changes and inclemencies of that sharp piercing cold season, we thought the morning (tho' clad in sunshine) did come too fast upon us. Breakfast was liberally provided and set before us, our arms faithfully delivered up to my order for carriage; and thus in readiness to set forward, we put ourselves in a posture to proceed to the place where the king resided. The woman left behind at the island, had been well look'd to, and was now brought off to the care of her comrade that came with us; neither of them in a condition to take a journey, but they were carefully attended and nourished in this poor man's house, till such time as boats came to fetch them to *Virginia*, where they did soon arrive in perfect health, and lived (one or both of them) to be well married, and to bear children, and to subsist in as plentiful a condition as they could wish.

In beginning our journey through the woods, we had not advanced half a mile till we heard a great noise of mens voices, directed to meet and stop our further passage. These were several *Indians* sent by the king to order us back to our quarters. Major *Stephens* (not cured of his jealous humour by the experience of what he felt the night before) took this alarm in a very bad sense, and as much different from the rest of the company as in his former fit. He was again deluded with a strong fancy, that these violent motions

NOR- in the *Indians* who approached us, were
WOOD. the effect of some sudden change in their
counsels to our detriment, and that no-
thing less than our perdition could be the
consequence thereof, which he feared would
immediately be put in practice by the cla-
morous men that made such haste to meet
us, and (as he would apprehend) to kill
and destroy us.

This passion of major *Stephens*, cast in
the same mould with that other he dis-
covered in the island, had not (as we all
thought and told him) whereon to raise
the least foundation of terror to affright
a child; for besides the earnest we had
received of their good intentions the
night before, these men who came so fast
upon us, were all unarm'd; nor was it
likely, that king would now possibly im-
brew his hands in our blood, and pro-
voke he knew not how powerful a nation
to destroy him, after such kind careffes,
and voluntary expressions of a temper
very contrary to such cruelty. In fine,
we saw no cause in all the carriage of the
Indians on which I could ground any
fear, and therefore I long'd with all im-
patience to see this king, and to enjoy
the plenty of his table, as we quickly
did.

When these *Indians* came up to us, this
doubt was soon cleared. The good-na-
tur'd king being inform'd of our bodily
weakness, and inability to walk through the
woods to his house, on foot (which might
be about four miles distant from our set-
ting out) had a real tenderness for us,
and sent canoos to carry us to the place
nearest his house, by the favour of ano-
ther branch of the same creek; and to the
end we might take no vain steps (as we
were going to do) and exhaust our strength
to no purpose, these *Indians* made this
noise to stop us.

We entred the canoos that were mann'd,
and lay ready to receive us. We had a
pleasant passage in the shallow water, eat
oysters all the way: for altho' the break-
fast we had newly made, might well excuse
a longer abstinence than we were like to be
put to, our arrear to our stomachs was so
great, that all we swallowed was soon con-
cocted, and our appetite still fresh and cra-
ving more.

Having pass'd this new course for some
three *English* miles in another branch of
the creek, our landing place was contriv'd
to be near the house of the queen then in
waiting. She was a very plain lady to
see to, not young, nor yet ill-favour'd.
Her complexion was of a sad white: but
the measures of beauty in those parts
where they are expos'd to the scorching
sun from their infancy, are not taken

Queen of
the coun-
try de-
scrib'd.

from red and white, but from colours that
will better lie upon their tawny skins, as
hereafter will be seen.

The beauty of this queen's mind (which
is more permanent than that of colour) was
conspicuous in her charity and generosity
to us poor starved weather-beaten creatures,
who were the object of it. A mat was
spread without the house, upon the ground,
furnish'd with pone, homini, oysters, and
other things. The queen made us sit
down and eat, with gestures that shewed
more of courtesy than majesty, but did
speak as hearty welcome as could in si-
lence be expected: and these were the
graces that, in our opinion, transcended
all other beauties in the world, and did
abundantly supply all defects of outward
appearance in the person and garb of the
queen. The southerly wind made the
season tolerable; but that lasted but little,
the north-west gale coming violently on us
again.

When this collation of the queen was
at an end, we took leave of her majesty
with all the shews of gratitude that silence
knew how to utter. We were now with-
in half an hour's walk of the king's man-
sion, which we soon discovered by the king's pa-
smoak, and saw it was made of the same
stuff with the other houses from which we
had newly parted, namely, of mat and
reed. Locust ports sunk in the ground
at corners and partitions, was the strength
of the whole fabrick. The roof was tied
fast to the body with a sort of strong
rushes that grow there, which supply'd
the place of nails and pins, mortises and
tenants.

The breadth of this palace was about
eighteen or twenty foot, the length about
twenty yards. The only furniture was
several platforms for lodging, each about
two yards long and more, plac'd on both
sides of the house, distant from each other
about five foot; the space in the middle
was the chimney, which had a hole in the
roof over it, to receive as much of the
smoak as would naturally repair to it; the
rest we shared amongst us, which was the
greatest part; and the sitters divided to
each side, as our soldiers do in their *corps*
de garde.

Fourteen great fires, thus situated, were
burning all at once. The king's apartment
had a distinction from the rest; it was twice
as long, and the bank he sat on was adorn'd
with deer skins finely dress'd, and the best
furs of otter and beaver that the country
did produce.

The fire assign'd to us was suitable to
our number, to which we were conducted,
without intermixture of any *Indian* but
such as came to do us offices of friend-
ship.

King's
daughter.

ship. There we were permitted to take our rest until the king pleased to enter into communication with us. Previous to which he sent his daughter, a well-favour'd young girl of about ten or twelve years old, with a great wooden bowl full of homini (which is the corn of that country, beat and boiled to mash). She did in a most obliging manner give me the first taste of it, which I would have handed to my next neighbour after I had eaten, but the young princess interposed her hand, and taking the bowl out of mine, delivered it to the same party I aimed to give it, and so to all the rest in order. Instead of a spoon there was a well-shap'd muscle-shell that accompanied the bowl.

The linen of that country grows ready made on the branches of oak trees (or pine) the *English* call it *moss*. It is like the threads of unwhited cotton-yarn unravelled, and hangs in parcels on the lower boughs, divine providence having so ordered it for the conveniency and sustenance of the deer, which is all the food they can get in times of snow. It is very soft, sweet and cleanly, and fit for the purpose of wiping clean the hands, and doing the duty of napkins.

Audience
of the
king.

About three hours after this meal was ended, the king sent to have me come to him. He called me *Ny a Mutt*, which is to say, My brother, and compelled me to sit down on the same bank with himself, which I had reason to look upon as a mighty favour. After I had sat there about half an hour, and had taken notice of many earnest discourses and repartees betwixt the king and his *crotlemen* (so the *Indians* call the king's council) I could plainly discover, that the debate they held was concerning our adventure and coming there. To make it more clear, the king address'd himself to me with many gestures of his body, his arms display'd in various postures, to explain what he had in his mind to utter for my better understanding. By all which motions I was not edified in the least, nor could imagine what return to make by voice or sign, to satisfy the king's demands in any thing that related to the present straits of our condition. In fine, I admir'd their patient sufferance of my dulness to comprehend what they meant, and shew'd myself to be troubled at it; which being perceived by the king, he turn'd all into mirth and jollity, and never left till he made me laugh with him, tho' I knew not why.

I took that occasion to present the king with a sword and long shoulder-belt, which he received very kindly; and to

witness his gracious acceptance, he threw off his *Match coat* (or upper covering of skin) stood upright on his bank, and, with my aid, did accoutre his naked body with his new harness, which had no other apparel to adorn it, besides a few skins about his loyns to cover his nakedness. In this dress he seemed to be much delighted; but to me he appear'd a figure of such extraordinary shape, with sword and belt to set it off, that he needed now no other art to stir me up to laughter and mirth, than the sight of his own proper person.

Having made this short acquaintance with the king, I took leave, and returned to my comrades. In passing the spaces betwixt fire and fire, one space amongst the rest was blinded with a traverse of mat; and by the noise I heard from thence, like the beating of hemp, I took it to be some kind of elaboratory. To satisfy a curiosity I had to be more particularly inform'd, I edged close to the mat; and, by standing on tiptoe for a full discovery, I saw a sight that gave me no small trouble. The same specifical queen (whose courtesey for our kind usage the other day, can never be enough applauded (was now employed in the hard servile labour of beating corn for the king's dinner, which raised the noise that made me thus inquisitive. I wish'd myself in her place for her ease: but the queens of that country do esteem it a privilege to serve their husbands in all kind of cookery, which they would be as loth to lose, as any christian queen would be to take it from them.

Several *Indians* of the first rank followed me to our quarters, and used their best endeavours to sift something from us that might give them light into knowing what we were. They sought many ways to make their thoughts intelligible to us, but still we parted without knowing what to fix upon, or how to steer our course in advance of our way to *Virginia*.

In this doubtful condition we thought it reasonable to fall upon a speedy resolution what was next to be done on our parts, in order to the accomplishment of our voyage by land, which we hoped (by the divine aid) we might be able to effect after a little more refreshment by the plenty of victuals allowed us by the king, who was no less indulgent and careful to feed and care for us, than if we had been his children.

Towards morning we were treated with a new regale brought to us by the same fair hand again. It was a sort of spoon-mear, in colour and taste not unlike to almond-milk temper'd and mix'd with boiled rice.

The

NOR- The ground still was *Indian* corn boiled to
WOOD. a pap, which they call *Homini*, but the
ingredient which performed the milky part,
was nothing but dry pokickery nuts, beaten
shells and all to powder, and they are like
our walnuts, but thicker shell'd, and the
kernel sweeter; but being beaten in a
mortar, and put into a tray, hollow'd in
the middle to make place for fair water,
no sooner is the water poured into the pow-
der, but it rises again white and creamish;
and after a little ferment it does partake
so much of the delicate taste of the kernel
of that nut, that it becomes a rarity to a
miracle.

Major *Morrison*, who had been almost
at death's door, found himself abundantly
refreshed and comforted with this deli-
cacy; he wished the bowl had been a
fathom deep, and would say, when his
stomach called on him for fresh supplies,
that if this prince's royal would give him
his fill of that food, he should soon recover
his strength.

Our bodies growing vigorous with this
plenty, we took new courage, and resolv'd
(as many as were able) to attempt the find-
ing out of *Virginia*. We guess'd the distance
could not be great, and that it bore from
us S. by W. to S. W. Our ignorance of the
latitude we were in, was some discouragement
to us; but we were confident, from
what the seamen discoursed, we were to
the southward of the *Menados*, then a
Dutch plantation, now *New York*: Fair
weather and full stomachs made us willing
to be gone. To that end we laid out for a
quantity of pone; and for our surer con-
duct we resolv'd to procure an *Indian* to
be our pilot through the wilderness, for
we were to expect many remora's in our
way, by swamps and creeks, with which
all those sea-coasts do abound.

The king remarking our more than or-
dinary care to procure more bread than
amounted to our usual expence, gathered
thence our design to leave him, and shift
for ourselves. To prevent the rashness
and folly of such attempt, he made use of
all his silent rhetorick to put us out of con-
ceit of such design, and made us under-
stand the peril and difficulty of it by many
obstacles we must meet with. He shew'd
us the danger we should expose ourselves
unto, by rain and cold, swamps and
darkness, unless we were conducted by
other skill than we could pretend to: He
pointed to his fires and shocks of corn, of
which he had enough, and made it legible
to us in his countenance, that we were wel-
come to it. All the signs the king made
upon this occasion, we were content to un-
derstand in the best sense; and taking for

granted our sojourning there was renewed to
another day, we retired to our quarters.

About midnight following, the king
sent to invite me to his fire. He placed me
near him as before, and in the first place
shewing me quarters of a lean doe, new
brought in. He gave me a knife to cut what
part of it I pleas'd, and then pointing to
the fire, I inferr'd, I was left to my own
discretion for the dressing of it. I could
not readily tell how to shew my skill in
the cookery of it, with no better ingre-
dients than appeared in sight; and so did
no more but cut a collop and cast it on the
coals. His majesty laugh'd at my igno-
rance, and to instruct me better, he broach'd
the collop on a long scower, thrust the
sharp end into the ground (for there was no
hearth but what nature made) and turning
sometimes one side, sometimes the other,
to the fire, it became fit in short time to
be served up, had there been a dining-
room of state such as that excellent king
deserv'd.

I made tender of it first to the king, and
then to his nobles, but all refused, and
left all to me, who gave god and the king
thanks for that great meal. The rest of
the doe was cut in pieces, stewed in a pip-
kin, and then put into my hands to dispose
of amongst my company.

As soon as I had dispatch'd this midnight
venison-feast, and sent the rest to my com-
rades, the king was greatly desirous to
make me comprehend, by our common
dialect of signs and motions, the ingenious
stratagem by which they use to take their
deer in the winter season, especially when
the surface of the earth is cover'd with
snow. He shewed me in the first place a
small leather thong, in which (said he) any
kind of deer should be invited to hamper
himself and lie fast tied on his back, until
the engineer (or some body else for him)
should take quiet possession of him. I
could not conceive the particular structure
of this machine, so as to direct the making
of it elsewhere; but thus much in the ge-
neral I did understand; they would fasten
a pine green branch at the end of a pole
(such as hops grow upon) which should lie
athwart an oak, like the pole of a turner's
lath, and the green hanging dingle-dangle
at the pole end, fastened by a string; it
should be set at a height for a deer to
reach, but not without mounting and rest-
ing on his hinder legs, that so in pulling
the branch, as at a trigger, the machine
discharging, his heels are struck up to fly
in the air, and there he remains on his back
so straitly hamper'd, that the least child
may approach to touch and take him.

Before

Before I parted, the king attacked me again, with reiterated attempts to be understood, and I thought by these three or four days conversation, I had the air of his expression much more clear and intelligible than at first. His chief drift for the first essay seemed to be a desire to know which way we were bound, whether north or south; to which I pointed to the south. This gave him much satisfaction, and thereupon steps in the little grotto before described, who by the motion of his hand seemed to crave my regard to what he was going about. He took up a stick, with which he made divers circles by the fire-side, and then holding up his finger to procure my attention, he gave to every hole a name; and it was not hard to conceive that the several holes were to supply the place of a sea-chart, shewing the situation of all the most noted *Indian* territories that lay to the southward of *Kickotank*.

That circle that was most southerly, he called *Achomack*, which, tho' he pronounced with a different accent from us, I laid hold on that word with all demonstrations of satisfaction I could express, giving them to understand, that was the place to which I had a desire to be conducted.

The poor king was in a strange transport of joy to see me receive satisfaction, and did forthwith cause a lusty young man to be called to him, to whom, by the earnestness of his motions, he seemed to give ample instructions to do something for our service, but what it was we were not yet able to resolve. In two or three days time, seeing no effect of what he had so seriously said, we began again to despond, and did therefore resume our former thoughts of putting ourselves in posture to be gone; but the king seeing us thus ready at every turn to leave him, shewed in his looks a more than ordinary resentment; still describing (as he could) the care he had taken for us, and impossibility of accomplishing our ends by ourselves, and that we should surely faint in the way and die without help, if we would not be ruled by him.

He shewed me again his stores of corn, and made such reiterated signs, by the cheerfulness of his countenance, that we should not want, whilst he had such a plenty, as made us lay aside all thoughts of stirring till he said the word. But as oft as he looked or pointed to the coast of *Achomack*, he would shake his head, with abundance of grimaces, in dislike of our design to go that way till he saw it good we should do so. I was abundantly convinced of our folly in the resolution we were ready to take of going away without better information of the distance from *Achomack*, and way that led to it; and

having so frank a welcome where we were, we resolved to stay till the king should approve of our departure, which he was not able to determine till the messenger came back, that he had sent to *Achomack*, who, it now seemed more plainly, was dispatched upon my owning that place to be our home, tho' we knew it not from any cause we could rely upon, before we saw the effect.

While we lived in this suspense, the king had a great mind to see our fire-arms, and to be acquainted with the use and nature of them. That which best did please his eye I presented to him, and shewed him how to load and discharge it. He was very shy at first essay, fearing it might hurt him, but I made him stand upon his lodging place, and putting him in a posture to give fire, he presented the mouth of his gun to the chimney hole, and so let fly. The combustible nature of the king's palace not well considered, the fabrick was endangered by the king's own hand, for the flashing of the powder having taken hold of the roof at the smoke-hole, all was in a flame; but a nimble lad or two ran up to quench it, and did soon extinguish it without considerable damage to the building, which was of mat and boughs of oak as aforesaid.

The king's eldest son, of about eighteen years of age, was hugely enamoured with our guns, and looked so wistfully on me, when he saw what wonders they would do, that I could not forbear presenting him with a birding-piece. Some of our company, who knew that by the laws of *Virginia*, it was criminal to furnish the *Indians* with fire-arms, gave me caution in this case; but I resolved, for once, to borrow a point of that law; for tho' it might be of excellent use in the general, yet as our condition was, I esteemed it a much greater crime to deny those *Indians* any thing that was in our power, than the penalty of that law could amount to.

Father and son abundantly gratified in this manner, the king thought himself largely requited for the cost we put him to in our entertainment. I taught his son to shoot at fowls, to charge his gun and clean it, insomuch that in a few minutes, he went among the flocks of geese, and firing at random he did execution on one of them to his great joy, and returned to his father with the game in his hand, with such celerity, as if he had borrowed wings of the wind.

About three o'clock this afternoon, the Jan. 24. king was pleased in great condescension to honour me with a visit, a favour which I may (without vanity) assume to myself, and my better habit, from the many particular

NOR- ticular applications that he made to me, exclusive of the rest of the company. He thought I was too melancholy, (for the *Indians*, as has been observed, are great enemies to that temper) and shewed me by his own chearful looks, what humour he would have me put on; he would not have me in the least apprehensive of wanting any thing his country afforded, as his mien and gesture witnessed; and for the higher proof of his reality, he found me out a divertisement, that was very extraordinary. He came at this time attended by his young daughter, who had done us the good offices before-mentioned, and having first by kind words and pleasant gestures given us renewed assurance of hearty welcome, he singled me out, and pointed with his hand to a way he would have me take, but whither, or to what end, I was at liberty to guess; upon that he produced his little daughter for my conductrix to the place to which I should go, and shewed his desire that I should follow her where-ever she should lead me.

Major *Stephens*, not yet enough convinced of the *Indians* fidelity, would have discouraged me from leaving the company in that manner, unreasonably fancying that this was a contrivance in the king to take away my life in a private way; but this I thought did so much out-strip all his other senseless jealousies, that after I had acknowledged the obligation I had to his care of my person, his needless caution had no other effect on me than to turn it into ridicule. These inordinate fears of this major in three foregoing instances, might (I confess) have been very well omitted, as not worthy the mention, and so they should have been, had his humour and constitution in prosperous times been any way suitable to this wary temper; but because his habits on shore were scandalously vicious, his mouth always belching oaths, and his tongue proving him the vainest hector I had seen, I thought it was pity to lose such a strong confirmation of that known truth, (*viz.*) That true innate courage does seldom reside in the heart of a quarrelling and talking hector.

The weather (as I have said) was excessive cold, with frost, and the winds blowing very fresh upon my face, it almost stopt my breath. The late condition I had been in, under a roof, with great fires, and much smoke, did conduce to make me the more sensible of the cold air; but in less than half an hour that pain was over; we were now in sight of the house whereto we were bound, and the lady of the place was ready to receive us, (who proved to be the mother of my conductrix) and to shew me my apartment in the mid-

dle of her house, which had the same accommodation to sit and rest upon, as before has been described in other instances.

The lusty rousing fire, prepared to warm me, would have been noble entertainment of itself, but attended (as it was quickly) with good food for the belly, made it to be that compleat good cheer I only aimed at; a wild turkey boiled, with oysters, was preparing for my supper, which, when it was ready, was served up in the same pot that boiled it. It was a very savoury mess, stewed with muscles, and I believe would have passed for a delicacy at any great table in *England*, by palates more competent to make a judgment than mine, which was now more gratified with the quantity than the quality of what was before me.

This queen was also of the same mould of her majesty whom we first met at our landing place, somewhat ancient (in proportion to the king's age) but so gentle and compassionate, as did very bountifully requite all defects of nature; she passed some hours at my fire, and was very desirous to know the occasion that brought us there (as her motion and the emphasis of her words did shew); but I had small hopes to satisfy her curiosity therein, after so many vain attempts to inform the king in that matter. In fine, I grew sleepy, and about nine o'clock every one retired to their quarters, separated from each other by traverses of mat, which (besides their proper vertue) kept the ladies from any immodest attempts, as secure as if they had been bars of iron.

As soon as the day peeped in, I went out and felt the same cold as yesterday, with the same wind, N. W. I was not forward to quit a warm quarter, and a frank entertainment, but my young governess, who had her father's orders for direction, knew better than myself what I was to do; she put herself in a posture to lead the way back from whence we came, after a very good repast of stewed muscles, together with a very hearty welcome plainly appearing in the queen's looks.

My nimble pilot led me away with great swiftness, and it was necessary so to do; the weather still continuing in that violent sharpness, nothing but a violent motion could make our limbs useful. No sooner had I set my foot in the king's house to visit my comrades, but a wonderful surprise appeared to me in the change of every countenance, and as every face did plainly speak a general satisfaction, so did they with one voice explain the cause thereof, in telling me the messengers of our delivery were arrived, and now with the king.

Messen-
gers from
Virginia.

I hastened to see those angels, and addressing myself to one of them in *English* habit, asked him the occasion of his coming there? He told me his business was to trade for furs, and no more; but as soon as I had told him my name, and the accidents of our being there, he acknowledged he came under the guidance of the *Kickotank Indian* (which I imagined, but was not sure the king had sent) in quest of me and those that were left on shore, sent by the governor's order of *Virginia* to enquire after us, but knew not where to find us till that *Indian* came to his house; he gave me a large account of the ship's arrival, and the many dangers and difficulties she encountered before she could come into *James* river, where she ran ashore, resolving there to lay her bones. His name was *Jenkin Price*, he had brought an *Indian* of his neighbourhood with him that was very well acquainted in those parts, for our conduct back to *Achomack*, which *Indian* was called *Jack*.

The king was very glad of this happy success to us, and was impatient to learn something more of our history than hitherto he had been able to extract from signs and grimaces. *Jenkin Price* with his broken *Indian*, could make a shift to instruct *Jack* to say any thing he pleased, and *Jack* was the more capable to understand his meaning by some sprinklings of *English*, that he had learnt at our plantations. Betwixt them both they were able to satisfy the king in what he pleased to know. *Jack* told them of himself what a mighty nation we were in that country, and gave them caution not to imbezil any goods we had brought with us, for fear of an after-reckoning. I wondered, upon this serious discourse he had with the king, to see guns and stockings, and whatever trifles we had given, offered to be returned, and being told the reason of it by *Jenkin Price*, I was very much ashamed of *Jack's* too great zeal in our service, which, tho' it did proceed from a principal of honesty, and good morality in him, we were to consider that our dearest lives, and all we could enjoy in this world, was (next to divine providence) owing to the virtue and charity of this king, and therefore not only what they had in possession, but whatever else he should desire that was in my power, would be too mean an acknowledgment for so high obligations. I took care to let them know that I had no hand in the menace by which *Jack* brought them to refund what they had got of us; the right understanding whereof increased our good intelligence, and became a new endearment of affection betwixt us.

By better acquaintance with these our deliverers, we learned that we were about fifty *English* miles from *Virginia*: That part of it where *Jenkin* did govern, was called *Littleton's Plantation*, and was the first *English* ground we did expect to see. He gave me great encouragement to endure the length of the way, by assuring me I should not find either stone or shrub to hurt my feet thorow my thin-soled boots, for the whole colony had neither stone nor underwood; and having thus satisfied my curiosity in the knowledge of what *Jenkin Price* could communicate, we deferred no longer to resolve how and when to begin our journey to *Achomack*.

The *Indian* he brought with him (who afterwards lived and died my servant) was very expert, and a most incomparable guide in the woods we were to pass, being a native of those parts, so that he was as our sheet-anchor in this our peregrination. The king was loth to let us go till the weather was better tempered for our bodies; but when he saw we were fully resolved, and had pitched upon the next morning to begin our journey, he found himself much defeated in a purpose he had taken to call together all the flower of his kingdom to entertain us with a dance, to the end that nothing might be omitted on his part for our divertisement, as well as our nourishment, which his small territory could produce. Most of our company would gladly have deferred our march a day longer, to see this masquerade, but I was wholly bent for *Achomack*, to which place I was to dance almost on my bare feet, the thoughts of which took off the edge I might otherwise have had to novelties of that kind.

When the good old king saw we were fully determined to be gone the next day, he desired as a pledge of my affection to him, that I would give him my camlet coat, which he vowed to wear whilst he lived for my sake; I shook hands to shew my willingness to please him in that or in any other thing he would command, and was the more willing to do myself the honour of compliance in this particular, because he was the first king I could call to mind that had ever shewed any inclinations to wear my old cloaths.

To the young princess, that had so signally obliged me, I presented a piece of two-penny scarlet ribbon, and a *French* tweezer that I had in my pocket, which made her skip for joy; and to shew how little she fancied our way of carrying them concealed, she retired apart for some time, and taking out every individual piece of which it was furnished, she tied a snip of ribbon to each, and so came back with

NOR-
WOOD.

scissars, knives and bodkins hanging at her ears, neck and hair. The case itself was not excused, but bore a part in this new dress; and to the end we might not part without leaving deep impressions of her beauty in our minds, she had prepared on her forefingers, a lick of paint on each, the colours (to my best remembrance) green and yellow, which at one motion she discharged on her face, beginning upon her temples, and continuing it in an oval line downwards as far as it would hold out. I could have wished this young princess would have contented herself with what nature had done for her, without this addition of paint (which I thought, made her more fulsome than handsome); but I had reason to imagine the royal family were only to use this ornament exclusive of all others, for that I saw none other of her sex so set off; and this conceit made it turn again, and appear lovely, as all things should do that are honoured with the royal stamp.

I was not furnished with any thing upon the place, fit to make a return to the two queens for the great charity they used to feed and warm me; but when I came into a place where I could be supplied, I was not wanting that way, according to my power.

Early next morning we put ourselves in posture to be gone, (*viz.*) major *Stephens*, myself, and three or four more, whose names are worn out of my mind. Major *Morrison* was so far recovered as to be heart-whole, but he wanted strength to go thro' so great a labour as this was like to prove. We left him with some others to be brought in boats that the governor had ordered for their accommodation; and with them the two weak women, who were much recovered by the good care and nourishment they received in the poor fisherman's house.

Breakfast being done, and our pilot *Jack* ready to set out, we took a solemn leave of the good king. He inclosed me in his arms with kind embraces, not without expressions of sorrow to part, beyond the common rate of new acquaintance. I made *Jack* pump up his best compliments, which at present was all I was capable to return to the king's kindness; and so after many *Hana baes* we parted.

We were not gone far till the fatigue and tediousness of the journey discovered itself in the many creeks we were forced to head, and swamps to pass (like *Irish* bogs) which made the way at least double to what it would have amounted to in a strait line; and it was our wonder to see our guide *Jack* lead on the way with the same confidence of going right, as if

he had had a *London* road to keep him from straying. Howbeit he would many times stand still and look about for landmarks; and when on one hand and the other his marks bore right for his direction, he would shew himself greatly satisfied. As to the purpose, an old deformed tree that lay north-west, opposite to a small hammock of pines to the south-east, would evidence his going right in all weathers. It is true, they know not the compass by the loadstone, but which is equivalent, they never are ignorant of the north-west point, which gives them the rest; and that they know by the weather-beaten moss that grows on that side of every oak, different from the rest of the tree, which is their compass. Towards evening we saw smoak (an infallible sign of an *Indian* town) which *Jack* knew to arise from *Gingo Teague*. We went boldly into the king's house (by advice of his brother of *Kickotank*) who was also a very humane prince. What the place and season produced was set before us with all convenient speed, which was enough to satisfy hunger, and to fit us for repose.

I was extremely tired with this tedious journey; and it was the more irksome to me, because I performed it in boots (my shoes being worn out) which at that time were commonly worn to walk in; so that I was much more sleepy than I had been hungry. The alliance I had newly made at *Kickotank* did already stand me in some stead, for that it qualified me to a lodging apart, and gave me a first taste of all we had to eat, tho' the variety was not so great as I had seen in other courts.

And yet (as we see in all worldly honours) this grandeur of mine was not without its alloy; for as it gave me accommodation of eating and sleeping in preference to my comrades, so did it raise the hopes of the royal progeny of gifts and presents, beyond what I was either able or willing to afford them; for when I would have taken my rest, I was troubled beyond measure with their visits, and saw by their carriage what they would be at; wherefore, to free myself of further disturbance, and to put myself out of the pain of denials, I resolved to comply with the necessities of nature, which pressed me hard to sleep; and to that end I took the freedom by *Jack*, to desire they would all withdraw until I found myself refreshed.

I passed the night 'till almost day-break in one intire sleep; and when I did awake (not suddenly able to collect who, or where I was) I found myself strangely confounded, to see a damsel placed close

to

North-
west point
distinguish-
ed by
moss on
the trees.

Their de-
parture.

to my side, of no meaner extract than the king's eldest daughter, who had completely finish'd the rape of all the gold and silver buttons that adorn'd the king of *Kickotank's* coat, yet on my back. When I was broad awake, and saw this was no enchantment (like those trances knights errant use to be in) but that I was really despoiled of what was not in my power to dispense withal, I called for *Jack*, and made him declare my resentment and much dislike of this princess's too great liberty upon so small acquaintance, which made me have a mean opinion of her. *Jack* shew'd more anger than myself to see such usage by any of his country, and much more was he scandaliz'd, that one of the blood royal should purloin.

But the King, upon notice of the fact and party concerned in it, immediately caused the buttons to be found out and returned, with no slight reprimand to his daughter, and then all was well, and so much the better by the gift of such small presents as I was able to make to the king and princess. Breakfast was given us, and we hasten'd to proceed in our journey to *Achomack*.

The uneasiness of boots to travel in, made me by much the more weary of the former day's journey, and caused me to enter very unwillingly upon this second day's work. We reckoned ourselves about twenty-five miles distant from *Jenkin's* house. It pleased God to send us dry weather, and not excessive cold. We had made provision of *pone* to bait on by the way, and we found good water to refresh us; but all this did not hinder my being tired and spent almost to the last degree. *Jack* very kindly offered his service to carry me on his shoulders (for I was brought to a moderate weight by the strict diet I had been in) but that would have been more uneasy to me, in contemplation of his more than double pains, and so I resolved to try my utmost strength, without placing so great a weight on his shoulders.

The hopes of seeing *English* ground in *America*, and that in so short a time as they made us expect, did animate my spirits to the utmost point. *Jack* fearing the worst, was of opinion, that we should call at his aunt's town, the queen of *Pomumkin*, not far out of the way: but *Jenkin Price* opposed that motion, and did assure me our journey's end was at hand. His words and my own inclination carried the question, and I resolved, by God's help, that night to sleep at *Jenkin's* house.

But the distance proving yet greater than had been described, and my boots trashing me almost beyond all sufferance, I became desperate, and ready to sink and lie down.

Jenkin lulled me on still with words that spurred me to the quick; and would demonstrate the little distance betwixt us and his plantation, by the sight of hogs and cattle, of which species the *Indians* were not masters. I was fully convinced of what he said, but would however have consented to a motion of lying without doors on the ground, within two or three flights shot of the place, to save the labour of so small a remainder.

The close of the evening, and a little more patience (thro' the infinite goodness of the Almighty) did put a happy period to our cross adventure. A large bed of sweet straw was spread ready in *Jenkin's* house for our reception, upon which I did hasten to extend and stretch my wearied limbs. And being thus brought into safe harbour by the many miracles of divine mercy, from all the storms and fatigues, perils and necessities to which we had been exposed by sea and land for almost the space of four months, I cannot conclude this voyage in more proper terms, than in the words that are the burthen of that psalm of providence, *O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wondrous works unto the children of men!*

Our landlord *Jenkin Price*, and conductor *Jack*, took great care to provide meat for us; and there being a dairy and hens, we could not want. As for our stomachs, they were open at all hours to eat whatever was set before us, as soon as our wearied bodies were refresh'd with sleep. It was on *Saturday* the ——— day of *January*, that we ended this our wearisome pilgrimage, and entered into our king's dominions at *Achomat*, called by the *English*, *Northampton* county, which is the only county on that side of the bay belonging to the colony of *Virginia*, and is the best of the whole for all sorts of necessaries for human life.

Having been thus refresh'd in *Jenkin's* house this night with all our hearts could wish, on the next morning, being *Sunday*, we would have been glad to have found a church for the performance of our duty to God, and to have rendred our hearty thanks to him in the publick assembly, for his unspeakable mercies vouchsafed to us; but we were not yet arrived to the heart of the country where there were churches, and ministry performed as our laws direct, but were glad to continue our own chaplains, as formerly. As we advanced into the plantations that lay thicker together, we had our choice of hosts for our entertainment, without money or its value; in which we did not begin any novelty, for there are no inns in the colony; nor do they take

NOR- other payment for what they furnish to
WOOD. coasters, but by requital of such courtesies in
the same way, as occasion offers.

When I came to the house of one *Stephen Charlton*, he did not only outdo all that I had visited before him, in variety of dishes at his table, which was very well ordered in the kitchen, but would also oblige me to put on a good farmer-like suit of his own wearing cloaths, for exchange of my dirty habit; and this gave me opportunity to deliver my camlet coat to *Jack*, for the use of my brother of *Kickotank*, with other things to make it worth his acceptance.

Having been thus frankly entertained at Mr. *Charlton's*, our company were in condition to take care for themselves. We took leave of each other, and my next stage was to esquire *Yardly*, a gentleman of good name, whose father had sometimes been governor of *Virginia*. There I was received and treated as if I had in truth and reality been that man of honour my brother of *Kickotank* had created me. It fell out very luckily for my better welcome, that he had not long before brought over a wife from *Rotterdam*, that I had known almost from a child. Her father (*Custis* by name) kept a victualling house in that town, lived in good repute, and was the general host of our nation there. The esquire knowing I had the honour to be the governor's kinsman, and his wife knowing my conversation in *Holland*, I was received and carested more like a domestick and near relation, than a man in misery, and a stranger. I stayed there for a passage over the bay, about ten days, welcomed and feasted not only by the esquire and his wife, but by many neighbours that were not too remote.

Feb. 13. About the midst of *February* I had an opportunity to cross the bay in a sloop, and with much ado landed in *York* river, at esquire *Ludlow's* plantation, a most pleasant situation. I was civilly received by him, who presently ordered an accommodation for me in a most obliging manner. But it fell out at that time, that captain *Wormly* (of his majesty's council) had guests in his house (not a furlong distant from Mr. *Ludlow's*) feasting and carousing, that were lately come from *England*, and most of them my intimate acquaintance. I took a sudden

leave of Mr. *Ludlow*, thank'd him for his kind intentions to me, and using the common freedom of the country, I thrust myself amongst captain *Wormly's* guests in crossing the creek, and had a kind reception from them all, which answered (if not exceeded) my expectation.

Sir *Thomas Lundsford*, Sir *Henry Chickly*, Sir *Philip Honywood*, and colonel *Hamond* were the persons I met there, and enjoyed that night with very good cheer, but left them early the next morning, out of a passionate desire I had to see the governor, whose care for my preservation had been so full of kindness.

Captain *Wormly* mounted me for *James Town*, where the governor was pleased to receive and take me to his house at *Greenspring*, and there I passed my hours (as at mine own house) until *May* following; at which time he sent me for *Holland* to find out the king, and to sollicite his majesty for the treasurer's place of *Virginia*, which the governor took to be void by the delinquency of *Claybourne*, who had long enjoyed it. He furnished me with a sum of money to bear the charge of this solicitation; which took effect, tho' the king was then in *Scotland*. He was not only thus kind to me (who had more than ordinary pretence to his favour by our near affinity in blood) but, on many occasions, he shewed great respect to all the royal party, who made that colony their refuge. His house and purse were open to all that were so qualified. To one of my comrades (major *Fox*) who had no friend at all to subsist on, he shewed a generosity that was like himself; and to my other (major *Morrison*) he was more kind, for he did not only place him in the command of the fort, which was profitable to him whilst it held under the king, but did advance him after to the government of the country, wherein he got a competent estate.

And thus (by the good providence of a gracious God, who helpeth us in our low estate, and causeth his angels to pitch tents round about them that trust in him) have I given as faithful an account of this signal instance of his goodness to the miserable objects of his mercy in this voyage, as I have been able to call to a clear remembrance.

A
JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

Made in the
HANNIBAL of *London*, Ann. 1693, 1694,
From ENGLAND, to
Cape MONSERADOE, in AFRICA;

And thence along the Coast of
Guiney to Whidaw, *the Island of St. Thomas*,

And so forward to

BARBADOES.

WITH A

Curfory ACCOUNT of the COUNTRY, the PEOPLE,
their MANNERS, FORTS, TRADE, &c.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS, Commander of the said Ship.

Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-
Ball in Pater-noster Row.* 1746.

JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

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A

PHIL-
LIPS.

JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

FROM

*England to Africa, and so forward to Barba-
does, in the Years 1693 and 1694.*

The au-
thor taken
by the
French.

IT was my misfortune, as well as many others, this last war with *France*, in my voyage home from *Venice* and *Zant*, in the *William* of two hundred tons and twenty guns, to fall into the clutches of three great *French* men of war of seventy guns each, in the soundings, about sixty leagues S. W. from *Cape Clear* in *Ireland*. There being so great an inequality in our strength, and no hopes of escaping, I thought it prudence to submit without any resistance, and not have my men kill'd and wounded to no purpose; for they had five hundred men each, and I but thirty in all; therefore I was forced to let might overcome right, and upon summons by a shot athwart our fore foot, from the *Crown* of seventy brass guns, which came first up with us, to strike our ensign, and become their prize. We were treated very civilly by Chevalier *De Monbroun* on board the *Crown*, who convey'd us carefully to *Brest*, and obliged me to visit a country which at that time I had a perfect aversion to. After my return to *England*,

Returns to
England.

I was for some time destitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, Knt. out of his extraordinary generosity and good will to me, understanding that the ship *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-six guns, was to be sold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleased to deposite the money for her presently out of his own pocket; and after, by his interest, to bring in his worthy brother, *John Jeffreys*, Esq; *Sam. Stanyer*, Esq; then sub-governor of the *African* company, and some other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ship to the royal *African* company of *England*; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being entered into their service, on a trading voyage to *Guiney*, for elephants teeth, gold, and *Negro* slaves; and

Buys the
Hannibal.

Enters into
the service
of the *Afri-
can* com-
pany.

having the needful cargoes on board, where-
with to purchase them, as well as supplies of
merchandise, stores, &c. for the company's
castles and factories; my business being com-
pleted at *London*, I took boat for *Gravesend*
the fifth of *September* in the evening, and
got on board about eleven at night, with
money to pay my men their river-pay, and
one month's pay advance-money, as per a-
greement. Goes on
board.
Septemb.
1693.

Tuesday the fifth, I cleared the ship at
Gravesend, the wind at N. E. dirty wea-
ther.

The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, I had the
wind at N. E. fresh gale, paid my men their
wages to the fifth instant.

Sunday the 10th in the morning, we broke
ground from *Gravesend*, and drove with the
ebb to the upper end of the *Hope*, where
we chop'd to an anchor, and in the evening
I went up to *Gravesend*.

Monday the 11th. This day having paid
my debts, and finished my business, I took
my leave of agent *Nurse* and some other
friends, and in the evening came on board,
wind from W. N. W. to W. S. W. easy
gales.

Tuesday the 12th. This morning about
three o'clock we got under sail, with a
brave gale at W. At nine we were
past the *Nore*, where we drove till one
in the evening, waiting for water, at which
time we bore away for the red sand, and
about four got through the narrow, and at
six anchored off the *North Foreland*, in
nine fathom water, it bearing S. by W. of
us.

Wednesday the 13th. At four this morn-
ing we got up our anchors, with the wind
at S. W. and after several tacks, about
eleven we came to an anchor in the *Downs*,
in eight fathom water, the *South Foreland*
bearing S. by E. Here rid admiral *Nevil*
with the union-flag at miffen top-mast head,
whom I saluted with eleven guns, and was
answer'd with nine. In the afternoon he and

B b b

Capt.

PHIL- Capt. Cole, in another third rate man of
LIPS. war, set sail on some important affairs, for
1693. *Copenhagen* in *Denmark*, and left Capt.

October.

Set sail.

Wisbart in the *Swifshire*, admiral of the *Downs*, where we lay with our yards and top-masts lower'd, having very stormy weather, and the wind constantly between the S. and W. Until the fifth of *October*, in the morning, we had fair weather, smooth sea, and a small gale of wind at S. S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S. E. and E. and invited us and the rest of the outwardbound ships, in the *Downs*, to go to sea; of which those for *Guinea* were, the *East-India Merchant* of thirty guns, Capt. *Thomas Shurley* commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-six guns, *Thomas Phillips*, for the gold coast; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. *Daniel*, for *Angola*; the *Jeffry* of twelve guns, Capt. *Somes*, for the *Bite*; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. *Hereford*, for *Angola*; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. *Perry*, for *Gamba* and the coast. We having agreed among ourselves, that Capt. *Thomas Shurley*, who had been long acquainted with the *Guiney* trade, should give sailing orders, shape the course, and carry the light; we came on board to unmoor our ships, and about eight were under sail, and stood out of the *Downs*, with a small gale at E. S. E. till ten, when the gale dulling, and the flood being made, we came to an anchor in ten fathom, under the *South Foreland*, where we rid till four in the morning, then with the tide of ebb, we weigh'd, having a fresh gale at S. S. E. which about eight veer'd to S. and S. by E. increasing, so as Capt. *Shurley* lying by, to speak with me, we agreed, that perceiving no probability of a fair wind, but great likelihood of bad weather, it was not prudence to beat the sea, in regard as well of the danger of the enemy, as of the stormy season of the year; whereupon we resolv'd to stand into the *Downs* again; accordingly Capt. *Shurley* having given the signal, bore up, and the rest of our *Guiney* fleet after him, while I lay muzzled to bring up the rear. When all the fleet were past me I filled my sails and stood after them; the *South Foreland* then bearing N. by E. but we had not gone a quarter of an hour large, ere we were envelop'd in the thickest fog I ever knew, so that we could not see the ship's length before us. I steer'd away N. N. E. for most part, but was often forced to edge into the shore, to keep clear of some ships that were on my off-side, and pressed hard upon me, so that I shoaled my water to six fathom; but then haling off to nine fathom, I resolv'd to run no more risques, till I could see my way better, therefore I

came to an anchor, ordering our trumpets to sound, and drum to beat, to give notice to any ships that might be coming into the *Downs*, lest they should run on board us in the fog unawares, we lying in the fair trade way; our anchor was scarcely down ere we heard a gun fired, which was soon follow'd by four more at a small intermission of time; whereupon reading our sailing orders, I found it to be the signal appointed to be given, in case any of us should run ashore; but whose misfortune it was at this time I could not determine, till about an hour after, the fog dispelling, I perceiv'd it to be the *East-India Merchant*, Capt. *Shurley*, who had run a-ground two miles to the S. E. of the *South Foreland*, and was a spectacle I was not a little griev'd to see, my best friend Sir *Jeffrey Jeffries*, Knt. and some others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal *African* company, being deeply concerned in her; therefore I thought it no seasonable time only to look on and bemoan his ill luck, but forthwith, with all the application I could, to send him some timely assistance; in order to this, our long boat being hal'd up, I sent my three mates, boatswain, gunner and carpenter, with twenty of the best men I had, to carry out an anchor for him to heave off by upon the flood, for he happen'd to run ashore almost at low water, so as he had the whole tide of flood to friend. I was extremely pleas'd that I came to an anchor so fortunately as I did, and did not stand into the *Downs*; for had not my boat come to his relief, I question if he had ever floated again, for Capt. *Shurley* himself was like a distracted man, and his seamen were grown wilful, and would not obey his officers, each taking care of his own little concern only, and neglecting their common interest in saving the ship. Whether he had given his men occasion for this untimely frowardness, I will not pretend to determine, but cannot forbear here to give my own opinion freely, that it is the greatest prudence, as well as interest of a commander, of a merchant ship especially, to gain his mens good-will and affections, by being humane to them, and giving them their due and full allowance, according to the use of the sea, of good and wholesome provisions, for nothing grates upon seamen more than pinching their bellies, or treating them with cruelty or reproachful words, such as lubber, &c. whereas they are such a sort of people, that if they have justice done them, a good word now and then, and be permitted their little fore-castle jests and songs with freedom, they will run thro' fire and water for their commander, and do their work with the utmost satisfaction and alacrity;

crity; but on the other side, as they should not want their just dues in any kind, so they should not want work, as long as there were any to be done for the ship's service and benefit; tho' at the same time I am far from approving the morose and cynick temper of some commanders, who hate to see a poor sailor have a minute's time of quiet, to enjoy himself, and indulge his humour with a song or an old tale, but will keep them doing out of perfect ill nature, and rather than let them be the least at ease, will put them at work to the ship and owners prejudice. I remember a couple of masters that I knew in the *Straights*, trading before the war, whom I shall forbear to name, the one of them would often make his men coil one of his cables upon deck, then pass the end without board into the gun-room port, and rouse it in again, and coil it where it was before; and this he said was to plague the dogs, tho' to the great damage of his cable, by rubbing and galling it, and no doubt but it plagu'd them sufficiently, making them curse and damn him all the time, and wish for an occasion to be among rocks, sands, or a lee-shore, where there was but any possibility of saving their lives, that they might return his favours, and shew him how ready they would be to obey his command and save his ship; then I fear they would serve him as the seamen serv'd the collier master coming from *Newcastle*, who having lock'd up the firkin of butter from them, contrary to custom, and plying to windward with the tide among the sands, standing on one tack as near a sand as he thought proper, order'd the helm a-lee, to go about; when the ship was well stay'd, he call'd to hale the main-sail, but his men answer'd unanimously, *that not one of them would touch a rope till the firkin of butter was brought to the mast*. He began to expostulate with them, but to no purpose, and seeing the ship drive near the sand with all sails aback, he promis'd them they should have it as soon as the sails were trimm'd, and the ship had gather'd way; the men reply'd, *that seeing was believing*; whereupon, finding there was no other remedy, he run down to his cabin to fetch the butter, and laid it at the mast; then the men went to work, but too late, for e'er the sails could be hal'd about and fill'd, the ship struck upon the sand, and never came off again; so that as the sea proverb is, *he lost a Hog for a halfpenny-worth of Tar*.

The other master I knew in the *Straights*, would in a fit of the spleen fling a chip, or any other insignificant trifle, over-board, and make his men hoist out the boat and row half a mile after it; in the mean time he would make what sail he could, and

keep a-head of them, making them row five or six hours after him, and a little before night lie by and take them up. Such perverse usage as this is a sure sign of an ill temper in the commanders, and nothing can alienate the esteem and affections of their men more from them. After this long digression 'tis time to return to the *East-India merchant*, who about four in the evening floated and swung to her anchor, having lain three hours aground without any damage; about five we weigh'd, and stood into the *Downs*, and anchor'd in six fathom, the *South Foreland* bearing S. S. W. and *Deal-Castle* W. S. W. This untoward beginning of our voyage gave me some troublesome reflections, but was too far engag'd to resolve upon any thing but to proceed, and endeavour to go thorough it as well as I could.

We were detain'd in the *Downs* with very blustering weather and contrary winds until the twenty-fifth of *October*; the wind veering about to the north, we got up our anchors, and about seven in the evening were under sail, and about eight were off the *South Foreland*, where we lay by about an hour, to give time for the rest of our fleet to join us, which when they had done, we fill'd and steer'd away S. W. for the *Nefs*.

Thursday the 26th. Last night at eleven o'clock we were a-breast the *Nefs*-light: then hal'd up W. S. W. and W. by S. for *Beachy*, had a brave stiff gale all night at north, going away with courses and top-sails till seven this morning: I set all sails, and shot a-head the rest of the fleet, in order to get in my boats, which having done, about ten join'd the fleet again, of which we found none missing but Capt. *Herford* in the *Fortune*, whom we could not descry. At noon this day we saw the isle of *Wight*, bearing north-west; distance by estimation seven leagues: we steer'd for most part west, with cloudy dark weather, and some small drizzling rain; we got our anchors up, and our ship clear for the sea, and removed two of our guns that were open in the waist into the after-ports in the great cabin.

Friday the 27th. From yesterday noon till twelve this day we have had a brave top-sail gale from north to north-east, steering away west. At four in the evening yesterday the west end of the *Wight* ^{Leaves} ^{sight of} bore N. by W. distance seven leagues, ^{Land.} from whence I take my departure, we not coming in sight of any other land in *England*; at which time Capt. *Somes* in the *Jeffrey* was far a-stern, not being able to bear his top-sails for the extremity of the gale; but Capt. *Shurley* not easing sail, we were forc'd to croud with him all night,

PHIL-
LIPS.October
1693.

so that we lost poor *Somes*. We run from four in the evening yesterday 112' west, by the best computation I could make, for our log-line breaking in the night, we lost our log, and were forced to make guess-work. We saw many ships of all sides, but spoke with none, except one *Portuguese* of two-hundred tons, bound from *Oporto* to *London*, laden with wine, for some quantities of which commodity we had a great desire to traffick with him; but it blowing so hard, and night being come on, hinder'd our design, so that we bid him farewell, and left him to proceed on his voyage, as we did on ours, unbent our cables, and clap'd on hause-boards, clear'd our ship, and appointed my men their quarters in case of engaging an enemy, having seventy men belonging to the ship, and thirty-three of the *African* company's passengers, for their castles in *Guiney*, so that we made in all, men and boys, a hundred and three. At four in the evening yesterday the east end of the isle of *Wight*, being in latitude $50^{\circ} 24'$ N. bore N. by W. distance seven leagues, from which take my departure. We had a great north sea, for which I allow one point leeway, so that since four in the evening yesterday have run 112 W. by S. and at noon this day have made from the east end of the isle of *Wight* $8^{\circ} 42'$, and westing 108 (lat. $49^{\circ} 42'$).

Saturday the 28th. These twenty-four hours we have had a close sky, with some small showers of rain, and a brave gale of wind at N. N. E. and N. E. running from six to eight miles an hour. This morning at nine we saw a ship to the southward standing with us; about ten she shewed a blue *English* ensign, by which we guess'd it to be Capt. *Hereford* in the *Fortune*, as he prov'd; about twelve he join'd us: the true course steer'd, allowing all impediments, is S. $75^{\circ} 56'$ W. or W. S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. distance run 178; the latitude by reckoning 49° and westing in all made 280 miles, being S. 42, and W. 172 miles.

Sunday the 29th. These twenty-four hours we have had a brave stiff gale from N. E. to E. N. E. steering away W. by S. and W. S. W. distance run *per log* is 167 miles; decreas'd our latitude forty-seven miles, made west departure 160'. At noon this day we had indifferent good observation of the latitude in $47^{\circ} 58'$ N. total westing 440 miles.

Monday the 30th. From noon yesterday we had a fine topsail gale at N. N. E. keeping our course W. S. W. till eight last night, at which time it veer'd to the N. by W. and at twelve to the N. W. and at noon this day to W. dark cloudy weather, with some rain, but smooth water. This

day we sold at the mast our boatswain *Robert Fabin's* and *John Harding's* cloaths, being two of our men that run away from the ship while we lay in the *Downs*, the first having imbezilled and convey'd away a great deal of our cargo, as well as the ship's stores, while we lay sitting out in the river, as we found when we came to examine them. Distance run *per log* is 116', difference of latitude made is $67'$, W. Departure made is $88'$; the present latitude by reckoning is $46^{\circ} 51'$, and total departure W. 528 miles.

Tuesday 31st. These twenty-four hours we have had a brisk gale of wind, veering from W. N. W. to W. by S. with frequent hard squalls and gusts. Last night at four most of our fleet being to leeward far, we bore down to them, and it looking like dirty weather we took up both reefs in our topsails, and jogg'd under them and our two courses close hal'd all night. This morning, our foretopfail being in some places seam-rent, we unbent it, and brought to another, and furl'd it, by reason we fore-reach'd and weather'd much upon all the rest of the fleet. Distance run since yesterday noon is 112', course various, from S. W. to S. by W: but the direct course made (allowing one point and half lee-way, by reason of the small fail we made, and the great western sea) is S. $11^{\circ} 15'$ W. or S. by W. difference of latitude made is $108'$ S. departure $20'$ W. the present latitude $45^{\circ} 3'$, by reckoning; and total departure W. 548 miles.

Wednesday the first. From noon yesterday we had the wind at W. by S. until four in the evening, when it veering to the S. W. by W. we tack'd, lying up with larboard tacks aboard N. W. by W. and N. W. until three this morning; the mate that had the watch came to acquaint me that they discover'd four strange ships with lights to windward of us; when I came upon deck I perceiv'd one with a light standing as we did, upon which we got our half ports off, chests and hammocks up, and order'd every man to their several quarters, to get them clear for an engagement. About seven, being clear day, we had all things in order, and ready for a fight, at which time I plainly saw four tall ships with all sails set standing directly with us. I am sure they were men of war of sixty and seventy guns each, as near as I could discover through my glass, but of what nation I could not tell, tho' we had great reason to believe them *French*, our frigats seldom or never cruising so far to the S. and W. They stood towards us with all sails set in a line, upon which I made a signal, by hoisting and lowering my ensign four times, to give notice to

Capt.

Capt. *Skurley* of our new companions, and crouded with all sails to speak with him, he being about a mile distant upon my lee bow, and the only one of our fleet then in company, we having lost the rest last night and the night before; when I came up with him it blew so hard that we could not hear each other, tho' we had good speaking-trumpets, therefore we were forced to endeavour to understand one another by signs, by which I perceived that he was of my opinion, that since they were so many, not to stand the brunt with them, two to one being odds at foot-ball, we being deep laden merchant ships, and they frigats, built and fitted only for fight, but rather to go away large, and endeavour, by often varying our course, to lose them, it blowing very hard at S. and being thick dirty weather, which was likely to continue and increase, which I was not sorry for, since I do verily believe it saved us a *French* voyage; therefore we hal'd up our mainsails, clapt the helm a-weather, and bore away under foresail and maintop-sail, with two reefs in, upon the cap, steering W. N. W. and N. W. till nine, handed maintop-sail, and went away N. W. till ten, having lost sight of the ships that pursued us e'er since we went large. At eleven it blowing a hard storm, having very thick weather and grown sea, lest we should lose each other, capt. *Skurley* brought to under a mizzen; my foresail being up I went to do the like, but in haling out our mizzen the strap of the sheet-block broke, so that e'er we could brail him up he was by the violence of the gale split to pieces, which occasion'd us to lower the yard down and unbend him, upon which the ship labouring much for want of sail, found it convenient to set the mainsail, and having got the tack aboard, e'er we could gather the sheet aft we split the mainsail, and were forced to hale down the yard and furl him, and bear away before the wind N. and N. by W. with only the bunt of our foresail loose. In furling our mainsail one of our seamen, *John Southern*, being careless of himself, fell off the yard-arm and was drown'd, which I was extremely sorry for, but it was beyond human power to save him, it blowing a mere fret of wind, and a very great sea, and having no sails to command the ship. The difference of latitude and departure these twenty-four hours, by the best computation I can make, is N. 21', W. 40'; so that our present latitude is 45° 24' N. and total westing 588 miles.

Tuesday the 2d. From twelve yesterday until two in the evening, we went away N. with our bare poles, running four miles

an hour; at which time, having brought to a new mizen and reef'd him, we hoisted the yard and set him, and brought her to under a mizen, then unbent our main-sail that was split, and with much pains and trouble we bent another; and having reef'd him we furl'd him: About four we furl'd our fore-sail snug, and hoisted the mizen stay-sail, to keep the ship to, and her head upon the sea, she labouring most dreadfully. At twelve last night the violence of the storm being abated, we set the main-sail, and lay under it and mizen till day-light; when having righted up the ship a little, to my great trouble and surprize, we found that our fore-mast was sprung about three feet above the partners in the fore-castle; the crack being very large, and opening above an inch upon every rent of the ship, which, to see, made my heart ake; we found it likewise upon searching, to be almost rotten to the heart in that place; whereupon I sent for my officers, to consult what was most proper to be done upon this unexpected accident, and how best to secure him; but finding some of them begin to urge that there was no proceeding on so long a voyage with such a mast, and that it was convenient to bear up for *Plymouth*, while we were so near it, to furnish ourselves with another, I thought it convenient to quash this motion in the bud, and declar'd I was resolv'd to proceed on my voyage, though I should be forced to go with a jury-mast, rather than return again to *England*; and forthwith order'd my carpenters to go to work to secure him, by paying four new capston bars of good oak, and nine feet long each, round him, where he was sprung, and spike them very well, and afterwards clapt four good wooldings upon him, which I was in hopes would sufficiently secure him, we every day approaching nearer a fair weather country; and when our carpenters had done what I had order'd them, it seem'd very firm, and did not complain all the voyage after. In crowding yesterday morning with maintop-sail to speak with Capt. *Skurley*, upon sight of the four strange ships, we wrench'd the head of our main-mast; and this morning set some men to woold the heel of the maintop-mast, to the head of the main-mast, to keep him fast, else the cap would flue much where the head of the mast was wrung. We had the wind these twenty-four hours at S. and S. S. E. blowing a very severe storm, we caping all night W. and W. N. W. drove N. two miles an hour. At noon this day the wind came about to W. N. W. but being busy about our mast, could make no sail; the direct course made is N. forty-six miles, latitude, by reckon-

PHIL- ing, $46^{\circ} 10'$ N. and westing 588 miles.
LIPS. In this storm I lost my consort Capt. *Shur-*
Novemb. *ley*.
1693.

Friday the 3d. About two in the evening yesterday, our carpenters having completed what they could do to the foremast, we set the foresail and wear'd the ship, and laid her head to the S. lying up S. by W. and S. S. W. wind at W. and W. by S. stiff gale. At nine o'clock we handed our maintop-sail, and went under courses all night, until noon this day, having the weather very cloudy and squally for most part; I allow three points lee-way, so that judge we made our way good, but S. E. by S. Distance *per* log fifty-seven miles: At twelve we had good observation of the latitude, and found it to be $45^{\circ} 5'$ N. Departure made is thirty-one miles easterly. Total westing is 557 miles.

Saturday the 4th. These twenty-four hours we have had dull squally weather, and some heavy showers of rain; wind from S. W. by W. to W. by N. lying up from S. by E. to S. W. by S. until six this morning, when the wind came about to the N. W. by W. and so to N. we steering away S. W. with a fresh gale till noon this day, when it clear'd up, so that we had a good observation of the latitude, and found it to be $43^{\circ} 50'$ N. Departure made is $20'$ W. Total westing 577'.

Sunday the 5th. These twenty-four hours we have had close cloudy weather, wind between the N. N. W. and N. N. E. a fine top-sail gale, steering till six in the evening yesterday, S. W. 41 miles, then S. S. W. 100 miles till noon this day. Difference of latitude made is S. 121 miles. Departure W. 67 miles, the present latitude reckon'd $41^{\circ} 49'$ N. Total westing 644 miles.

Monday the 6th. From noon yesterday until twelve this day, we have had but a small gale of wind, shuffling from N. N. E. to E. S. E. our course steer'd being S. S. W. Distance *per* log is 54', the weather close and cloudy, so that we could have no observation: This morning beginning to draw near a fair-weather country, we got up our top-gallant-mast and yards, and dried our sails, which were split in the late storm. Difference of latitude made is $49'$ S. Departure 21 W. Latitude, by reckoning, 41° N. and total westing 665 miles.

Tuesday the 7th. These twenty-four hours we have had close sky and dark weather, wind from S. S. E. to S. S. W. At twelve last night we tack'd to eastward, lying up S. E. and S. E. by E. Distance run *per* log 74'. Difference of latitude made is $25'$ S. Departure $22'$ E. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 35'$ N. and total westing 643 miles. This day our old mizen being

mended, we unbent the new one and brought it to the yard.

Wednesday the 8th. These twenty-four hours we have had very hard showers of rain, and a fresh gale of wind at S. and S. S. W. At six in the evening yesterday we tack'd to the westward, lying up W. at eight handed our top-sail; and at four this morning our maintop-sail, lying W. S. W. and W. by S. under our three courses, we having a great S. sea and hard gale of wind. This morning the clue of our fore-sail gave way, so unbent and brought to another. Distance run *per* log is 74 miles. Difference of latitude and departure made, allowing for lee-way and all other impediments, is S. $8'$, W. $22'$. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 27'$ N. and total westing 665 miles.

Thursday the 9th. These twenty-four hours we have had several showers of small drizzling rain, wind from S. E. by S. to S. W. by S. dark cloudy weather. Distance run *per* log 57'. Difference of latitude is $3'$ S. Departure 53° W. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 24'$ N. Total westing 718 miles. From ten to twelve this day we lay becalm'd.

Friday the 10th. From noon yesterday we lay becalm'd, with courses up, and top-sails lower'd, until four this morning, when sprung up a small breeze at W. by S. which continued freshning until ten, then veer'd to S. W. blowing a fine top-sail gale; and the sea very much laid. We had some small showers of rain last night, but this day fine hard sky and clear weather, and had very good observations of the latitude. Departure made, is E. $9'$. Latitude $39^{\circ} 33'$ N. and total westing 709 miles. This day we mended all our split sails.

Saturday the 11th. These twenty-four hours we have had smooth water, and a fresh gale of wind at S. W. by S. and S. W. lying S. S. E. and S. E. by S. weather indifferent clear. Distance run *per* log is 118 miles. Departure made is $75'$ easterly. At noon this day we had indifferent good observation. Lat. $38^{\circ} 10'$ N. Westing 634 miles.

Sunday the 12th. These twenty-four hours we have had various weather, wind S. W. and W. S. W. until ten last night, with some showers of rain; it came about to N. W. fine top-gallant gale; we steering away S. by W. at noon had the wind at N. by W. at which time we had good observation of the latitude. Departure made is E. 5 miles. Latitude $36^{\circ} 27'$ N. Total westing 629 miles.

Monday the 13th. From noon yesterday we have had a fine small gale from N. by W. to N. E. until two this morning, it fell stark calm, and continued so (with a few intervening breezes) till noon this day. Distance

Distance *per log* is sixty-eight miles. Course steer'd is S. by W. Departure made is W. 8'. Latitude, by reckoning, $35^{\circ} 20'$ N. and total westing 637 miles. Had great N. W. swell these twenty-four hours, for which I make some allowances.

Tuesday the 14th. From noon yesterday we have had but little wind till six this morning, at which time sprung up a fine gale at N. W. we steering S. by W. At noon we had good observation of the latitude $34^{\circ} 6'$ N. Total westing 637 miles, had great N. W. sea.

Wednesday the 15th. These twenty-four hours we have had a small gale of wind, various, from W. to S. W. Latitude, by reckoning, $33^{\circ} 11'$ N. Total westing 646 miles.

Thursday 16th. These twenty-four hours we have had good weather, wind at S. and S. S. E. small gale. At noon this day we were, by observation, in latitude $32^{\circ} 44'$ N. westing 680 miles.

Friday the 17th. These twenty-four hours we have had the wind various, at S. and S. by W. Yesterday we tack'd to the W. lying W. by S. and at two this morning it blowing a hard gale, we handed both our top-sails. Latitude, by reckoning, $32^{\circ} 47'$ N. Total westing 698'.

Saturday the 18th. These twenty-four hours we have had very squally weather, and many heavy showers of rain, wind shuffling between the W. S. W. and S. S. W. hard gale, and great sea, course various, made difference of latitude seventy-three miles S. Departure 15 E'. Latitude, by reckoning, $31^{\circ} 34'$ N. Total westing 683 miles. This morning we found out that one of the *Royal African Company's* soldiers, for their castles in *Guiney*, was a woman, who had enter'd herself into their service under the name of *John Brown*, without the least suspicion, and had been three months on board without any mis-

A woman
soldier.

trust, lying always among the other passengers, and being as handy and ready to do any work as any of them; and I believe she had continu'd undiscover'd till our arrival in *Africa*, had not she fallen very sick, which occasion'd our surgeon to visit her, and order'd her a glister; which when his mate went to administer, he was surpriz'd to find more fally-ports than he expected, which occasion'd him to make a farther inquiry, which, as well as her confession, manifesting the truth of her sex, he came to acquaint me of it, whereupon, in charity, as well as in respect to her sex, I order'd her a private lodging apart from the men, and gave the taylor some ordinary stuffs to make her woman's cloaths; in recompence for which she prov'd very useful in washing my linen, and doing what else she could, till we deliver'd her with the rest at *Cape Coast* castle. She was about twenty years old, and a likely black girl.

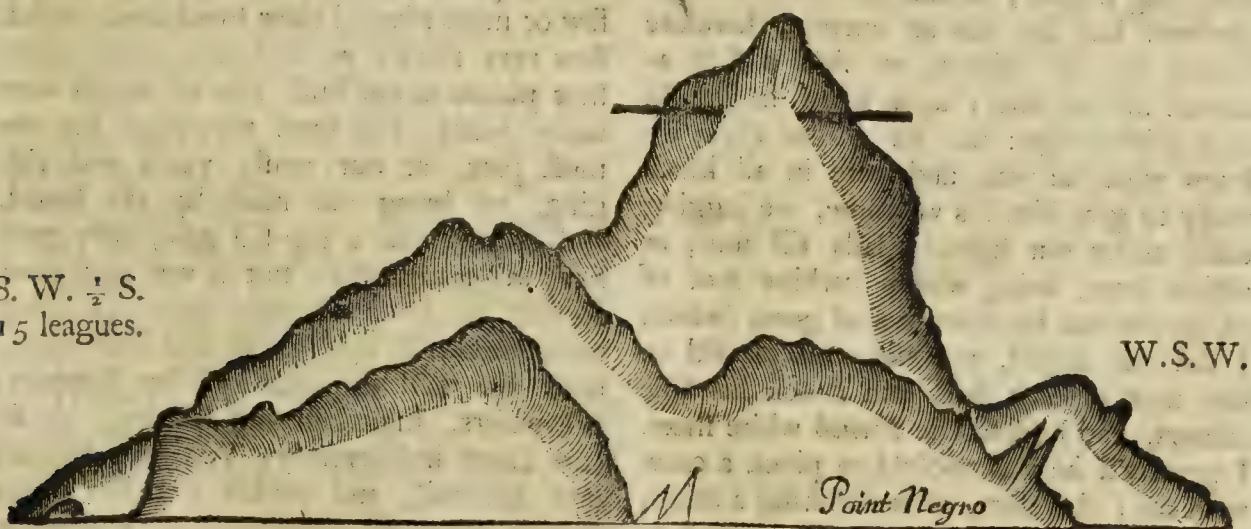
Sunday the 19th. From noon yesterday we have had the wind from S. W. to W. by S. lying up for the most part S. by W. fine top-sail gale, and smooth water. Distance run *per log* is 132'. Had good observation of the latitude, which was $29^{\circ} 58'$; total westing 669 miles.

Monday the 20th. We have had the wind at W. and W. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell stark calm, and continued so till noon, when we had good observation; latitude $29^{\circ} 30'$; total westing 706 miles.

Tuesday the 21st. From twelve yesterday, until four in the evening, we lay becalm'd; at which time sprung up a small gale at S. S. At six we discern'd the peak of *Tenerif*, which had the appearance as by the black line underneath, bearing S. W. by W. distance, by estimation, twenty-five leagues; whereupon we steer'd away with it, with a fine gale at night at S. S. E. At noon this

S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.
15 leagues.

W. S. W.



W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 8 leagues.

When the east point of *Tenerif* shuts in the west point of the *Grand Canary*, it bears exactly S. by E. half E.

day

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day we had very good observation of the latitude, being in $28^{\circ} 48'$ N. *Point Negro* then bearing W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distance about eight leagues. The S. E. point of *Tenerif* S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distance fifteen leagues; the west point of the *Grand Canary*, S. fourteen leagues, $28^{\circ} 48'$ N. and total westing, allowing for all impediments, 720 miles. Note; in this run, or for the straights, I always allow twelve leagues easting more than my course gives, for the great western sea that insensibly puts us to the east beyond our expectation, as I found by experience of many voyages.

Wednesday the 22d. From yesterday noon we steer'd away W. by S. with a fine gale at S. S. E. until five in the evening it veer'd to S. S. W. faltring and dying away, so that we had but faint breezes of wind all night; about four o'clock in the morning, it being day-light, *Pico Tenerif* bore due east of us, at which time being near *Oratava* road, we discern'd two sail between us and the shore, one of which we perceived to be a ship, and the other seem'd a barca longa; in a short time we saw the ship standing off to us, with all sails set, whereupon we tack'd off to the N. to have time to put our ship in a posture of defence, in case she prov'd an enemy, and with all expedition got our hatch ports off, our chests and hammocks up, our close quarters up, guns and small arms all ready, and about twelve we were every way clear and ready for an engagement, at which time we furl'd our main-sail, and handed all our small sails, slung our yards, clapp'd on our stoppers, our puddings, and platting under our parrels, and being but little wind hal'd up our fore-sail, and lay by for the ship that was so earnest to speak with us.

Thursday the 23d. From noon yesterday we had but faint small breezes of wind until three in the evening, at which time the ship that stood after us was got within random gun-shot of us, appearing a fine long snug frigate; so that now we no longer doubted but she was an enemy, therefore letting fly my colours, we fir'd a shot athwart his fore foot; upon which he shew'd an *English* ensign: but for all his cheat we knew what he was, and were in all kinds ready to give him his welcome, we jogging easily under our fighting sails till four, at which time, being within carbine shot of us, he run out his lower tier of guns, (which I did not expect, nor was well pleased to see) nine of each side, and struck his false colours, and hoisted the *French* white sheet. I perceiv'd he was resolv'd to pluck a crow with me; therefore, after drinking a dram, and encouraging all, order'd all my men to their guns, to behave themselves couragi-

ously, and expected his broad-side, which when within pistol-shot, he gave us, and his volley of small shot. We return'd his civility very heartily with ours; after which he shot a-head of us, and brought to, and fell along our larboard side, and gave us his other broad-side, as we did him; then each of us loaded and fired as fast as we could, until ten o'clock at night, when his foretop mast came by the board; then he fell astern of us, and made the best of his way to leeward, with his boat towing a-head, and took his leave of us. We gave him a levet with our trumpets, and what guns we had loaded, to bid him farewell, being heartily glad to be rid of such a troublesome guest, and stood to our former course W. by S. I was extremely glad that, by God's assistance we defended the ship, though she was most miserably shatter'd and torn in her mast and rigging, having had eleven shot in our main mast, three quite through him, and several lodg'd in him and gaul'd him slanting three or four inches deep; eight shot in our foremast, two quite through; our main top shot to pieces; our main-top mast splinter'd half away; our mizen yard shot in two pieces; our sprit-sail, top-mast jack, and jack staff, shot away, our ancient staff shot by the board, so that had no colours flying most part of the ingagement but the king's pendant, which, by authority of my letter of mart, I fought under; we had several shot through our yards, with much more too long to insert. As to the rigging, I know not how to begin or end with it, it was so tore by long bars of iron they fired; our main shrouds we were forced to knot in fourteen places, and had but one shroud standing of the larboard side when *Monsieur* tow'd off. We knotted our fore shrouds in nine places; our main-top chain and main tie were shot to pieces, so that the yard hung wholly by the parrel and pudding: our stay, sheets and tacks were shot in several places; and of the running rigging few or none escaped their small shot, which flew very thick; we had not above thirty shot placed in our hull, four of which were under water: He fired very high for the most part, at our mast, yards and rigging, to bring our mast by the board, and had we had a top-sail gale, they must have all gone away; but it was our good fortune to have smooth water, (a thing not common in that place) and little wind, until we had opportunity, by stoppers, preventers, knotting and splicing, to secure them indifferently; We fired low all into his hull, and loaded our low guns (which were all demiculverin) constantly with both double and round shot, and our quarter

Engage-
ment with
a French
frigate.

quarter deck guns with round shot, and tin cases full of musket bullets, so that we must certainly have killed him a great many men; our three boats and booms were shot thro' in many places; and we had a suit of sails quite spoiled, some being shot thro' like strainers. We had five men kill'd outright, and about thirty-two wounded; among the last was my brother, my gunner, carpenter, and boatswain; the carpenter had his arm shot off, and three others their legs; five or six of my best men were dreadfully blown up by their carelessness in laying the lighted matches among some cartridges of powder; our harper had his scull fractur'd by a small shot; the rest are but slight small shot and splinter wounds, and bruises, and hope will do all well; our surgeon, Mr. *William Gordon*, being a diligent man, and an excellent artist in his profession. The fight lasted six hours, from four till ten o'clock, being all that while within pistol-shot, little wind, and small water, and firing as fast as both sides could load our guns. We often gave them huzza's during the engagement, and they would answer with *Vive le roys*; but when he towed away under our stern his note was changed, for I never heard such dreadful screeching and howling as was on board of him, so that he must needs have a great many men wounded. I judged him to be about 48 guns, and a man of war. After he left us we steered W. by S. with a small gale at N. E. and spent all the night in fixing our rigging as well as we could, to be in some posture to receive him, if he should incline to have another bout with us in the morning; but our men being tired all day, and the best of them killed or wounded, we could do but little, tho' they had all the encouragement that I could give them, and as much punch as they would drink: This morning, when it was light, we saw the enemy about three leagues distance, standing to the northward from us, having, I presume, had his belly-full the night before, and which, without fallacy, I was very glad of, not desiring to have any more to do with such a quarrelsome fellow.

Since my arrival in *England* from *Guiney* I have been informed by capt. *Peter Wall*, who had been taken by the ship we fought with, some short time before I met with her, and was on board her with his men prisoners at the time of my engaging with her, viz. that she was the *Louis* of *St. Malo*, capt. *De Gra* commander, mounted with 52 guns, and manned with 280 men, newly come out; that we had killed him sixty-three men and wounded seventy-odd; that after our battle the next morning he sent the said capt. *Wall* and some other prisoners in his boat ashore on *Teneriff*,

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and made the best of his way for *Lima*, to put ashore his wounded men, and refit his ship, which was very much shattered and damaged; that the *Canary* merchants saw the engagement while light, and heard the guns when dark; that they intended to make me a present had I put into *Oratava* road; but I knowing nothing of their design, thought myself very happy in having saved my ship, and so proceeded on my voyage for the coast of *Guiney*.

Friday the 24th. These twenty-four hours we have spent in knotting our shrouds, and fixing our other rigging as well as we could; knotted our main shrouds in fourteen places, and the fore-shrouds in nine, and after set them up very tort, to secure our poor shattered mast; we were forced to keep our chain-pump and both hand-pumps constantly going, to keep the ship free, she making a great deal of water, through the four shot holes receiv'd under water, which we could not come at to stop effectually by reason of the sea. This day we lived on bread and cheese and punch, not being able to dress any meat, by reason our hearth and furnaces were shot thro', which our armourer was about mending. We had a hogshhead of brandy shot in our lazaretta, whose loss we much regretted. We had a fine gale of wind at N. E. by E. with which steered away W. S. W. the poor ship looking miserably with her shot rigging dangling about, and as full of splinters as a carpenters yard full of chips.

Saturday the 25th. From noon yesterday we have had a fine gale of wind at N. E. and E. N. E. steering S. W. with our top-sails low set, for fear of straining our shattered mast. At six in the evening yesterday ^{the} *Isle of Fero* (in the latitude $27^{\circ} 30' N.$) ^{Fero.} bore S. S. E. distance seven leagues. At nine this morning bracing our main-yard, about ten foot of the starboard yard-arm broke, being shot above half thro' in that place. At ten this morning the island of *Fero* being just discernable, bore of us N. E. distance by estimation twelve leagues, from which I take my departure for *St. Jago*, there to stop my leaks, fit my mast and yards, and get some fresh provisions for my wounded poor men, which are a most dismal spectacle. Difference of latitude and departure made at noon this day from the *isle of Fero* is as follows,

Latitude $27^{\circ} : 30'$
South made $35'$

Latitude $26^{\circ} : 55'$

Westing made from *Fero* is 29 miles.

Sunday the 26th. Yesterday in the evening we set up our shrouds tort again, the
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1693.

heat of the weather and the drawing of the knots having much slackened them; our shot mizzen-yard being splic'd and fish'd, we bent a new mizzen to him, and got him up and set him; we unbent our foresail, (which had thirty large shot-holes thro' him, some half-yard wide, done with the long bars of iron they fired, and innumerable musket-shot holes) and brought to another; we woolded three large crows to the foremast; to succour a great gaul about eight inches deep which he had received in the engagement, about ten foot above the forecastle; set our carpenters to work about mending the shot-holes in our bolts. Last night took up both reefs in each of our topsails, and were forced to go with them about two foot above the caps, for fear of carrying our mast away. Now having begun to come into the trade-winds way, had fine steady gales at E. S. E. steering away S. S. W. At noon this day we had good observation. Distance run *per* log. 146'; westing before 29; now 57; total westing from *Fero*, 86 miles.

Monday the 27th. Yesterday's evening our carpenters spent in mending the bottom of our yaul, so that now we have one boat that will swim, ready to be hoisted out upon any sudden accident of a man's falling over-board, or the like. We kept our pumps constantly plying, to free the ship, in which the royal *African* company's soldiers did us good service in the day-time. We had a fine curious gale, veering from E. N. E. to E. by S. steering all night S. S. W. for *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* islands. This morning as soon as it was clear light we saw a ship upon our weather-bow, bearing of us S. by W. distance about a league, standing as we did; immediately we called up all hands to put the ship in a fighting posture, and in truth our men were very dextrous at it, so that we were clear for a fight in less than an hour's time (being improved by the last engagement;) in about half an hour after we were every where ready, we perceived her to hale close upon a wind, crouding with all the sail she could towards the *Barbary* coast; she seemed to us a good ship, and I do believe it might be capt. *Daniell* in the *Mediterranean*, bound to *Angola*; when we saw him shun us we kept on our own course S. S. W. being not very desirous to force a quarrel, having so lately been well bang'd, tho' all our men that were unwounded were very resolute to give him a rough salute, had he had any thing to say to us; he keeping still close hal'd, about twelve a-clock was out of sight. We then put our half ports on again, unslung our yards, and got off our close quarters, and let our carpenters about mending the rest of

our boats. This false alarm hinder'd the paying of our tropick bottles. At noon this day we had good observation, distance run *per* log 160; course S. S. W. latitude $22^{\circ} 31'$; westing before 86; now 61; total 147. This day our bag-piper's leg was cut off a little below the knee.

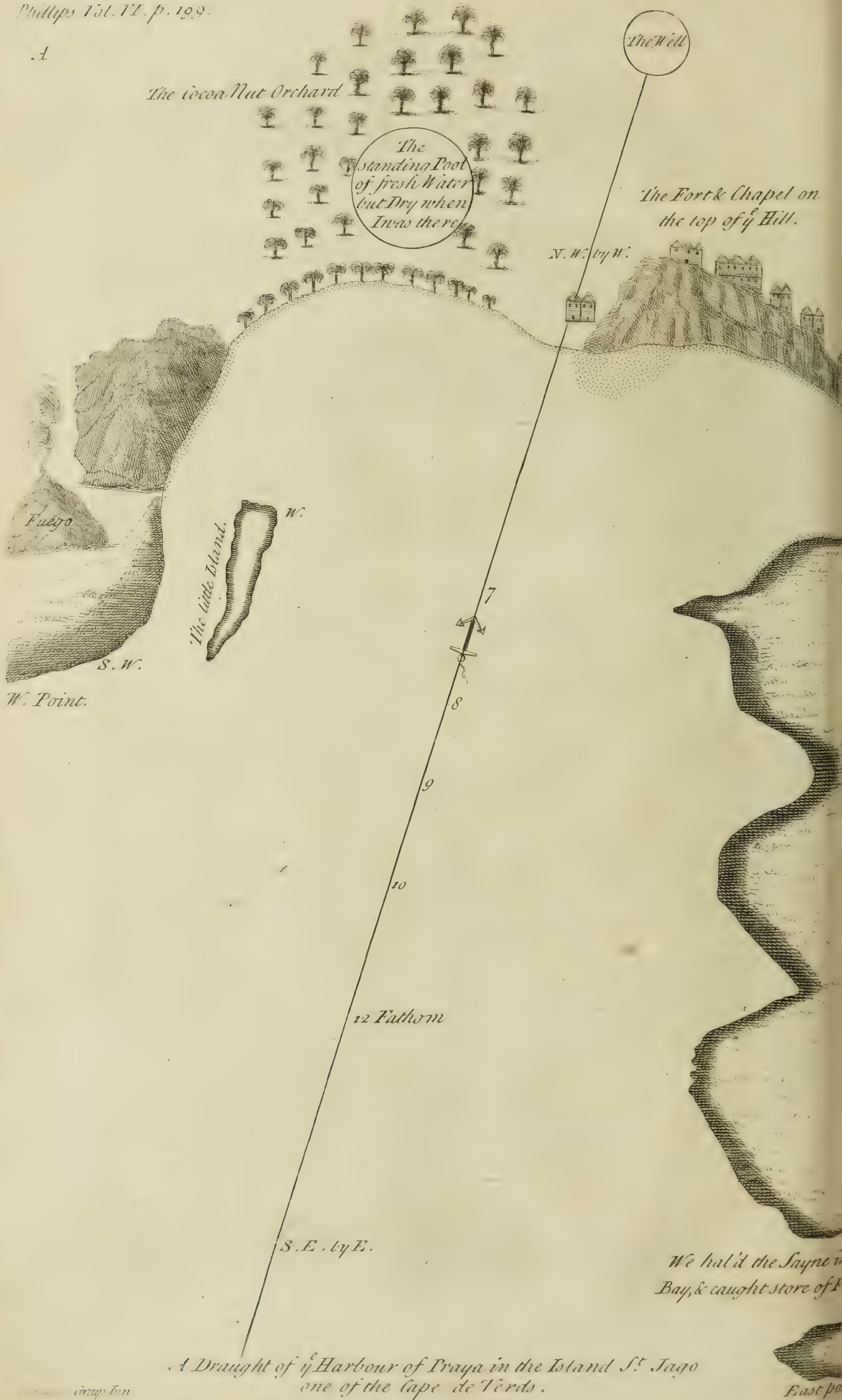
Tuesday the 28th. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. S. E. steering away S. S. W. distance run *per* log 186'; employed our carpenters about mending our long-boat, and our men that were clear of the pumps in picking of oacum. This morning our surgeon cut off *Thomas Cronow's* leg; at noon had good observation; latitude $20^{\circ} 12'$; westing 63; total westing from *Fero* 210 miles.

Wednesday the 29th. These twenty-four hours we have had good weather, and a fine steddly gale of wind at E. N. E. steering away S. S. W. distance run *per* log 155 miles. At noon this day had good observation; latitude $18^{\circ} 20'$; westing before 210, now 59; total westing 269. This morning we made an end of mending and calking our long-boat.

Thursday the 30th. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. and E. N. E. steering S. S. W. till eight this morning, we saw *Isla de Sal* bearing S. E. by S. eight leagues off, and appearing in three small high hummocks, like three distinct islands; having hal'd up S. for a little time to make it plainer, we steer'd away S. by W. for *St. Jago*. At noon this day had good observation in $16^{\circ} 52'$ N. the northmost hummock of *Sal* then bearing E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distance five leagues *per* estimation; then appeared a single hummock far distant from the other three, which was the island *Bonavista*, bearing E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distant eight leagues. We could see no land join any of the hummocks of *Sal* together. The true latitude of the N. end of *Sal* is $16^{\circ} 50'$; and the true westing from *Fero* to the island *Sal* is 102 leagues; westing made these twenty-four hours 33; before 269; total westing made from *Fero* 302. At noon this day setting off my reckoning upon the plat, we found thereby that the N. end of *Sal* ought then to bear of me E. distant four leagues, so that I was by my dead reckoning but one league to the E. too much, as I found by setting the island. Yesterday in the evening we rattled our shrouds, and this day mended our shattered main-top, and let one reef out of our topsails.

Friday the 1st. All these twenty-four December. hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. steering S. by W. till twelve last night; the wind scanting we hal'd up S. till seven this morning, when we descry'd the N. point

.1



The Cocoa Nut Orchard

The
standing Pool
of fresh Water
but Dry when
I was there

The Well

The Fort & Chapel on
the top of y Hill.

N. W. by W.

Fulgo

S. W.

The little Island.

W.

W. Point.

7

8

9

10

12 Fathom

S. E. by E.

We hal'd the Sayne in
Bay, & caught store of F

A Draught of y Harbour of Praya in the Island S. Jago
one of the Cape de Verds.

cray. bin

East po

point of *St. Jago*, bearing S. by W. distant eight leagues; then hal'd close S. by E. and S. S. E. that we might be sure to weather the island; about ten saw *Santa Mayo*, bearing S. E. by E. seeming like a small hummock about seven leagues off. At noon this day had good observation in latitude

$15^{\circ} 27'$ N. the N. point of *St. Jago* (on which is a very high and steep hill) then bearing W. S. W. distant six leagues, the body of the isle of *May* S. E. by E. six leagues, seeming as underneath is pour-tray'd.

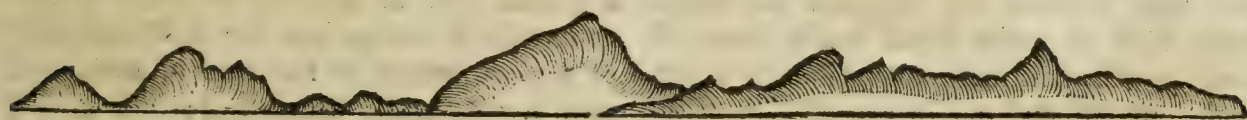
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SANTA MAYO.

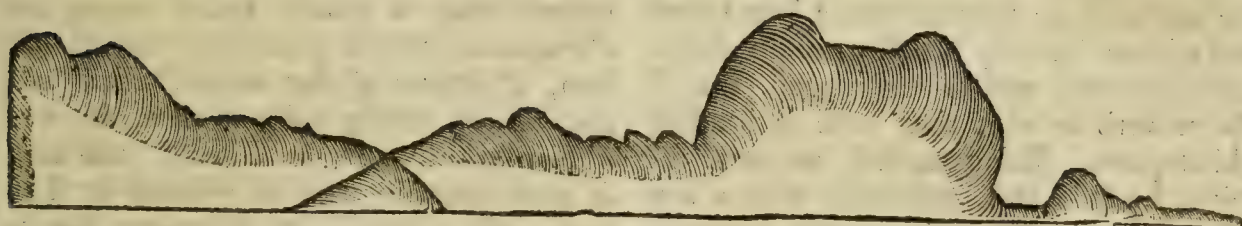
E. S. E. six leagues.

S. E. by E. six leagues.

S. E. eight leagues.



The North Point of *St. Jago* seems thus, bearing W. S. W. seven leagues.



Saturday the 2d. From noon yesterday until six in the evening we steered S. S. E. and S. E. by S. along the island of *St. Jago*, at which time took in our small, and hal'd up our low sails, and stood to the E. off, under our topsails only, *Santa Mayo* then bearing E. N. E. distance five leagues, and the S. E. point of *St. Jago* S. S. W. distance three leagues. At ten we braced our foretopfail to the mast, and lay by for day-light to get into the harbour of *Praya*, to refit our ship; at six in the morning made sail and stood in for the port, and about ten we got in, off of the steep heads on the starboard side going in (which seem as if they were cut even down with a spade). We found soundings as follow, *viz.* off the first had ten fathom, then nine, then eight, then seven, when we let go our anchor in the midst, between the starboard shore and the little island on the larboard or W. shore going in, which island bore, when at an anchor, due W. of us, the steep point over-against it N. E. the fort and church on the top of the hill N. W. by W. We rid somewhat more than a cable's length from each shore, and about a mile from the bottom of the bay, which is fine and sandy, with a large cocoa-nut orchard near the water side. We veer'd out one third of our small-bower, with which we brought to, and carried out a stream-anchor and hawser to the W. N. W. to steady the ship on the land-breezes. Here the trade winds constantly blow between the N. N. E. and E. N. E. the night is commonly calm, and towards morn-

ing you have for most part small breezes off the land: we rid here as in a mill-pond, and the ground is very clean and sandy. The island of *St. Jago* lies in the latitude $15^{\circ} 25'$ N. being full of barren high mountains, on which are bred vast numbers of jackanapes, the least I ever met with; they are sold for a trifle, but the least cold kills them. The island extends about twenty leagues in length, S. E. and N. W. its greatest breadth is about ten leagues, E. N. E. and W. S. W. The best road in the island is port *De Praya*, where there is good sandy ground, and safe riding [See Plate A.] with a small scope of cable. Near the cod of the bay is a very large cocoa-nut orchard, with plenty of fruit, in which near the sea-side is a large hole, where they told me there used to be fresh water to supply shipping; but at my being there I saw not one drop, so that we were forced to fill what we did at a well, inclosed with a stone wall, which reached from the bottom about two foot above the ground; the water therein was about a foot and half deep, which, being obliged to hand up in buckets, occasioned a tediousness in filling our casks, and disturbed the water to that degree, that it was as thick as puddle, so that it served us for no other use but to boil our provisions with; the well is three good cables length distant from the sea, which occasioned us great trouble, as well as damage to our casks, in rolling them so far over sharp rocky fragments, which the way along the orchard-wall to the well is full of, they dropping from the impending hill. As soon

PHIL- soon as we came to an anchor we saluted the
LIPS. island with five guns, but were answered
only with three, which distinction I did
not well relish, having the king's jack and
pendant flying; but not knowing how to
help it, we went about getting our boats out,
which when we were busy about, there was
a gun fired from the little fort on the brow
of the hill, to command us ashore, which
we regarded not, but pursued our business;
in a short time there was another fired, and
soon after a third, with a shot, which dropt
half way between the fort and our ship:
being loth to make them waste more of
their powder and ball, our pinnace being
ready, myself and one of the *African* com-
pany's factors, my doctor and purser, went
in her ashore, where when we arrived we
found a dozen of half starv'd soldiers attend-
ing our landing; they had each a long sword
and a lance, but they look'd more like skele-
tons than men, and so very ragged, that if
the proverb be true, they were all heathen
philosophers. Being landed, we were re-
ceived by those lank gentlemen with a sort
of civil stateliness, and conducted towards
the hill where their commanding officer
expected us; we accompanied them up
a craggy, steep, uncouth way, till at length,
half out of breath, we reached the sum-
mit, where we were received by a well-
look'd old man, who, after the civility
of our hats, and bidding us welcome, de-
sired us to walk on with him, which we
did; and in our passage, the first sight I
met with was a cow kill'd and skinn'd,
and cut into divers small messes, most
nauseously mangled in the butchering, and
as lean as the guard. I was sorry to see
such a sample of their provisions, since I
had occasion for some quantities, to nour-
ish and support our poor wounded men,
of which we had above thirty. The of-
ficer seeing me eye the meat, offered to
present me with some of it to send aboard;
I civilly thanked him, and declined his
proffer, well knowing the *Portuguese* don't
use to make presents but with expecta-
tion of ten times the value in return, but
told him, *If he could provide me some cows*
against the morning I would buy them, if not
too dear: he reply'd, *That none but the*
governor, who lived at St. Jago town, the
metropolis of the island, three leagues to the
W. of us, durst sell any cattle; but for other
provisions, that the country people would
bring down some to the sea-side in the morn-
ing to trade with us. By this time he had
led us to an old house, which we ascend-
ed by a crazy pair of stairs into a large
open room, where being seated, he began
to interrogate us, *who we were? whence*
we came? and whither bound? in which

having fully satisfied him, *I demanded the*
reason of his firing so eagerly and often to com-
mand us ashore: he reply'd, *That pirates fre-*
quently came in there under English colours,
and that in truth he himself being upon the
outward steep point, close to which we steered
coming in, and seeing our sails full of shot-
holes, concluded us to be one, which was the
reason of his earnestness for our coming ashore:
therefore, for his better satisfaction, I shew'd
him my letter of mart, which he receiv'd
with much respect. Afterwards we fell into
a general talk of the state of affairs in *Eu-*
rope, then of navigation, the coast and trade
of *Guiney*, which he had been all over, and
gave a very good account of; and indeed thro'
all our discourse I found him to be a
man of general knowledge and experience,
and of a more civil and condescending
temper than is usually found among the
Portuguezes, which prompted me to ask
him, *If he was of that nation?* He assur'd
me, *he was nothing a-kin to them, but was*
a Flanderkin, born in Ostend, who had,
by great promises from the governor at Lis-
bon, been persuaded to accompany him to
this place, where, when he arrived, he found
so little performance, that he would be glad
any manner of way to return into his own
country. I offered him his passage with
me gratis, and assured him of a hearty
welcome, and to send my boat any where
for him the night before I should sail, and
to put him ashore in *Guiney*, *Barbadoes* or
England, as he should choose; he thank-
fully acknowledged my kindness, but told
me, *he was so narrowly watch'd when any*
shipping lay there, that it was impossible for
him to get aboard. By this time one of the
guard came in great haste to acquaint him
he saw the lieutenant-governor coming,
whereupon we all walk'd to the gate to
attend him, whence we saw him riding,
without any attendance, as fast as his mule
could carry him, which ran up and down
the craggy steep hills as freely and firmly
as our horses can do in a smooth road.
As soon as he arrived and alighted, the old
officer paid his respects to him in a most
cringing servile manner, he not taking the
least notice of him, which troubled me,
to see that age, experience and worth,
should be so undervalued and trampled
upon by a young boy that had nothing
in him but power, pride and emptiness;
for I am certain he could not be twenty
years old, and had the most abject mean
presence that I have seen. We gave him
the civility of our hats, he hardly vouch-
safing to touch his, but gave us many dis-
dainful looks and glances, and testify'd
so much superciliousness in all his carriage
to us, that it began to stir the old man

in me, and made me put on a resolution to return him his civilities in his own way, hardly giving him an answer to any thing he asked me, but wholly applying my discourse to the first old officer, and eying him with as little regard as he had done us. By which usage I perceived he began to be sensible of his error, and a little more civil; but in truth I could not smother my resentment so soon; therefore in brief I replied to him, who and whence we were, and whither bound, and that we had put in here only to fill water, and purchase provisions if we might have it. Then he inquired of me about our engagement with the *Frenchman*, desiring a relation of it? I told him, We had met, fought, and got clear of a *French* man of war, but that my business aboard was so pressing, that I could not then spare time to give him a particular account of the action, but that I would shortly come to *St. Jago* to wait upon, and pay my respects to the governor; and so left him with as little ceremony as he met us, and went directly aboard.

Sunday the 3d. After we came aboard yesterday we unbent the main-sail; and having lowered the yard, got it fore and aft, in order to splice a piece ten foot long to the starboard yard-arm, where it was broke. About three o'clock this morning got our guns over, and gave the ship a heel to port, in order to stop our leaks on the starboard side, where we received three shots under water afore the chestree. Our carpenters spent till two in the evening in stopping them, our men in the mean time giving the ship a scrub as low as they could; then we heeled the ship the other way, and found a very large shot-hole in the larboard-bow, about a foot under water. Our carpenters spent the rest of the day in stopping that, and righted the ship before night. About nine this morning I went with some of my officers to pay my respects to the governor at *St. Jago* town, having our trumpets in the pinnace's head. After we had rowed about seven miles, we came about a point into the bay near the town. We run our boat ashore right against the gate; where being landed, and seeing only a few negroes and children, our trumpets sounded a levée, which soon brought an officer down to us, who conducted us to the governor's palace at the upper part of the town; where we saw no body but negroe women, who talked to us many smutty *English* words, making lascivious undecent gestures with their bodies, which were all naked, excepting a little clout about their waste, hanging down to the middle of the

thigh, which they would often take up to shew us their merchandize. We were informed that the governor was at church; but our trumpets had alarmed him so, that we had not waited long ere he appeared, advancing towards us at the head of the congregation. There were two young captains and the priest accompanied him, his horse being led after him in pretty good equipage. When he was come where we were, we saluted him with our hats, which he and his company returned very courteously. Then he desired us to walk in, and led us thro' a court into a large hut, with an iron balcony facing the sea, towards which it had a fine prospect. After we were seated I acquainted him we were come to pay our respects to him, and gave him an account of our voyage, and what induced us to put into his port, desiring he would permit us to furnish ourselves with what fresh water and provisions we had occasion for. He replied, That since he was perswaded we were upon an honest account, we might furnish ourselves with what e'er the island afforded; which favour I thankfully acknowledged. Then he asked me for news from *Europe*. I gave him an account of what I could recollect, especially of our successes at sea, and that the *French* did not dare appear since we burnt their ships at *Cherbourg* and *La Hoge*, excepting some small privateers and pickeroons to molest our trade; that our fleet lay all the summer before their ports, and upon their coast, destroying it and bombarding their towns, but no *French* fleet would appear to defend them. He seemed very unwilling to believe me, being, as I found, in the *French* interest, in praise of whose bravery and strength he did much enlarge. Next he inquired about our engagement. I acquainted him with the whole matter of fact; and having answered his questions about the enemies force and our own, he shook his head, and told me, He could not tell how to persuade himself it was possible I could escape from a man of war of fifty guns. I replied, That I was very glad of my good fortune, but that it was certainly so; and that if he would send any one aboard to see my wounded men, and the posture my ship was in, he would be convinced it was no jest. I further assured him, that, were he in *Europe*, he would understand and find by frequent instances, that it was no improbable nor uncommon thing for our *English* merchant ships to clear and defend themselves from the *French* men of war and privateers, by plain downright fighting, if they were not out-numbered. After which he said no more about that,

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but congratulated my good luck in saving my ship. I fancied him all this time a little uneasy by reason he saw so many of my officers and passengers with me, and that he had an inclination to give me some treat, but that he was afraid they would devour him; therefore calling one of them to me, I whispered him to go with the rest and take a walk for an hour; which they soon did, making their excuse to the governor, that they had a desire to see the town, which he was not backward to grant them, none remaining with me but my brother. Soon after they were gone, we had a napkin laid, and a loaf of good white bread; then he went into the next room and brought out a box of marmalad, and a square case bottle half full of *Madeira* wine in which he drank to me; but had it not been out of perfect civility, I had rather have pledged him in water; for it was so thick, foul and hot, that it had like to have made me commit an indecency in his excellency's presence; but having laid a foundation of good punch in the morning aboard, it fortified my stomach so as that I had power to contain myself. When our collation was over he began to inquire of me what provisions I wanted, acquainting me that the cattle were several miles within land, that he had sent for some, and that none were allowed to sell them but himself; which I told him I was very glad of, because I should have to do with none but his excellency, and that if he pleased I would take half a dozen cows of him, and pay him in any goods that we had on board. Then he demanded what goods we had? I named him powder and muskets. He replied, he had ten thousand good muskets in the island, with ammunition sufficient for them; which tho' I knew to be rhodomantado, I only answered, That he was excellently well provided. Then I named him other goods, such as linen, painted calicoes, sayes, perpetuanoes, iron, brass, pewter, &c. all which he slighted, declaring he would dispose of none of his cattle but for ready money. I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchants ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessities, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with; more especially in my voyage to *Guiney*, where we had many good factories, and where our *European* coins were not passable. But notwithstanding what I urged, I found him persist in his resolution to dispose of none but for ready cash. But whatever he pretended, I fancy the chief reason was, that he had few or none to

dispose of, else he would not have slighted such commodities as I offered in exchange, most of which I knew to be very estimable at *Lisbon*, much more at such a distant island as his; however, he gave me permission to buy what goats, sheep, &c. I could of the inhabitants in truck, and so ended our discourse upon that topick. Next he asked me for some of our *East India* commanders, whom he named; and going into the next room, brought out two or three *English* walking canes, which, he told me, they had presented him when here, which he esteemed so much, that he would highly value and keep them while he lived, in respect to them that gave them, still having an eye upon that in my hand, which was a pretty clouded cane with an engraved silver head. I soon guessed what he drove at; and not knowing how handsomly to come off (for now he began to handle and commend my cane) and perceiving no other remedy, I told him, That since my first arrival in the island, I had intended to make his excellency some present, and had been often considering what might be most acceptable to him, and was very glad now to find that he had such a value for canes, and begged that he would be pleased to accept that which I had, as a token of my respects, that thereby I might have the honour of some place in his remembrance, as well as my brethren the *East India* captains. He received the cane and compliment with abundance of pleasure and satisfaction, as was manifest by his countenance as well as his words, assuring me, that he should never see that cane but he should remember me with esteem, and so immediately conveyed it and the rest out of my sight. Afterwards I gave him an invitation to come and dine aboard our ship, where he should find a cordial welcome, as well as all due respect. He received the invitation kindly, but assured me, that he had not been on board any ship since he had been governor there, and that if he were inclined to go, the inhabitants would lose their lives ere they would permit him, lest any harm should befall him, or tricks be put upon him, as there have been on some governors of these islands, by pirates and privateers, who, when they have got them aboard, have carried them away, if they did not forthwith give orders to bring them such a quantity of provisions as they demanded, for which they would pretend to give a bill of exchange payable at *London*, but drawn upon *John a-Nokes*, or the pump at *Algate*, as *Avery's* bill was to the governor of *St. Thomas's* isle. Being in the balcony with his excellency, I inquired if there

there were any good *Madeira* wine to be bought there? He told me, There was; and a *Portuguese* in a handsome garb, just then walking in the street under us, the governor called to him, and asked, If he had any wine to truck for merchandize? As soon as he heard and saw the governor, he took off his hat, made a profound bow, and fell upon his knee in the street, and then answered, That he had a barrel of wine to dispose of, but that he must have money for it; but the governor acquainting him that I had none, and that he had no more to say to him, he rose; and having made another humble cringe, walked with his hat in his hand till out of sight. By this time my officers returned, and I took my leave of the governor. We parted very kindly, with a promise of sending him a *Cheeshire* cheese next day. This governor was of very small stature, about fifty years of age, of a noble family in *Portugal*. His complexion was swarthy, his aspect mean, and his cloaths very ordinary. He had a long black wig which reached to his middle, but somebody had plucked out all the curls. He seemed to me to be a man of good parts, experience and subtlety. The foundation of his house is as high as the tops of most of the other houses in the town, which lies in a bottom under it, and may contain about two hundred houses in all, among which there is a convent, a nunnery, and a good large church near the castle, which lies on a hill on the east side of the town. It makes a pretty good shew at sea, and is mounted with twelve guns. Here is a bishop sent from *Lisbon*; and in the town the majority of the inhabitants are *Portugueses*, but in the rest of the island there are twenty blacks to one *Portuguese*. Thro' the middle of the town there runs a small brook, which passes thro' the foot of the town wall, and empties itself into the sea. 'Tis about eight yards broad, and about a foot deep. The road here of *St. Jago* is smaller and more open than *Praya*, and the ground foul and rocky. We had an alferes to wait upon us to the boat; which having entered and put off, we gave them a farewell with our trumpets, and rowed away for our ship, and got aboard about four in the evening.

Monday the 4th. This day our carpenters spliced a piece to the main-yard, and clap'd two good iron hoops and two wooldings up it. We unbent our shot top-sails, and brought others to the yards; fitted our shattered main-stay, sent the longboat for water, of which she filled sixteen punchions. We had fine weather, and a curious easy gale at N. E. In the morning I went ashore at the cod of the

bay, which I found covered with ragged PHIL-
LIPS. merchants; some with oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, pine apples, bananas, &c. Here one with a couple of small hens in his hand, there another with a little monkey upon his knee; a little farther, one with a goat betwixt his legs, another near him with a hog tied to his arm, and our seamen so busy trafficking with them for old ragged shirts, drawers, or any other moveables (for nothing came amiss) that the trade was very brisk and diverting. After we had pleased ourselves some time with this rag market, we walked up the hill to deliver the cheese I had promised the governor, which I intrusted with the before-named old officer, presenting himself with another. Here I met with a gentleman of the island who was come on purpose to offer to supply me with what provisions I wanted, and to take what money I could muster, and the rest in goods for it. I gave him orders for fifteen goats, ten sheep, four hogs, sixty hens, five hundred oranges, and five hundred lemons, which he promised should be ready at the sea side in the morning. I had this time more leisure to survey the little garrison on the hill, where there are about eight small houses, most of them ready to tumble down. Their church is the best, and next the *corps de guard*. On the west brow of the hill is a little breast-work, thro' which peep six small iron minion guns, so much out of kelter, that they were ready to tumble out of their carriages. Except a cross or two, I saw nothing more worth notice there. I would have had the old officer gone off to dine with me, but he refused, telling me, It was as much as his life was worth to attempt it. And indeed they are so jealous of the inhabitants going off with ships that call here, that they do not keep a boat in the island, at least I saw none here nor at *St. Jago* town; and a guard is kept constantly along the marine while any ships are in port to prevent it. There are vast numbers of goats, I having seen three or four flocks near the ship, in each of which there could not be less than 500. Their sheep are but ordinary, their hogs indifferent, and so are their poultry. Their lemons and limes are good; but their *Chi-na* oranges are the best I ever met with, I think exceeding those of *Lisbon*, and so common, that for an old rag you may buy an hundred. There is in this bay great plenty of fish, and very good. With our hooks we caught them as fast as we could hale them in; but with our sayne, which we haled two or three times in the little sandy bay near the east point coming in (as appears in the preceding draught) we caught

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caught such quantities, that our men not being able to eat them all, they dried and salted abundance.

This island of *St. Jago* is the largest of the *Cape de Verdes*, or, as they were antiently called, the *Gorgades*; the rest of the islands, which are nine, being subordinate to this governor. They were discovered, according to Dr. *Heylin*, in the year 1440. by a *Genoese* whose name was *Antonio de Noli*, employed thereto by and at the charge of duke *Henry*, a younger son of *John* the I. king of *Portugal*. The town of *St. Jago* was taken first by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1585. and by Sir *Anthony Shirley* in 1596. The main trade of these islands is in salt, and that chiefly at *Santa Mayo*, where our ships bound to *Newfoundland* generally go to load it for curing their fish. Also some ships call, in their way to our *American* plantations, at this island, *Bonavista*, *St. Nicolas*, *St. Vincents*, &c. where they purchase asses very cheap, and come to a good market for them at *Barbadoes*, where all sorts of brutes go off well. They lie very convenient for the refreshment of shipping in their way to *Guiney* or the *East Indies*, and few *English*, *Dutch*, or *French East Indiamen* but call here outward bound. Their own *Brazil* fleet never fails. The negroes here go naked, except a cloth about their middles, and a roll of linen the women wear about their heads. The cloaths they wear are of cotton, and chequered or striped with blue. I have been told they make great quantities of these cloaths to sell, being much esteemed, and a very good commodity upon the *Gold Coast* in *Guiney*; but for my part I saw none but what the women wore; neither did any body mention or offer any such to me for sale.

Tuesday the fifth. This morning, according to promise, I found the provision we had bespoke at the water-side, which we bought very reasonably, and paid for them three pounds in *Spanish* money which I had picked up among my officers, and the rest in muskets, coral, and painted linen. I went and took leave of the old officer, intending to go no more ashore, and about noon returned aboard, where our men were busy setting our shrouds well up fore and aft. Our carpenters had sawed a spare main-topmast we had into two halves, with which this morning they fished the foremast, which was very crazy. After having fayed and spiked the fishes, they clap'd four good woodlings upon them. We got up our low yards, and made all clear to sail next morning. We had this day a fine easy gale at N. E. with some

small showers of rain. Last night *Thomas Cronow*, an honest stout *Welshman*, one of our sailors, died of his wounds received in the late engagement; one of his legs being carried off about the ancle, and half his other foot by the same shot. He was rowed some distance from the ship, and his body committed to the deep.

Wednesday the 6th. This morning at *They* four we got our stream anchor and hauser leave aboard; then having loosed and hoisted *St. Jago*. our top-sails, hove up our small bower, and stood out to sea with the wind at N. E. a fine fresh gale; at five were without the point of the harbour; then set fore-sail, main-sail, and sprit-sail, and stood away S. E. by E. for the coast of *Guiney*, with the wind a point large. At noon this day we had good observation of the latitude in $14^{\circ} 45'$ N; S. $23'$; W. $4'$; the S. E. point of *St. Jago* bearing N. W. by N. distant six leagues, and the S. end of the isle of *May* N. by E. distant eight leagues, from which I take my departure. As we lay in the port of *Praya* we saw the island *Fuego* over the west point of the harbour. It smoaked all day, and all night we perceived it belch sparkles of fire very thick.

Thursday the 7th. At noon yesterday the S. end of the isle of *May* bore N. by E. distant twenty-four miles; from which time till noon this day we steered away S. E. by E. having run *per log* an hundred and fourteen miles; had good observation this day, latitude $13^{\circ} 33'$, easting $90'$. Yesterday in the evening we cleaned all fore and aft between decks; and having covered the gratings close with tarpaulins, we burnt three buckets of tar to keep the ship wholesome, and prevent infection and distempers. We hoisted in our pinnace and yaul; and having clap'd the boat rope and a hauser upon the longboat, towed her astern. We unbent our cables, got up our anchors, clap'd on hauser-boards, and took up one reef in our top-sails.

Friday the 8th. From noon yesterday we steered S. E. by E. $112'$, with a fine fresh gale at N. E. which towards noon this day began to falter; had good clear weather, and observation of the latitude in $12^{\circ} 30'$ N. East departure made was before $90'$, now $93'$, total $183'$.

Saturday the 9th. These twenty-four hours we had a small gale of wind from N. E. to E. by N. Distance run *per log* $54'$, latitude $12^{\circ} 1'$; easting before $183'$, now $43'$, total $226'$. This morning we sold at the mast the cloaths of *Gablier Ledlers* and *Thomas Cronows*, two of our men that were killed in the late engagement.

Sunday

Sunday the 10th. From noon yesterday till eight in the evening we had very faint small gales shuffling from E. by N. to S. with extraordinary flashes of lightning, and dreadful cracks of thunder, and a dismal black sky; wherefore we, with expedition, handed all sails except our fore-sail, and expected some violent squall. About ten we had a very hard gust of wind at S. W. accompanied with heavy showers of rain, and most terrifying thunder and lightning. It lasted until twelve, at which time we had fine clear weather, and a moderate gale at S. S. E. veering to S. W. and so to W. N. W. we keeping our course S. E. by E. The small tempest we had was a tornado, very frequent on the coast of Africa; which being the first I ever was in, did a little surprize me; for I never heard such thunder, nor saw so dreadful a sky before, nor such flashes of lightning, which I was fearful would fire the ship, it leaving a sulphureous smell behind it: but afterwards we had them so frequently, that we little regarded them, having always timely notice of their coming, to hale our sails up; which when done we let them blow their fury over, which was soon done, they seldom lasting an hour, and near the coast of *Guiney* blowing generally off the shore, so that there is but little danger. These and the extraordinary thunder and lightning are a sure sign of approaching the coast of *Guiney*; for on the south side of the line I sail'd four hundred leagues between two and three degrees south latitude, in my passage from the island *St. Thomas* to *Barbadoes*, and met with none of them, nor thunder or lightning, but fine steady brisk gales between S. S. E. and E. S. E. They shift all round the compass in half an hour. Distance run these twenty-four hours is 24, course various; latitude, deducting 5' S. $11^{\circ} 56'$; easting before 226, now 20, total 246.

Monday the 11th. From noon yesterday until eight at night we steer'd S. E. by E. $29'$; then S. E. until noon this day, when we had an observation in $10^{\circ} 40'$; wind at N. and N. N. E. fresh gale; easting before 246, now 95, total 341.

Tuesday the 12th. From noon yesterday until noon this day we steer'd S. E. $124'$ by the log, with a fine gale of wind at N. E. and N. N. E. and smooth water. At twelve had good observation in $9^{\circ} 12'$ N. latitude; and east departure, before 341, now 87, total 428.

Wednesday the 13th. These twenty-four hours we have had but a small gale of wind at N. and N. E. steering S. E. Distance run *per* log $33'$; latitude by reckon-

ing, $8^{\circ} 49'$; easting before 428, now 24; total 452. This morning we catch'd a great shark eight foot long.

Thursday the 14th. From noon yesterday until four we had a small top-gallant gale at N. E. course steer'd S. E. then calm till six, when we had a faint breeze at S. E. till ten; then becalm'd again till eight this morning, when a gale sprung up at W. S. W. freshning till twelve. We lying up S. E. had good observation in $8^{\circ} 34'$; easting before 452, now 6; total 458.

Friday the 15. Between one and two in the evening yesterday we had heavy showers of rain, with an easy gale of wind at N. W. by W. steering S. E. by E. Distance run *per* log $54'$. By noon this day the wind veer'd to S. W. a fine gale, but close cloudy weather. Latitude, by reckoning, $8^{\circ} 4'$ N. easting before 458, now 45; total 503.

Saturday the 16th. These twenty-four hours we steer'd S. E. by E. with a fine top-gallant gale from W. S. W. to W. N. W. Weather close and cloudy, with great thunder and lightning all round. This morning we had a most hideous black sky, which occasion'd us to hand all our sails except the sprit-sail, expecting a strong tornado; but it all ended in most severe showers of rain, which continu'd from nine till twelve o'clock. Distance run *per* log is $53'$; latitude, by reckoning, $7^{\circ} 37'$, easting before 503, now 40; total 543.

Sunday the 17th. From noon yesterday we have had a very black sky, with much rain, thunder and lightning, until eight this morning, when we had a fine gale at E. N. E. and E. but at twelve were becalm'd, when we had good observation in $7^{\circ} 7'$ N. easting before 543, now 41; total 584.

Monday the 18th. Yesterday from twelve we lay becalm'd until six in the evening, when we had a small gale at N. steering S. E. by E. till twelve; then E. S. E. till ten this morning, at which time the gale died away. Distance run *per* log 53; latitude, by reckoning, $6^{\circ} 44'$; easting before 584, now 47; total 631. This day had several shoals of fish about the ship.

Tuesday the 19th. These twenty-four hours we have had but small breezes from W. to S. W. steering E. S. E. and E. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell stark calm, and continued so until noon, with most excessive heat. Distance run *per* log $19'$; latitude by reckoning $6^{\circ} 39'$; easting before 631, now 18; total 649.

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Wednesday the 20th. We lay becalm'd from noon yesterday till six; then had a small breeze at N. W. till five in the morning, when it fell calm again, and continued so till noon; at which time we had good observation in $6^{\circ} 40'$ N. easting before 649, now 12; total 661.

Thursday the 21st. These twenty-four hours we have had small faint gales from N. W. to N. by E. we steering due E. Distance run *per* log 28'; had good observation; latitude $6^{\circ} 42'$; easting before 661, now 28; total 689.

Friday the 22d. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind between the W. and N. we steering due E. for cape Mount, we having been these three days in the latitude of it; having run 60' by the log at eight o'clock this morning; at which time we descried cape Mount, bearing E. by N. distant by estimation seven leagues, shewing as in the

subsequent figure. At noon this day we had good observation in latitude $6^{\circ} 36'$ N. the cape bearing then N. E. by N. distant four leagues; so that I was off the cape $12'$ S. W. by S. which work'd gives $10'$ S. and $6'$ W. so that by my observation, which I judge to be very good, cape Mount lies in latitude $6^{\circ} 46'$ N. which is more northerly than 'tis generally laid down in the books and charts. At the same time heaving the lead, we had forty-four fathom water, and dark sandy oozy ground. I made E. departure from Santa Mayo to cape Mount, exactly 754 miles, or 251 leagues, as follows;

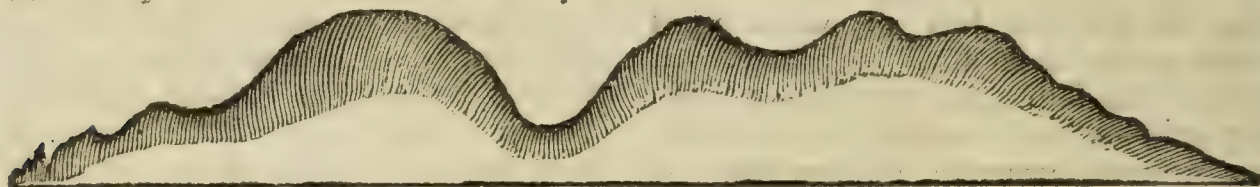
Easting before	689
Now	59
	748
	6
Total	754

Thus shews cape Mount seven leagues off, and at the bearings set down.

E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.

E. by N.

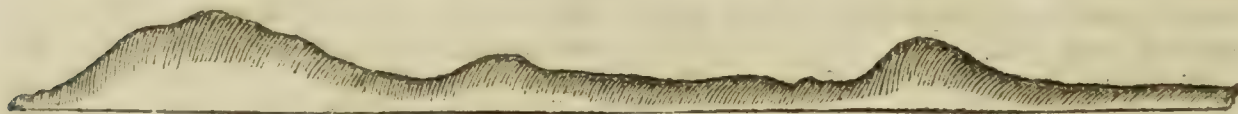
E



Saturday the 23d. From noon yesterday we steer'd along shore S. E. by E. for cape Mounferadoe, with a small gale of wind. In the night hove the lead frequently, having eighteen and twenty fathoms; in which depths we kept till daylight, when we saw the cape, and soon after descried three vessels riding at anchor under it; one of which seem'd a large ship. We not knowing what they might be, made our ship clear, and order'd all things ready for a battle, when we perceiv'd a boat rowing off towards us, who having discover'd what we were, came aboard us, being the pinnacle of the East India merchant, captain Shurley, my consort, who had sent her to intreat me to put in there to his assistance, he having, off the cape, had his fore-mast and fore-yard split to pieces with a thunder-bolt, and his fore-topgallant sail set on fire by the precedent flash of lightning. I in-

tended to wood and water at Junco, about twelve leagues more to the E. where is a good river, and plenty of wood; but understanding this disaster that had befallen captain Shurley, I alter'd my resolution, and made all the way I could to get into Mounferadoe road, which, with the sea breeze, I did; and about four in the evening let go my anchor in eight fathom water, cape Mounferadoe bearing then S. by W. distant two miles, the mouth of the river S. E. distant a mile and an half. We found the other two vessels to be one Gubbins an interloper come from Barbadoes, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and slaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap, and sold it to good advantage; the other vessel was the Stanier sloop, with M. Colker on board her, who was agent of Cherborough, and came thence to trade along the coast for teeth, &c.

Thus shews cape Mounferadoe bearing N. four leagues off.



Cape Mounferadoe is about sixteen leagues distant from cape Mount, there being no high land between them. Cape Mounferadoe is a round mountain, not near

near so high as cape *Mount*. Within it to the N. N. E. is good riding in twelve, ten, or eight fathom water. The best anchoring is in nine fathom, bringing the cape to bear S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. of you, two miles off. About a mile within the cape is a sand on the shore; and just at the beginning of the sand is a fine small rivulet of curious clear cool water, which distils through the woods and rocks, and there empties itself into the sea. About a cable's length from which to the east there are two pools of fresh water under two great stones. The people here are civil and courteous, but great beggars, the king and capparshires continually haunting us for dashes (which is their word for presents.) Here is store of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance: and for our better convenience of trading with them, as well as to lodge our carpenters that lay ashore in the nights to cut wood, we erected two tents with old sails, upon the spit of sand at the mouth of the river. The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying mostly for it in booges or cawries, which are the goods they chiefly esteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 lb. of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red *Welsh* plains; but they had nothing considerable to trade with us for them. We bought some fowls of them which they call *Cocadecoës*, being not bigger than our *English* chickens, and eat dry. We also purchas'd some limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three small goats. They had a few small elephants teeth, but not worth our regard. About two miles E. S. E. and E. within the cape, is a fine large river call'd in the *Platts*, *Rio de St. Paulo*; the name, I presume, given it by the *Portugueses*, who were formerly the sole masters, as well as first discoverers of this coast. About $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile without the mouth of the river is a bar, which, at high water, has upon it four foot, and at low water two and $\frac{1}{2}$, or three foot. The sea breaks high upon it, especially when the sea breeze blows fresh, which commonly begins at nine or ten o'clock, and continues till towards the same in the evening. The deepest water is near each shore. Going in our long boat which drew three foot water, we always past the bar very well.

The river of *St. Paul* is a very pleasant river, in some places as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, and fring'd on each side with thick groves of mangrove trees, which are always green; so that, in my opinion, nothing can be painted to give a

more delightful prospect to the eye than this naturally does. About three miles up this river we had good fresh water at low water; and about five miles up at high water; our long boat always bringing down it five tons of good, without grounding any where. One morning myself, and some officers, went in our pinnace about eight miles up the river to visit king *Andrew* at his town. In our passage we saw several monkeys on the trees, leaping from one to the other; at some of which we shot, but kill'd none. King *Andrew's* town lies on the larboard side of the river going up, and about a quarter of a mile from the river side; the landing to it being between two high trees, where being arrived, we were met by *Roy Andrew* and his nobility, who conducted us through the woods to an open place, where the town lay, it being the only piece of ground I saw free from woods in these parts, so that I admire where the vast quantities of rice which they have, do grow; after welcoming us upon our entring the town, they led us to their council-hall, where they meet to hear all causes, dispense justice, and debate their state affairs: This judiciary is seated in the midst of the town, the foundation or floor being of clay rais'd about four foot from the ground, and of a circular figure; over it, supported by posts, is a shed, or pent-house, thatch'd with palm branches, to shelter them from the sun or rain; between the shed and foundation 'tis open on all sides, for the conveniency of light and air, and is about twelve yards diameter. Here, when we arriv'd and had climb'd up, we had some blocks of divers figures brought us to sit on, as had king *Andrew* and two or three of his grandees, the rest sitting behind cross-legg'd on the ground; these stools are about half a foot high, and none of the better sort of negroes go abroad but have one carried with them, which they esteem a piece of state; being seated, we had some punch made, and opened our knap-sacks to eat a bit of neats-tongue, and what other cold provisions we had brought along with us; and having invited his majesty and lords to our collation, and distributed some amongst them, we were surprized to see each of them, instead of falling to, go to a hole in the floor we eat upon, and the king first, and the rest following, with great devotion and symptoms of sorrow, dropt some part of each sort of meat we had given them into it, and the same of the punch, beer, brandy and rum we gave them, and after return'd and eat and drank most voraciously, his majesty and court being very glad of the roots and parings of the tongues, and what else we could not eat. I inquir'd of them

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them what they meant by putting some of each meat and drink into the hole; and they inform'd us, that their last dead king was there bury'd, and that the hole reach'd his corpse; and that the meat and drink they put into it, was to give him some of all sorts of our varieties, ere they touch'd any themselves. I was pleas'd with their respect to their deceas'd monarch, tho' I could not but pity their folly and superstition. After our repast was over, I order'd our boats crew, &c. to exercise their guns before the king, with which he was much surprized, as well as pleas'd, especially at our regular volleys; and to return our civility he commanded his men to shew us their way of fighting, which was after a confus'd manner, with lances about five foot long, with pointed iron heads; small bows and arrows, as slender as a reed, of which most were poison'd at the end with some black ingredient, which, if it touches the blood, kills inevitably, if the part affected be not immediately cut off: Their arrows have no iron heads nor feathers, neither do they ever shoot them point blank, but at random, as we do rovers; and yet they will come very near the mark they aim at: They carry square targets of thin board, about four foot long, and two broad, with conveniencies on the inside to hang them on their left arms, but so as their hand is free to manage their bow. Here were some soldiers come from the river of *Junco*, to assist king *Andrew* in his wars, two of them had old fuses, with which they march'd behind two that carried targets, the muzzle of their pieces peeping out between two targets; in this posture they crept on very silently to discover the enemy, which as soon as they pretended they had, the two guns gave fire, their lances were flung, and arrows shot, with a most dismal horrible screaming noise; and then they ran in confusion back to their first post, where having reloaden their guns, and put themselves in such orderly disorder, as they use, they renew the attack again as before. This town is about a quarter of a mile from the river side, surrounded with woods, so that it is not to be seen till you enter it; it consists of about forty houses, or rather dog-kennels; the walls are built of clay, or twisted twigs plaister'd over; the doors or holes to enter them are not above two foot high, so that we were forc'd to creep in, where we found a bank of earth rais'd about two foot from the floor, which having a mat laid thereon serves them for a bed; fires they seldom make, except in the rainy time, and then 'tis in the middle of the house; the mats they make here are very fine, and prettily wrought in

divers figures, red and white; they are much in esteem at *Barbadoes*, &c. to lay on the chamber floors under beds, instead of *Turkey* carpets. As to their dress here, the king and his cappashiers, or lords, wear a cotton sort of frock, strip'd or checker'd with white and black, or blue, which reaches to their knee, having a hole in it just big enough to put their heads through, and which they put on as we do shirts. If they can get an old hat they are very proud of it, else they wear a party-colour'd ozier bag upon their heads; the common sort wear either a long piece of cotton cloth, about a foot wide, which they paste about their middles, and then between their legs, letting both ends hang down before and behind; or else a piece of cloth about a foot square, tied to a string that is about their middles, and just serves to cover their privities: The womens garb is the same as at *St. Jago*.

There cannot be a better place for cutting wood than this is, it reaching close to the water-side, and very smooth loading it; here are trees of that size as will serve to mast a ship of 700 tons. Capt. *Shurley* cut here a fore-mast, fore-yard, and two beams; and I cut a main-top mast, some fishes for my mast, and ten long boats of excellent fire wood: the masts here are so extream solid and heavy, that to prevent their sinking we were oblig'd to float them off by our boats, but they are very strong sticks. We had good diversion here in shooting small birds, much of the size and resemblance of a snipe, which were very plenty along the sand, and in such flocks that we kill'd seven or eight at a shot; and they eat indifferently, though some were lean. At the mouth of the river we hal'd the sayne often, and catch'd good fish in plenty: we had no want of venison, for Mr. *Colker*, the agent of *Cherborough*, would send his grumito's, or blacks, a hunting in a morning into the woods, and they would assuredly bring us a small hedge deer or two before night. One of his blacks was our interpreter, for here they could speak neither *English* nor *Portuguese*, as they do on the *Gold Coast*, by reason of the small resort of shipping to this place; the aforesaid black spake their language very well, and I have observed that from hence along the coast to cape *Tres Puntas*, they have a different dialect every twenty leagues. I took notice here of their way of discovering any person suspected of thievery, or other villainy; which is by making the person charg'd with the crime, for his justification, to drink a small quantity of the juice of a certain tree, which is reddish, and by them call'd red-water; and if the said juice makes

makes them vomit and sick, they are held guilty; as on the contrary, if they appear no ways disturb'd therewith, they are acquitted, and the party that challeng'd them and put them to the trial of the red-water, is oblig'd to make large reparation for the scandal and wound given their reputation; of which we had one instance; for one of the meaner negroes that came to our tents to trade, pretended that some of our seamen belonging to the boats, had stol'n from him a large bag of rice, whereof he made his complaint to king *Andreo*, and he came and acquainted us therewith, requiring restitution with much earnestness and dissatisfaction; we immediately call'd all our seamen, that were ashore, together, charg'd them with the theft, and requir'd them upon their peril to bring back the rice, using severe threats to such as we should, upon search, find guilty, and which we were firmly resolved to execute, and to have made the criminal a publick example before the negroes, to shew them how much we abhor'd such practices; but all our men absolutely and firmly declar'd their innocence as to the thievery, which we did acquaint the king with, but he began to be angry, telling us that his subjects should not be robb'd, and requiring satisfaction of us; at length finding that the more we endeavour'd to appease and convince him, the more insolent he grew, made us resolve to mask ourselves in his humour, and to shew him we knew how to huff as well as his majesty; wherefore immediately ordering our men to take their guns in hand, agent *Colker* (who knew the custom of the country) shook his cane at him, and required him instantly to bring red-water, and that we and all our men would drink it for proof of our innocency, and that if we thereby were found so, that he upon his peril should provide to make us large amends for the injury done us. No sooner he heard this, and saw us all so resolute to drink it, (as he thought) but the scene was chang'd, and he became very humble and submissive, telling us the man that charg'd our men with it was a villain, and that he would have him punish'd, and banish'd him immediately from our tents; so much did the apprehension of our being clear'd by the red-water, and the reparation he must then make, work upon king *Andreo*, tho' in reality had he had the courage and constancy to put us to the test, none of us did intend to experiment the virtues and qualities of his red juices. While I was at king *Andreo*'s town, there came one of the inland kings to the side of the council room where we were; he was of a large stature, and had a manly look and good features, and indeed was the most

majestick handsome negroe that I ever saw, (except the king of *Saboo*) tho' he was very old, and his hair and beard as grey as a rat. His head was cover'd with above a hundred little horns, about an inch in length, tied to his hair, and fitted with some red composition, or paste, which was his *fatish* or god to protect him from evil, of which sort of *fatish* I shall write more at large hereafter. I eyed him from the beginning, being much pleased with his venerable countenance, but little thought him of that quality, by reason *Andreo*, and his nobles took no notice of him; about an hour after he came, I inquir'd who he was, and being told he was a great inland king, I was much surpriz'd at the ill manners of his brother king *Andreo*, to let him stand so long without, unregarded, and desir'd him to invite him in; but finding him backward in doing it, I went myself, though I could not perswade him to come up to us, therefore I had a bowl of punch brought where he was, of which he drank very freely, till he saw the bottom; I would have had another made for him, but could not perswade him to stay, having a long way home; he presented me with a good leopard's skin, worth 3 or 4 *l.* in *England*, and I him with 3 or 4 bottles of rum, and as many handfuls of cowries, and so we parted very friendly; but there was not the least ceremony between king *Andreo* and him, being, as I since understood, on no good terms with each other: We found a *Scotchman* among the natives here, who could give us no account of himself, but that he was shipwreck'd near the cape, and the only man escap'd drowning, though I suspected then he was a rogue and pirate; and since I have understood he belong'd to a pirate, a small brigantine, commanded by one *Herbert*, which they had run away with from some of the plantations in the *West-Indies*, and were just arriv'd upon this coast to look for purchase, when there fell a dissention and quarrel among the crew, which prov'd so bloody, that in the conflict so many of the men were slain and desperately wounded, that there were none left but this fellow that could any ways manage the vessel, so he run her ashore to the S. E. of the cape, and saved his life, the rest dying of their wounds: he had a long flaxen wig, and white beaver hat, and other good cloaths on; he offer'd me his service as a sailor, but he had so much of a villain in his face, that Capt. *Skurley* nor myself did not care to meddle with him, so that agent *Colker* took him with him in the *Stanier* sloop to *Sherborow*. We kept *Christmas* day as merrily as we could; in honour to which each ship fir'd all her guns round: The

PHIL- 28th came in here Capt. *John Soans*, in the
LIPS. *Jeffry*, and having supply'd himself with
Decemb. some wood, water, and rice, set sail again
1693. for the *Bight*, on *Thursday* the 3d of *Jan.*
having left with me a packet of letters
directed for Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, to be for-
warded to *Europe*, with the first conve-
niency. Agent *Colker* set sail for *Sherberow*
on the 5th, and *Gubbins* in the *Barbadoes*
interloper, the same morning for the *Gold*
Coast, by whom I sent letters to the
African company's three chief merchants
at *Cabo Corse* castle, signifying my agree-
ment with the company to slave upon the
Gold Coast, and bespeaking their diligence
in procuring what numbers they could for
me against my arrival there, with what
else was needful: I was forced to stay here
ten days after I had compleated my business,
for Capt. *Shurley* to refit his Ship, which
at length being done, we both set sail with
the morning breeze, on the 9th of *Jan.*
1693 for the coast: The negroes of this
place, express'd a great affection for the
English, and as much hatred to the *French*;
two of them took Capt. *Shurley's* and my
name, assuring us their next sons should be
called so.

January
1693-4. *Wednesday* the 10th. This morning a-
bout 3 o'clock we got under sail, with
the morning breeze, steering S. W. till we
got well without the cape; then S. and so
to S. E. At noon this day cape *Monseradoe*
bore off us N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distant five leagues.
Last night Capt. *Thomas Shurley* was taken
ill of a fever and ague.

Thursday the 11th. From noon yester-
day until four in the evening, had a fresh sea
breeze at S. W. steering S. E. along shore;
at 4 cape *Monseradoe* being just discernable
and seeming like an island, bore off us
N. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distant eight leagues; at
which time heaving the lead, had thirty-two
fathom water, sandy ground; the high hills
over the river of *Junco* bearing then E. N. E.
The river of *Junco* is about fourteen leagues
from cape *Monseradoe*, and lies in the lati-
tude $5^{\circ} 55'$ N.; there are three great high
trees near the mouth of it, and several high
hills up in the inland; the river is large,
as I have been told, and a very convenient
place to wood and water: Having lain by
some time for the *East-India Merchant*,
which was astern, we steer'd both S. E. by
E. all night, with a very small gale: At 8
this morning had twenty-five fathom water,
being about three leagues of the shore, which
is pretty high and level, and full of trees,
only far in the inland; when we were about
twenty leagues from cape *Monseradoe*, we
saw a high mountain, making in the form
of a saddle, and bearing then off us N. E.
This morning had many heavy showers of
rain, and my poor brother and several of

my men fell sick of fevers. Since noon ye-
sterday we sail'd S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. twenty leagues.

Friday the 12th. From noon yesterday
we steer'd S. E. by E. and E. S. E. along
shore, keeping about two leagues off till 6
in the evening it falling calm, we came to
an anchor in thirteen fathom water, off of
Picinini Setre, or little *Sestos*; the round hill Little Se-
right over the river *Grand Sestos*, about a mile flos.
within the point, and the three rocks about
four miles to the west of the said point, be-
ing in one, bore off us E. S. E. three leagues
off; the outer point of *Sestos* S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. five
leagues off. The coast along is full of trees
and pretty high, till you come towards
Sestos, then it slopes away lower towards
the point: several canoos came aboard us
last night to invite us to anchor at *Sestos*,
promising us a good trade of teeth, &c.
we hoisted their canoos in, and they staid
all night with us; at six this morning we
weigh'd and stood out into twenty fathom,
then along shore with a faint little gale;
several canoos with two negroes coming
aboard us, but brought nothing with them
but a few fowls, oranges, bananas, and some
little elephants teeth, which they would
not sell without having more for them than
they were worth.

Saturday the 13th. From noon yester-
day we made easy sail along shore till four
in the evening, when being off the river
of *Sestos*, we came to an anchor in nine fa-
thom water, the three rocks, which are a-
bout a mile off shore to the W. of the river,
bearing off us N. N. W. distance two miles;
cape *Banos*, or the east point of *Sestos*, which
is very low and rocky, bearing S. E. by E.
three miles off; the mouth of the river, and
the hill above it being in one, bore E. by
S. four miles distance; the outer point of
land which I could see to the W. bore N. W.
six leagues off. This morning I went ashore
in my pinnace with some goods to trade,
and Capt. *Shurley* sent his with his purser
in her, being so ill that he could not go
himself.

The going into the river is between the River of
point on the starboard or E. shore, and the Sestos.
rock in the middle of the river; the en-
trance is about half a cable's length wide,
and there are six, seven, and eight fathom
going in: when you are enter'd, you'll find it
a fine large river, where a vessel of 100 tons
may ride very safe, as I have been told
there often have brigantines and sloops.
About gun-shot from the aforesaid point,
upon the same shore, close to the river side,
is a well of good fresh water, where for
a few cowries, and giving them buckets,
the negro women will bring water and fill
your cask in the boat, as they did ours;
and if you give the negro men hatchets,
for a small quantity of the aforesaid shells
they

they will cut you fire-wood enough, and bring it to the boats; but they must have a bottle of brandy now and then among them to encourage them: so that for expedition this is the best place along the whole coast to wood and water at. On the point going into the river, about a cable's length from it, is a negro town of about thirty or forty houses, the captain of which is *Dick Lumley*, as he calls himself, having taken that name from captain *Lumley*, an old commander that us'd the *Guiney* trade formerly.

About eight miles up the river is the town where king *Peter* their monarch lives; but I could not spare time to go and visit him, and in truth had no great inclination to venture so far in a boat, having been inform'd that the negroes here are very treacherous and bloody, as some of our *European* traders have found to their cost. The goods in demand here are brass kettles, pewter basons of several sizes, booges or cowries, fuzes, *Wells* plains red and blue, knives, &c. some of each of which we carried ashore; but they had nothing to traffick with us for them, except a few little calves teeth (for so they call the young elephants) which were not worth our notice, and which they held very dear. We bought some hens, limes, and oranges; were offer'd some rice, but much dearer than we bought at *Mounseradoe*, where we had supply'd ourselves. While I was looking for trade in the town, our men hal'd the fayne in the river, and caught a great many good fish. Their way of welcoming and saluting here as well as at *Mounseradoe*, is by taking one's thumb and fore-finger, between their thumb and fore-finger, and making them snap, in the mean time crying *Acky O! Acky O!* The people here are very surly, and look like villains, so that I was soon weary of their company, and went aboard about four o'clock in the evening, we standing all to our guns till we were got out of the river, and some distance from the shore; for they came down, a little before we went off, in such numbers with bows and lances, that we were in apprehension of some villainy intended us, which hasten'd our departure, contrary to their earnest intreaties; but they offer'd nothing of harm to us. I sounded the road all over, which I found to be good and clean ground, and gradual soundings, so that you may anchor any where therein; but the best anchoring is in nine fathom water, the mouth of the river bearing E. by S. The distance between cape *Mounseradoe* and the river of *Sestos* is about thirty-six leagues. The hill upon the east point a-

bove the river of *Sestos* is very remarkable to know it by, there being no other such hill in fifteen leagues of it.

Sunday the 14th. Finding no trade to encourage our stay at *Sestos*, we got up our stream-anchor this morning, and set sail with a small gale at W. we standing out S. to give a birth to cape *Baxos*; off which lies a ledge of rocks two leagues or more into the sea; but we met with so strong a current setting to the S. E. that by noon this day it put us three leagues to the E. of cape *Baxos*, which at that time bore N. of us, distant three leagues, and the point of *Baffo* E. S. E. five leagues, and then were in twenty-six fathom water. About three leagues from *Sestos* point we saw a great white rock making like a sail, and about two leagues from that, another rock, from which to *Sanguin* is about five leagues. *Sanguin* makes in a heap of high trees, there being, no doubt, land between *Sestos* and it; but the coast between them is all rocky under twenty fathom water, so that there is no anchoring in less than twenty-five fathom water, in which depth there is oozy ground.

Monday the 15th. From noon yesterday we steer'd along shore S. E. and S. E. by E. till two in the evening, at which time came several canoes aboard us from *Sanguin* river, where the *Grain* or *Malagetta* coast begins, but they brought nothing with them; wherefore we continued on our course along shore till six: we let go our anchor in thirty-six fathom water off of *Bottowa*, where the land grows higher than between it and *Sanguin*. Here trying the current, found it set three miles in an hour to the south eastward. At six in the morning we weigh'd, having much rain for above an hour. At ten we were off the river *Sino*, about twelve leagues from *Sanguin*, which is easily known by a tree making like a ship with a top-sail loose; from whence came several canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, *Malagetta*, which is much like our *Indian* pepper, and for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baskets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in *England* three shillings and sixpence) and a daisy of a knife or two to the broker. The reason of our buying this pepper is to give it our negroes in their messes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to. About noon this day were off *Croe*, steering away S. E. by E. for cape *Palmas*.

Tuesday the 16th. From noon yesterday we have had but little wind, steering S. E. by E. At noon this day we were

PHIL- were off of *Wappo*, whence came off to
LIPS. us more canoes, with *Malagetta* to sell, of
which I bought three hundred weight for
three two-pound pewter basons. We
January might have bought much more, but
1694. having enough for our purpose, we turn'd
them ashore, and pursu'd our course.

Wednesday the 17th. These twenty-four hours we had a fine moderate gale of wind, and a very strong current setting to the S. E. which about noon this day carry'd us to the E. of cape *Palmas*, to which we gave a large birth by reason of rocks that lie far out from it. It is the last place of the *Grain* coast, there being no more *Malagetta* to be had when past it. Yesterday my poor brother grew very ill and delirious; and notwithstanding all the endeavours used by my own and captain *Shurley's* doctor for his recovery, about three in the evening this day he took his leave of this troublesome world, and left me full of affliction for the loss of him. He had been sick of a malignant fever about eight days, and many of my men lay ill of the same distemper.

Thursday, *January* the 18th. Having yesterday doubled cape *Palmas*, about five in the evening we came to an anchor in nineteen fathom water, where we rode till six this morning. We got under sail, when the coffin being ready, the deceased was nailed up therein; and our pinnace being hoisted out, he was lower'd into her, and myself, my doctor and purser went in her to bury him, the colours of our own ship and *East-India merchant* being lower'd half-mast down, our trumpets and drums sounding and beating, as is customary upon such melancholy occasions. We row'd the corpse about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the ship to seaward; and the prayers of the church being read, I help'd to commit his body to the deep, which was the last office lay in my power to do for my dear brother. Then the *Hannibal* fired sixteen guns at $\frac{1}{2}$ minute distance of time, which was the number of years he had lived in this uncertain world; and the *East-India merchant* fired ten guns. He was buried in twenty-five fathom water, off of *Growa*, which then bore N. W. distant three leagues, and about ten leagues to the E. of cape *Des Palmas*: near which cape the land is high and hummocky; and you may easily discern when you are about the cape, by the land's falling away to the northward.

Friday the 19th. From noon yesterday we kept under sail till five in the evening, when we let go our anchor in twenty-three fathom soft ground; then had a very hard tornado which lasted

about an hour. About six this morning we weigh'd, and stood along shore till noon. Yesterday in the evening came two canoes off near our ship with several teeth; but no persuasion we could use could prevail upon them to come aboard and trade with us, though we shewed them divers sorts of commodities, and offered them brandy; but all would not do, so that they return'd ashore again. As we sail'd along about twenty leagues from cape *Palmas*, we saw several points of land like the going in of rivers; no sooner we open'd one point, but we shut in another.

Saturday the 20th. From twelve o'clock yesterday we steer'd along shore till six in the evening, when we had a hard tornado, with dreadful lightning and thunder, which lasted till seven; at which time we came to an anchor in sixteen fathom water off of *Druin*, which is about thirty leagues from cape *Palmas*, and about ten leagues to the east of the afore-mentioned points. It may be easily known by great bushy trees, there being none such between it and cape *Palmas*. In the night we saw two fires made ashore, which are common along this coast where they have goods to trade, being signs for ships that pass along to stop to traffick with them. *Druin* may also be known by a high long tract of land in the inland, the land near the sea shore being low and white sand. About six in the morning we got under sail, steering E. and E. by N. with small gales at W. S. W. At ten this morning we saw the red cliffs, being about eight leagues from *Druin*; and at noon this day were abreast the first. They are easily known by their colour. They are eleven in number, not very high, and most about a cable's length asunder. We have had no canoes come aboard of us since we have come about cape *Palmas*, though we anchor'd every night that we might not pass by unseen; and steer'd close along shore with a fore-top-sail in the day.

Sunday the 21st. From noon yesterday we steer'd E. and E. by N. along shore, with an easy gale at W. S. W. until twelve at night; we anchor'd in sixteen fathom good soft ground. At six we weigh'd anchor, and stood along to the east. At eight were abreast a very low swamp in the land, that is *Coetre*; and a little further is a parting in the land like the going in of a river; a league from which is *Cabala-bo*, there being no other swamp between it and the red cliffs. About ten came two canoes aboard us from *Cabala-bo*, and were follow'd by several others with store of good teeth, which invited

us to come to an anchor; but ere the negroes in the canoos would come aboard, they required that the captain of the ship should come down the out side of the ship, and drop three drops of the sea water into his eye, as a pledge of friendship, and of safety for them, to come aboard; which I very readily consented to and perform'd, in hopes of a good market for their large fair teeth, which I had a longing desire to purchase. Then they came aboard, but seeing so many men on deck, were mistrustful, and went into their canoos again. I was much concerned at their fearfulness, and with much persuasion prevailed on them to return, which they did; and having given each that came in a good coge of brandy, I shewed them some of my commodities, and they brought in some teeth: and while we were busy on both sides a bartering, a great mastiff dog we had aboard, hearing a noise upon deck, run open mouth'd barking out of the steerage. As soon as they heard and saw the dog, to my great surprize, they in an instant leapt off the quarter deck into the sea, and swam a distance off, their canoos following them, and left their elephants teeth behind them. We intreated them to come aboard, holding their teeth over the ship's side to them, but they would not return. I went down and dropt some more water into my eyes, but to as little purpose; then I made the mastiff dog be brought in their sight, and pretended to beat him stoutly; upon which they came aboard again, but we might read their jealousy and fear in their faces; for there could nothing stir but they were ready to take their spring into the sea, and had their eyes in every corner: however, in their traffick they were subtile enough, holding their teeth so high, that we could not afford to buy many, without giving more than the value for them. They most hideously deform themselves with a sort of dark reddish paint, with which they daub their bodies in sundry places. They pleat some flax to their hair, and so make a sort of small sinnet from each lock, which hangs down to their shoulders; and some tie them up in a roll behind, as our women do their hair; and others on the top of their heads. I was astonished when first they came near the ship, to hear no other speech come from them but *Qua, Qua, Qua, Qua*, like a parcel of ducks; from which I presume this teeth coast hath had the appellation of *Quaquaa* coast, it reaching from cape *Palmas* to *Bassam Picolo*, where was the first gold I met with. The negroes of these parts are called the *Man-eaters*, and

that they eat their enemies they take prisoners, and their own friends when dead, as I was told by my old mate captain *Robson*, who had long used this *Guiney* voyage. How true that is I know not; but in truth their looks are very savage and voracious; and all their teeth, I observed, are pointed at the ends as sharp as bodkins, which looks very terrible: and without doubt they reduce them so by art and filing them; for 'tis impossible they should be so naturally more than their neighbour negroes. They are well limb'd, and strong men, but the most hideous in their aspect of any negroes I have met with. Each canoe brought a broker with him, who, as soon as he enters the ship, demands a dashy of a knife or two, for he pretends to bring the trade to you; and every bargain we concluded he expects a dashy, it being, I suppose, his brokerage, the merchant allowing him nothing: and about these dashies they are so importunate, that, for our quiet, we are forced to give them. I have no where upon the coast met with the negroes so shy as here, which makes me fancy they have had tricks played them by such blades as *Long Ben*, alias *Avery*, who have seiz'd them and carried them away. The goods they most covet are pewter basons, the larger the better, iron bars, knives, and large screw'd pewter jugs, which they did much affect.

Monday the 22d. About three in the evening yesterday our merchants went ashore, assuring us, if we would stay till next day, we should have abundance of teeth off cheap. Upon which encouragement we staid here all night at anchor in fifteen fathom water; but at eleven this morning, seeing no canoos come off, we weighed and stood along shore till noon.

Tuesday the 23d. Yesterday about one in the evening, standing along shore, we descried three canoos making off to us from *Pikinini-la-bo*, which is about six leagues to the E. of *Caba-la-bo*. We laid our fore-topails to the mast to wait for them. One went aboard captain *Shurley*, and the other two came to us with divers good teeth, of which we bought some, but very dear, they coveting the same sort of goods as at *Caba-la-bo*. We lay by trafficking with them till four in the evening; then they went away, and we made sail till seven, when we let go our anchors in thirty-six fathom water, it deepning much suddenly. At six in the morning we weigh'd, and stood along shore to the E. This was the last place I saw any teeth; and I observed every where they brought teeth to us, that they

PHIL- would sell none but the small ones and
LIPS. middling ones, though they brought very
January noble large ones with them for shew; but
1694. no price would tempt them to dispose of
them.

Wednesday the 24th. From twelve yesterday we made an easy sail along shore till seven in the evening, when we anchor'd in thirty-six fathom water, and lay there becalmed till noon this day.

Thursday the 25. These twenty-four hours we lay at the same place becalm'd. At two in the evening yesterday came off to us two canoos from *Bassam Picolo* to trade with gold; of which we took thirty achies for iron bars, two bars for three achies, each achy being about five shillings value. But of the weights, &c. on the *Gold Coast*, I shall write hereafter. The gold we took here was all in fatishes, which are small pieces wrought in many pretty figures, which the *Blacks* tie to their hair, necks, arms, legs, &c. for ornament, and are generally very good gold. Dust nor rock I saw none here nor at *Bassam*.

Friday the 26th. About two in the evening yesterday, having the sea breeze, we weigh'd and stood to the E. About four a canoo came aboard captain *Shurley*, promising, if we anchor'd where we were until the morning, they would bring off divers slaves to sell; so that at five we came to an anchor again in twenty-nine fathom water, where we rode till noon this day; but no canoos came off.

Saturday the 27th. At two in the evening yesterday we got up our anchors, and sailed along shore until six, when came a four-hand canoo aboard us from *Bassam*, assuring us of good trade of gold and slaves in the morning, if we would anchor, and that they would stay with us all night, which we permitted them, hoisting up their canoo in the tackles, and let go our anchors in fourteen fathom water. In the morning those aboard fell to trade, of whom I took thirty-six achies of gold in fatishes for pewter and iron bars.

Sunday the 28th. The negroes yesterday promised us a good trade this day if we stay'd. Accordingly this morning came aboard of me two canoos, of which I took sixteen ounces of gold in fatishes, for iron bars, pewter, and knives, viz. for one iron bar $1\frac{1}{2}$ achy, for a dozen of knives one achy, for a four-pound pewter basin one achy, with several knives for dashes to those that traded briskly. Here the negroes are not so well skilled in trade as upon the *Gold Coast*; for we could put the bank-weights upon them; but to leeward on the *Gold*

Coast, they know our *Troy* weights as well as ourselves, and have weights of their own, which they compare ours with. Likewise at this place goods yield a better price than among our factories to leeward, by reason that here they can't supply themselves at all times as they can there; therefore when they have an opportunity of ships passing by, they buy what they want, tho' they give a better price for it; but they have but small quantities of gold to trade with.

Monday the 29th. Yesterday about two in the afternoon, the negroes having no more gold to trade with, took their leave and went ashore; then we got under sail, and stood to the E. till seven, then came to an anchor in thirteen fathom water, where we lay till six this morning; then weigh'd and stood along shore till ten; the wind dying away, and the sea heaving us too near the shore, we were forced to anchor in twelve fathom. My men are most on the recovery, having lost none by sickness, except my poor brother; but capt. *Shurley* has had eight dead, and himself with most of his remaining men are very ill. We have a strong current now setting to the W. which is very unusual on this coast. The land all along is full of trees.

Tuesday the 30th. At two in the evening yesterday we weigh'd, and it proving little wind, the sea hove us into eleven fathom water, so that were forc'd to anchor again, where lay till morning; then having small land breezes, got under sail, and stood off into fifteen fathom, and then along shore till ten; it falling calm we anchor'd again.

Wednesday the 31st. At noon yesterday we had the sea-breeze, with which we stood along shore S. E. and S. E. by E. till six; it fell calm, and we anchored in fourteen fathom till morning, when weigh'd again, and stood along shore. Last night I was taken with a violent racking pain the right side of my head; and capt. *Shurley* being very ill of a fever, sent for Mr. *Gordon*, my doctor, to have his advice.

From *Wednesday* to *Monday* the fifth of February. At noon yesterday we anchor'd in fifteen fathom, being becalm'd; at night came over us a very thick fog, which continu'd increasing all this day, and so till the fifth of February without intermission, the weather being most intensely hot, without a breath of wind scarcely, and the current setting above two miles an hour to windward, and has continued to set so to the W. these ten days, and what small faint breezes we had were at E. S. E. and S. S. E. The thick fog of so long continuance, the violent heat, and eastern breezes, made us very much concerned, lest it should occasion malignant distempers among

among us, it being what is not very usual upon the coast. About one o'clock on *Saturday* in the afternoon came a ship with the current and small gale at E. close upon us ere we spy'd her; but at first sight we saluted her with a shot thwart her fore-foot to come to an anchor, which he not taking notice of, we fired two more into him, upon which he let run his top-sails upon the caps, and let go his anchor, and so escaped the rest of our broadside, which were ready planted for him, with our top-sails loose, ready to cut our cable, had he prov'd a *Frenchman* (as we by his white paint and built took him to be.) A-stern of us lay the *East-India Merchant*, ready to fire what they could at him, but so many of her men were sick, that they could not have manag'd four guns. Being anchor'd he sent his boat aboard us, with a private commission from king *William*, whereby he appeared to be a *Dutch* privateer, tho' a trader upon the coast, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to dispose of all his cargo; he was lately come from *Angola*; the captain's name was *William Fleming*, the master's name *Stephen Waterman*, the ship's name *Jacob Hendrick*; she had sixteen guns and forty-two men; the captain was sick; they advised us, that captain *Gubbins* and his doctor in the *Barbadoes Interloper* were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stop't; and that the negroes had taken the *Danes* fort at *Accra*, killed one of the factors, and much wounded the other. Having lain about two hours with us, he set sail, and stood to the W. saluting each of us with three guns, which compliment we return'd. On *Sunday* the pain in my head increased, and I was taken with a dimness in my eyes, that I could not see ten yards off, and a dizziness, in my head, that I could not stand nor walk without assistance.

From *Monday* the 4th to *Wednesday* the 6th we lay at anchor in the same place, with the uncomfortable fog still continuing, but the windward current much abated, and the breezes began to reassume their old place at S. W. and to blow pretty fresh, which prompted us to hope for clear weather to proceed upon our voyage. About eight o'clock on *Wednesday* morning we heard several guns fired, whereupon order'd good look-outs to windward. The fog being much dispell'd at that time, about ten we spy'd a ship with all sails set coming upon us before the wind, of which gave notice to capt. *Skurley*, by firing a gun, and immediately got our ship clear

for fight, and our gun-room guns out, and being every way ready, got under sail and stood towards him; he standing right with me, I laid my fore-top-sail to the mast to stay for him; when he came, within gunshot I fired one at him, whereupon he hoisted *Dutch* colours, on view of which we forbore firing any more; he stood close under our sterns and gave each of us five guns and three huzzas, which we returned; I sent my boat and a mate on board him, to whom he gave an account that he belonged to the *West-India* company of the *Dutch* at *Amsterdam*, and was bound to the *Mine*; that he had been stop't five months at *Plymouth*, and had been in his passage thence nine weeks; that he had fought a *French* privateer fifty leagues from *Scilly*; and that the earl of *Torrington* was fled from *England*. The last we did not doubt but was *Dutch* news, who have no great kindness for that old experienc'd and gallant sea-officer, since thro' their own rashness and stupidity they were so roughly handled by the *French* fleet off of *Beachy* in 1690. This ship had 24 guns and 80 men, seamen and soldiers; he made all the way he could to the eastward, and we stood so till six in the evening, when judging ourselves off of *Astbany*, we handed our sails and anchored in twelve fathom water. The guns we heard in the morning were fired by this last ship at the *Dutch* interloper that parted from us before, who he fell in with and gave chase to, but the interloper failed too hard for him. Here were above a dozen *Dutch* interlopers at this time trading upon the coast, notwithstanding all the *Dutch* are prohibited that trade, except the ships belonging to their *Guiney* company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the said interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coast, who upon such capture become as much prize as any declared enemy, the ship and goods being confiscated to the use of the said company, and the men made prisoners in the dungeon at the *Mine*; and, if I mistake not, the captain and other principal officers condemned to die, the general of the *Mine* being commissioned and impow'ered to try, condemn, and put to death any criminals of that nation, which by a court martial shall be thought to deserve it, without any appeal to *Europe*: which authority he also extends to the neighbouring negroes, especially those of the *Mine* town, that are under the cover of its guns, which creates a great reverence and terror in them; whereas our agents can only secure the most heinous malefactor, and send him in irons home to *England* to be tried, and receive the reward of his villany. The *Dutch* castles have frequently by stratagem seized

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seized some of these interlopers, and used them with the utmost rigour, yet it does no whit deter them, they providing themselves with nimble ships, which out-fail the company's, and go well man'd and arm'd, so that if at any time they be surpriz'd or overtaken, they will fight it out to the last man rather than yield, and both under *Dutch* colours; I have seen three or four at a time of them lying before the *Mine*-castle for a week together a trading, as it were in defiance of it.

Thursday the 7th we lay off of *Astbany*, expecting trade, till the 10th, and saw many canoos passing along shore under a mat-sail, but none came off to us. From *Bassam* to *Astbany* is about 12 leagues; the best sailing is in 17 to 18 fathom, and anchor in 13 or 14 fathom, oozy ground: there appears no double land between these two places till you are about five leagues to the E. of *Bassam*, then you will see three or four parcels, which shew themselves as you sail in the above depth a little higher than the other land.

The town of *Astbany* stands in a swamp or bog, there being no other swamp between *Bassam* and it. Here having no encouragement to stay longer, we got up our anchors, and stood for cape *Apollonia* the 10th in the evening, which is about 16 leagues from *Astbany*, and makes in three small hills; where we arrived the 12th, and anchored in fifteen fathom oozy ground, about three miles short of the cape; thereby intending to have the benefit of trading with two or three towns which lie a little to the W. of it; but our expectations were disappointed, for not one canoe came off to us here more than at *Astbany* which somewhat surprized us, those two places being formerly noted for plenty of gold, very good, and a quick and beneficial market.

Wednesday the 13th in the morning we got under sail, and having doubled cape *Apollonia*, in the evening we came to an anchor at *Axem* in eight fathom water, about two miles from the *Dutch* fort. This place is about ten leagues from the cape. The 14th the *Dutch* factor Mr. *Rawliffon* came aboard us to inquire news from *Europe*, and having told him all we could remember, he stay'd to dine with us; and after dinner we found him to be a boon companion, taking his glass off smartly, and singing and dancing by himself several jiggs, capt. *Shurley* and I being indisposed, and in no dancing humour; I was glad to see he could be so cheerful that had lived so many years in such a dismal country; but his mirth was suddenly dampt, upon sight of a great twelve-hand canoe with a flag in it making from the eastward towards

our ships: I was much surpriz'd to see so sudden and extraordinary a change in him, his countenance appearing full of terror and confusion; I often asked him what was the cause of his concern, and offer'd to fire upon the canoe, and command her aboard, if he apprehended any thing amiss from her, and to that end presently gave the word for the gunner; but he earnestly intreated me to forbear, and immediately leap'd into a small canoe that was selling fish by the ship's side to our seamen (his own being gone ashore with butter and other small matters he had purchased aboard us) and squatting himself down in her flat upon his belly, made the canoe men row away to the west with all the force they could; and having taken a large compass, landed about a quarter of a mile from the castle. I could not then conceive the reason of his consternation and abrupt departure, but after I understood it proceeded from his fear that the great canoe was from the *Mine*-castle, with the fiscal in her, who is a very considerable officer in the *Dutch* factories, whose business is to supervise and inspect all the castles the *Dutch* have upon this coast; to observe what government is kept in them, and how the *Dutch* company's affairs are managed, and to search if there be any goods or merchandize in them besides what belongs to the company, which the factors or governors often clandestinely buy of interlopers and *English* ships, and trade with upon their own account, to the great prejudice of the company their masters, whose goods in the mean time lie on hand for want of sale, while they carry on their own private traffick, contrary to their oath and covenant; therefore this fiscal uses all the stratagems he can devise to surprize the castles unawares, and when he is least expected, that the factors may not have time to settle and put things in order, or convey their goods where they may lie conceal'd; therefore he most commonly makes use of the night-time, and lands by break of day, and immediately plants his men at the gates, and other convenient posts, to watch that nothing be conveyed away or hidden; then he searches all the castle over with as much subtlety and rigour, as the severest old searcher belonging to our custom-house in *London*, that will not be bribed (if there be any such) does a rich *East-India* ship, taking account of all the goods in his way; and if he finds any more in quantity or quality, than by the factor's invoice and account of sales there should be of the company's, he takes them away with him, and possibly seizes upon all the gold the factor has, for the company's use, and carries himself to the *Mine*, where

Axem.

where he is imprisoned; and the gentlest usage the factors meet with upon such discovery, is to be well mulcted or fined, and be forced to carry a musket in the *Mine-castle* like a common centinel, another being substituted in his government; and the same in case of being found remiss in the duties of their post, and negligent in the governments of their castles, such as lying a-nights out of them, or letting black women lie a-nights in them; the last of which, tho' it be a common practice in our castles, yet the *Dutch* seldom or never do it, though they all have black or *Malatto* wives as well as ours, which they change at pleasure. For the above reasons the fiscal is so dreadful to them; and 'twas the panick fear of him that so disturbed poor *Rawliffson*. The great canoo soon came aboard us, in which was *Frank*, the butler of *Cape-Coast* castle, sent by our agents there to fetch from us the company's letters and packets, together with the factors we had on board for the castles: In their way they called on Mr. *Buckerige*, who was chief of *Dicky's Cove*, and came along with them to us. By this canoo I received a letter from our agents, advising me to dispose of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reason the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the *Gold Coast*.

The *Dutch* factor *Rawliffson*, some time after he got ashore, sent out a canoo a scouting, by which understanding his mistake, he banished his fear, and resolved to have t'other jigg with us; and accordingly we soon had him aboard, where he continued till late at night, and was carried ashore well ballasted with wine and punch; but before he would part, engaged Mr. *Buckerige*, Capt. *Shurley* and me to dine with him next day at his fort, which we promised, more out of an inclination we had to see the castle, town, landing, &c. than any desire of his feast, which we knew must be very indifferent. Accordingly in the morning we went ashore to wait on Mynheer *Rawliffson*, and were met at our landing by his second, a young man, and a *Frenchman* that was his doctor, who conducted us to the castle-gate, where we were received by himself with a salute of nine guns. We took a walk before dinner about the castle, which is old, and built upon a rock after the *Portuguese* fashion, from whom the *Dutch* plundered it; it has four flankers, and about 18 guns in all, those towards the sea good and long, and some of them brass; the walls are pretty high, and the gate strong which faces the continent. In the midst of the fort is their warehouse,

kitchen and lodging of the soldiers, over which are three or four small rooms for the factors, a great part of the roof and wall of that wherein we dined was fallen down; we had some *Muscovy* ducks, kid, fish, and store of other provisions for dinner; but what I liked most was a pudding made of a certain large root called a yam, which eat very gratefully, managed as it was by the *French* doctor, with sugar and orange-juice; we had plenty of punch and stumm'd *Rhenish* wine; but a drink they had, called *Cocoro*, looking like thin whey, and is a sort of *Palm-wine*, was preferred by me before any other; it was extream pleasant, and in my thought drank like mead, or rather *Verdy*, or white *Florence* wine, as they call it at *Livorno*. Dinner being over, and the king's health, the *African* company's, and our own being drank, each with a salvo of seven guns, we were invited by Mr. *Rawliffson* to take a walk where the negroes use to dance, which was about a quarter of a mile from the fort, under two or three very large cotton-trees, of which their canoos are made; and here note, that this is the best and cheapest place for ships that are bound to *Whidaw* to slave, to furnish themselves with canoos, they being very scarce and dear to leeward. We had seats and liquor brought us, and soon after came the musick, being three black fellows, with the like number of hollow elephants teeth, thro' which they made a hideous bellowing, another in the mean time beating a hallow piece of brass with a stick; then came Mrs. *Rawliffson*, the factor's wife, who was a pretty young *Malatto*, with a rich silk cloth about her middle, and a silk cap upon her head flower'd with gold and silver, under which her hair was comb'd out at length, for the *Malatto's* covet to wear it so, in imitation of the whites, never curling it up, or letting it frizzle, as the blacks do; she was accompanied, or rather attended, with the second's and doctor's wives, who were young blacks, about 13 years of age, as near as I could guess; after we had saluted them, they went to dance by turns, in a ridiculous manner, making antick gestures with their arms, shoulders, and heads, their feet having the least share in the action; they began the dance moderately, but as they continued it, they by degrees quicken'd their motion so, that at the latter end they appeared perfectly furious and distracted. There came several other women and men to dance, among the last were two that had each a jaw-bone of a man tied to the wooden handle of their sword, which was stuck into their girdle, and was about half a yard long and three inches broad, in shape resembling a chopping-knife or pruning-bill; the bones they

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told us belonged to some great warriors they had killed in fight, on which they much valued themselves. Having tired ourselves with their frantick dancing, we returned to the fort, and after a glass of wine, we gave Mr. *Rawliffon* thanks for our entertainment, and took our leaves and went aboard. The town is on the east side of the castle, containing about 100 houses or huts, strait along the banks of a river which empties itself into the sea near the castle, at the mouth of which is the landing-place: I saw above 100 negro men and women with pails on the side of this river, which they told me were washing of sand and dirt, in search of gold dust. Here we had but little trade, therefore after we got aboard we weigh'd, and stood along shore till night, when anchored in 18 fathom water, a-breast the *Brandenburg* fort, near cape *Tres Puntas*.

The 16th in the morning we set sail, and got about cape *Tres Puntas*, keeping off in 22 fathom water, to avoid a ledge of rocks that lie a good distance out from the middle cape. About 12 we were off another *Brandenburg* factory, and about three in the evening came to an anchor in *Dicky's Cove* in 14 fathom water, the town bearing N. W. *Dicky's Cove* is about three leagues to the E. of cape *Tres Puntas*; here Mr. *Buckerige* was building a small fort upon a great flat rock, about half a mile to the E. of the town; it was not half finished at our being there; he had a few small guns planted upon the rock under the fort open, which was all his defence then. The town is pretty large; we went ashore one day and dined with Mr. *Buckerige*; we filled some water here, got a little wood, and some cancy-stones, for our slaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade presenting, we parted thence the 19th for *Succandy*. At *Dicky's Cove* is the best and smoothest landing of any of our factories upon this coast. We stood away to leeward, and about 11 in the morning were a-breast *Tagaratha*, which is distant about seven leagues from *Dicky's Cove*, and makes in a heap of high trees. Off *Tagaratha* point there lies a ledge of rocks, for which reason we gave it a good birth, keeping in 14 fathom water. This was the last place upon the *Gold Coast* assigned us by the *Royal African Company* in our charter-parties to dispose of our windward cargoes; which article had we observed, we must have brought most of it home again, for each of us had 3000 pounds windward cargoes, and had not sold to the value of 200 pounds apiece at our arrival here; so that we were obliged to seek a market elsewhere, tho' contrary to our instructions. About two we hal'd in, and about four came to an anchor in *Succandy*

road in seven fathom water, about two miles off shore. On the point of *Succandy* stands a small *Dutch* fort, much higher, and in gun-shot of ours, and commands the landing-place.

The 20th in the morning Capt. *Shurley* and I went ashore to our castle at *Succandy*, where we found the factor Mr. *Johnson* in his bed raving mad, cursing and swearing most wretchedly at us, not in the least knowing Capt. *Shurley*, tho' he had a long former acquaintance with him. I pity'd from my soul this poor man, who had plunged himself into this condition thro' resentment of an affront put upon him by one *Vanbukeline*, the copeman or merchant of the *Mine-castle*, which, as we were informed by his second (who was a young lad, and had been a bluecoat-hospital-boy) was as follows. One *Taguba*, a noted negro woman in *Cape Corce* town, being got with child by some of the soldiers of our castle there, was brought to bed of a *Malatto* girl, who growing to be about 11 years old, Mr. *Johnson* a factor, then at *Cabo Corce*, had a great fancy for her, and purposed to take her for his wife (as they take wives in *Guiney*); and about that time he being removed to *Succandy*, to be chief factor, to make sure of the girl, took her there to live with him till she was of age fit for matrimonial functions, using much tenderness and kindness to her, and taking great pleasure and satisfaction in her company for two or three years; when she was grown man's meat, and a pretty girl, *Vanbukeline* by bribes and presents corrupted her mother *Taguba*, and prevailed with her to go to *Succandy*, and under pretence of making a visit to her daughter, to steal her away and bring her to him, he having ordered a swift canoo to lie ready under the *Dutch* fort at *Succandy* for that end. The mother accordingly came, and having been kindly treated by Mr. *Johnson*, who suspected nothing, went with her daughter to take a walk, and being come near the canoo that lay *perdue*, the canoomen took hold of her and put her *per* force into it, her mother following, and carried them both away to the *Mine-castle*, and delivered the young one to *Vanbukeline*, who soon cracked that nut which Mr. *Johnson* had been so long preparing for his own tooth. When I dined with the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* I saw her there, being brought in to dance before us, very fine, bearing the title of madam *Vanbukeline*. This, and some other old differences between that *Dutchman* and he, did so disturb and vex him, that it threw him into distempers, and quite turned his brain. We were entertained by the young second as well as he could; and about three in the evening we

went

went aboard, where we had not been an hour before we spied a small ship coming away with us afore the wind. About five she spake with us, and came to an anchor, being the *Eagle* packet-boat that sailed with us out of the *Downs*, bound with letters for *Gambo*, *Sherborow*, and *Cape Coast*. Captain *Perry* that commanded her then, was dead at *Gambo*, with several of his men, and his mate Mr. *Brown* succeeded him, who came aboard and gave us an account of his voyage, and that agent *Colker* who parted with us in the *Stanier* sloop at *Monseradoe* for *Sherborow*, was refused admittance by his second when he arrived there; whereupon a scuffle ensued, wherein several were wounded, but at length he got possession again. He soon returned aboard, and made the best of his way to *Cape Coast*, we designing to call at several places in our way to look for trade. The fort of *Succandy* was built by captain *Henry Nurse* when he was agent for the royal *African* company in *Guiney*, as an inscription on the wall informed us. 'Tis a small white square house, in a large yard, of no great defence. On the terraces a-top of it are mounted eight or ten small pop iron guns, good for nothing but to waste powder, being all honey-comb'd within, and the carriages rotten and out of order. I have been informed since my being here, that the adjacent negroes, instigated by *Vankukeline* and the *Dutch* general, had in the night surprized and seiz'd the fort, cut *Johnson* the factor to pieces, and plundered all the goods and merchandize.

The 21st in the morning we left *Succandy*, and steered along by *Abady* point, which is two leagues distant from it; between which and *Shuma* we anchored, and lay all night. In the morning some canoes came aboard, with whom we had a good trade for gold; but the negro merchants were in great pain and fear lest the *Dutch* should discover them, and seize their goods for trading with us, as they have had the impudence to do often, as I have been informed, not only to such as bought of our ships, but also out of our castle at *Succandy*, of which there was a late instance; and the negroes making complaint thereof to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they sent to the general of the *Mine* to demand restitution, assuring him that the goods belonged to the royal *African* company of *England*. But all they have been able to obtain hitherto, was fair promises without the least performance. Indeed the *Dutch* are very insolent upon this coast, especially since the revolution, endeavouring by all methods to undermine

and ruin our commerce there (upon what PHIL-
LIPS. presumption I know not) and treating the negroes with great severity which they catch trading with us, tho' we never molest their trade. They have wrested *Comendo* out of our hands (a place that lies the most convenient for the gold trade of any upon the coast) and still keep it, tho' our agents have writings under the kings of the countries hands, which shew an undoubted title to it, as well as our long possession of it formerly. Therefore of late years our agents designing to repossess it, and settle a factory there, and passing by the *Mine* castle with materials for that purpose, the *Dutch* from the *Mine* had the impudence to fire several cannon shot at the canoo in which one of our agents was, notwithstanding he had the king's jack flag flying in the head of her; but he pursued his design, landed men and materials, and fell to intrenching and fortifying; but ere they could raise works sufficient to shelter and secure them, they were so continually attacked and disturbed by the adjacent negroes, hired and instigated by the *Dutch*, who had supplied them with arms and ammunition for that end, that they were forced to give over the thoughts of settling there, and retire, not without the loss of some men.

The 22d in the evening we got up our anchors and stood along shore; and passing by *Shuma*, came to the high bluff red cliffs, abreast of which we anchored, and lay all night between *Shuma* and *Comendo*; from both which places we had a pretty good trade in the morning; but the blacks were in great fear of the *Dutch* still; for tho' some of them would buy two or three bales of perpetuanoes, yet they would never take them whole, but would open them and put them in bags they brought with them, so many in each as was an easy burden for one man to run away with, which they did for their better dispatch in landing, and securing them from the *Hollanders*. Having taken what gold we could in this place, we left in the 23d in the afternoon; and sailing by *Comendo*, came to *Ampeny* point, which is two leagues from the *Mine*; between which places we anchored, and lay fair for the trade both of *Comendo* and the *Mine* town. Here we had a good trade, and took above thirty marks of gold, each mark being eight ounces troy. The 25th we set sail, passed the *Mine* castle, which we saluted with seven guns, and anchored in the middle between it and *Cape Coast*, being about a league distant from each. Here we met with the best trade, the negroes coming up

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PHIL- up to us from all the towns to leeward
LIPS. as far as *Cormantine*. Having made the
February 27th in the afternoon, and before night
1694. came to an anchor in *Cape Corce* road in
eight fathom water, and saluted our castle
with 15 guns, which they returned, it
bearing N. N. W.

Cabo
Corce
Castle.

The castle of *Cabo Corce* is the chief of all those our *African* company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief factors all reside; to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well-contrived fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompassed with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secured and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercised. It has four flankers which have a covered communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns; and over the tank is a noble battery of fifteen whole culverin and demy cannon, lying low, and pointing upon the road, where they would do good execution upon any ships that should pretend to attack the castle, if there were a sufficient number of men to ply them briskly, that understood the sport. Under this battery is a curious tank or cistern which will contain 400 tons of water, being with great labour cut in a long square out of a rock, and terrass'd over, having a convenient pair of stairs to descend into it to fetch the water. This tank is filled every rain time, and not only supplies the castle with water all the year (which no enemy can cut off from them or poison) but frequently the company's agents permit their ships to fill much of their water there. The method of filling it is thus. There are divers channels contrived in the large square conveniently to receive the rain water that pours down from the flankers and tops of the other buildings in the castle; each of which channels have two conveyances, one out of the castle, and the other into the tank. As soon as it begins to rain, the *Bumbay* (an officer so called, whose charge it is) makes the negro slaves belonging to the castle, stop all the conveyances of the water to the tank, then sweep the castle very clean all over; and after it has rained about an hour, and washed the castle well, the water for that space running out, and carrying the filth and dirt with it, he opens the channels into the tank, where it runs very clear, and in great quantities,

the rains here being generally in long and heavy showers. This tank is strongly arched over, upon which, by the afore-said battery, there is a most pleasant walk. Of these tanks every castle upon the coast has one, but very small, and in proportion to the number of soldiers they are allowed to man them.

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks any where than here, each two having a handsome room allowed them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents. He is the lieutenant of the castle, but is called by the title of captain. Every night at eight o'clock the gate is shut, where he appoints a good guard, and comes to the agent or chief merchant for the word. Mr. *Platt*, the chief at that time, used sometimes to compliment captain *Shurley* and me to give it, and at other times would give our ships, our owners, or our own names; which the lieutenant having communicated to the rest of the company, after drinking the king's health in a bowl of punch, would take his leave. Captain *Freeman* had this post now, and was a very good officer. The three chief merchants who had the government of all the company's affairs on this coast, were Mr. *Joshua Platt*, a gentleman of good parts and courage, and had been long accustomed to these countries. He was gold-taker, receiving and paying all the company's gold. The next to him was Mr. *William Ronan*, an *Irish* gentleman, who had lived long in *France*, and spake that language fluently, as well as the bastard *Portuguese* the negroes use upon this coast. He was a brisk active daring man, a skilful merchant, and of a most obliging temper; and tho' a *Roman* catholick by religion, yet I believe the *African* company could not employ any that was more real and zealous for their interest, or would expose himself more to serve them. He was warehouse-keeper, receiving and delivering all the company's goods. The third was Mr. *William Melrofs* a *Scotsman*, a very sober quiet honest man, and understood accounts to perfection. He was Book-keeper. One *Smith* an *Irishman* was chaplain, who, every morning at nine o'clock, read the church prayers to the garrison, and preached every *Sunday*. The surgeon was a *Scot*, whose name I have

have forgot. He had a mate and barber under him, and was supply'd with good medicines from the company in *England* by most of their ships.

In the castle there is one spacious warehouse, and several smaller ones; a convenient trunk or place for the slaves to live in by themselves; a good forge with smiths to make what iron-work is wanted; a large kitchen for dressing the provisions, the factors keeping a very plentiful table, but eat only twice a day, at ten in the morning and four in the evening; which is a very prudent method, the midst of the day being here so intensely hot, that the very scent of the meat is enough to pall one's stomach. There are seldom less than sixteen dine at their table, which is always well cover'd, and, I have been assur'd, stands the *African* company some years from 12 to 1400*l.* though most provisions are very reasonable, there being store of excellent large fish caught of several sorts, and sold for little; plenty of small poultry, and abundance of fine large *Muscovy* ducks at low rates. Mutton and goats are not scarce, but very lean and insipid meat; but beef is a rarity seldom to be met with. The castle is well stock'd with tame pigeons, which have convenient lodgings, and thrive very well. When the tank is low, that ships cannot be supply'd with water thence, they are forced to fill it at a standing pool call'd *Domine's* hole, a good distance from the castle, and roll it thence over craggy stones to the landing place, where negroes, who make it their profession and business, attend to swim the water-cask off to the long-boat, which lies about a cable's length off shore at an anchor, not daring to come nearer for the great swell that constantly rolls upon this whole coast from the vast *Atlantick* ocean. The negro swimmers watch a smooth, then roll the punchions of water into the sea till they float; then each takes his cask and swims after it, sometimes above water, sometimes under water, still pushing it forward before him till it comes to the long boat, who hoist it in; for the further off shore the smoother the water: and for this service we pay the blacks so much a cask when we go away. The merchandize and stores we bring for the castle, we send in our longboat as near the shore as she dare go, and the canoos come and unlade her; which being flat bottom'd, play upon the sea until they perceive a smooth, then with violence run themselves ashore, take out the goods, and launch off again.

There are two gardens belong to the castle, one of which is large, full of

lime and orange trees, but little pot-herbs or salletting, I presume, for want of industry and care; for I saw great variety of both in the garden of the *Mine* castle, which is very spacious and pleasant; and indeed (which I am sorry I have occasion to say) the *Dutch* excel and out-do us in every thing (except honesty) on this coast, their castles being much stronger and better than ours, lie more conveniently, and are better mann'd and govern'd, they sparing no cost upon them to make them strong and delightful, and add to them all the conveniencies that is possible. In the middle of our castle garden is a square summer-house built, where the agents sometimes enjoy themselves. In this garden captain *Shurley* and I entertain'd the agents, factors, and other officers of the castle at dinner before our departure (for they would not venture to come aboard our ships, lest any casualty might happen in their absence) where we enjoy'd ourselves plentifully, having each of us six of our quarter-deck guns brought ashore, with powder, &c. and our gunners to ply them; which they did to purpose, and made them roar merrily, firing eleven at every health. The other is nearer the castle, and is called *Black Jack's* garden, having nothing therein but cocoa-nut trees. This is the burying place of our factors and white men that die there, except the agents and some others, who, for some extraordinary respects, are buried in by-places in the castle. Mr. *Klayton*, the chief of *Fredericksburg*, or the *Danes Hill* fort, a strong healthy man, sicken'd while I was here, and in three days died of a fever, and was buried in that garden with all the ceremony usual upon such occasions. The agents with most of the factors, and a detachment of the garrison, with their arms revers'd, attending the corps. As soon as it was in the grave they fired a volley; which being a signal to the castle, it fired 10 guns, as did each of our ships. The ceremony being ended, Mr. *John Rootsey*, a *Barbadian*, who came over with our ships, was appointed by the agents as successor to the deceas'd in his government of the *Danes Hill*; which he that night took possession of, and treated us next day with a handsome dinner there.

We landed out of the *Hannibal* at this place thirty soldiers for the company, in as good health as we received them aboard in *England*; but in two months time that we lay here to complete our business, they were near half dead, and scarce enough of the survivors able to carry their fellows to the grave.

PHIL-
LIPS.
February
1694.

PHIL- The way of receiving the gold upon this
LIPS. whole coast, is by weight, of which the
February several kinds that are used, and in which
1694. we keep our accounts, are marks, ounces,
The man- achies, and taccoos. A taccoo is a small
ner of the berry as big as a pea, twelve of which
gold trade. make an achy, viz.

12 Taccoos are	1 achy,
16 Achies are	1 ounce troy,
8 ounces troy are	1 mark gold;

Value about 32*l.* Sterling. They have other denominations for weights, as a bendy is two ounces; a peepe, which is four achies; a damby, which is a little black berry, two of which make a taccoo. If they are to purchase a thing of small value that they have no weight little enough for it, they give a grain of gold which they call a *Crakra*. We keep our accounts in marks, ounces, achies, and taccoos only. The gold is most in dust, with some pieces of rock among it; and sometimes in wire, and wedges, and broken fatishes. We first sift and blow the dust gold in copper sifters and pens we carry for that purpose, until it be well clear of dirt (which will blow away, being less weighty than the gold) then it is carefully pick'd, and all the bad or suspicious taken from it by a negro that understands gold well, and we entertain aboard for that purpose, giving him a gratuity when we have done trading. We likewise carry touchstones to try the gold; and indeed we had need of all the caution imaginable to avoid being cheated by the negroes, which they often endeavour by mixing filings of brass with the gold dust, and filling the middle of their cast ingots with lead; so that we never take any of them without cutting them with a chisel into small pieces, to see that they be the same throughout. The rock gold is generally good, being in such lumps and shape as cannot be easily counterfeited; only there is much dirt in holes and crevices of it, which must be pick'd out ere 'tis weighed.

The commodities that are most in demand upon the *Gold Coast*, are blue and red perpetuanoes, pewter basons of several sizes, from one to four pound weight, old sheets, large *Flemish* knives, iron bars, cases of spirits, blue sayes, if well dyed, and coral, if large and of a good colour. These goods will seldom or never fail of a good market. I also carried there on account of the *African* company, muskets, nicones, tapseals, bayfadoes, brass kettles, *English* carpets, *Welsh* plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, &c. None of which did answer expectation, being forced

to bring back to *England* a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate.

In the mornings early the blacks came aboard to trade, bringing their gold in divers little rags, according to the number of those who employ them to trade for them; which when we have blown and pick'd clean, we return what we dislike, and weigh the rest; for which we deliver them such commodities as they require to the value, which they will cast up by head to admiration. We are always very kind to good traders, giving them store of good punch and brandy; but such as bring very bad gold, we sometimes chastize; and to deter them from the like practice, we pour some *aqua fortis* upon it, which immediately turns all the brass that is amongst it, green, to the great admiration and confusion of the cheats, whom we turn away with severe threats, and sometimes put them in irons. Captain *Shurley*, at *Animabo*, threw two ounces of a negro's gold over board, because it was very full of brass, and never made the black a farthing satisfaction. Often some of the best traders will come and desire us to give them credit for the value in goods of two or three marks of gold, promising payment in a certain number of days, when their servants or boys (as they call them tho' they be sixty years old) return from the inland countries, with the produce in gold of such merchandize as they sent by them there to dispose of. Commonly they will leave some pledge in our hands till payment, as great collars of gold, and other large fatishes of exquisite workmanship, which their great men wear, and which they will be sure to redeem: but if we take their words, and they do not come and pay us according to promise, the method we take for satisfaction, is, to piniar or seize upon as many of the negroes of that town where our debtor lives, as we can, or as will come, to the value of the debt, which we secure aboard, and threaten to carry away with us if they be not redeemed; whereupon they send word to their friends and relations where they are, and upon what account they are piniar'd, and how much the debt is. Presently their friends demand a palavera before the king or great capashiers of the town, who oblige the debtor and his friends to provide the sum they owe, to release those that were piniar'd on their account, or else to deliver up themselves in their stead: but this is seldom done, we being very cautious in trusting them for any considerable value.

Carelessness of the negroes with regard to gun powder. The negroes are so little apprehensive of danger, that when we have sold them two or three barrels of powder, and they have got it into their canoo, they have bought a case of spirits and fallen to drinking and smoaking tobacco till they were drunk, all the while sitting a top of the barrels of powder, and letting the sparks from their pipes fall upon them without any concern, which created a terror in us to see, and by which means they are frequently blown up; so that it is our custom, as soon as we have sold them any powder, to make them take it into their canoo, and put off, and lie about two hundred yards from the ship till the rest of their business be completed, lest we might be injur'd by their stupid carelessness.

About one hundred yards from the castle is a redoubt built upon an ascent with two or three small guns mounted thereon, wherein two soldiers always keep watch, to give notice to the castle if they perceive any enemy or danger approaching. They get up into it by a ladder which they hale up after them, and keep therein till they descend again, being built after the same manner as the towers that lie along the coast of *Spain*, to give notice of the approach of any *Moors* or *Turkish* pirates; only those do it by beacons, whereas these fire their guns.

In the castle is kept a school to teach the little black children of the town to read and write, and so prepare them to be made christians. But such is the delusion and obstinacy of the negroes in their own superstitious paganism, that they are neither willing to be baptized themselves, nor will be prevail'd upon to let their children partake of that great and inestimable blessing of being lifted under the banners of the great captain of our salvation, but bring them up to be the devil's slaves, whom they worship under the disguise of their fausses.

Near the great gate is a dungeon for the confinement of heinous malefactors, such as murderers, traitors, &c. till an opportunity presents to send them into *England* to be tried, and receive the rewards of their villainy. Which dark apartment one of my trumpeters whose name was *William Lord*, hanfel'd; for being ashore drinking punch with some of the inferior officers of the castle, there happened a difference between him and one of the serjeants, who gave him a challenge to meet him with his sword near the redoubt, which the trumpeter promis'd, and was as good as his word; and both lugging out, it was the serjeant's chance to be thrust into the belly; upon which he

resign'd his sword, begg'd his life, and sunk down. Upon knowledge whereof at the castle, the trumpeter was seized and clap'd into the dungeon, which as soon as I understood, I desir'd the agents that their surgeon and mine might visit the serjeant, search his wound, and consult the consequence thereof, if mortal or not, which they freely agreed to; and in about an hour after the surgeons return'd, and made their report, both concurring that it was not mortal nor dangerous, the sword having only passed about five inches, glancing into the *abdomen*, without going thro' the belly, or injuring any of the entrails. Whereupon the trumpeter was releas'd; who after thanks given the agents, immediately repair'd aboard the ship, as his best *asylum*, where he was out of the reach of their power. But though he was so lucky this time, yet I suspect a halter will be his fate; for, tho' a stout fellow, he was a most dissolute wicked wretch; and for his villainies and irregularities aboard, I was forced, at *St. Thomas's* island, to clap him in irons, hands and feet, and keep him so upon my poop eight weeks till my arrival at *Barbadoes*, where I purpos'd to put him on board one of his majesty's men of war that knew how to handle such refractory sparks; but upon his seeming repentance and earnest intreaty I was prevail'd upon to forbear, to my great vexation afterwards; for he soon got ashore there, and run away from my ship, concealing himself in some of the idle houses in *Bridgetown*, till, by his extravagancies, he had not only spent all his wages, but run so far in debt, that he could have no longer entertainment or credit; whereupon he enter'd himself on board a small *New-England* frigate of twenty guns, and an excellent sailer, which some *Barbadoes* merchants bought and mann'd, and fitted out warlikely, and brought colonel *Russel* the governor to be part-owner with them, who gave her his commission. The pretence of her voyage was for *Madagascar* to purchase negroes; but as I privately understood then, and since have been well assured, her design was for the *Red Sea*, to make the best of her market with the *Mogul's* ships, which having done, and bought a few negroes for a colour, she might boldly and safely return to *Barbadoes* with her treasure, as long as the governor was interest'd, and a party concerned, and so near of kin to the *English* admiral. I sold a certain judge and merchant there then, a large parcel of fire-arms for her use, more than was customary or necessary for such a small vessel to carry only for her defence on a trading

PHIL- trading voyage. What became of her
LIPS. since I know not. My trumpeter's entring
February aboard her led me to speak so much of
1694. her; who being entertained in the gover-
nor's service, I found it was in vain to
have him and several others of my men
restor'd, who were tempted to desert me.
The rest of the merchant ships there
then, heavily felt the effects of fitting out
that ship, by the loss of their men;
which, together with the plague that vio-
lently reign'd there, the pressing for the
king's service to complete the men of
wars numbers, &c. were grown so scarce,
that an ordinary fellow would demand
thirty pounds pay for the voyage thence
to *England*, which is generally made in
six weeks, and to be discharg'd at the
first port in *England* we put into. Cap-
tain *Sinclair*, commander of the *Leere* fri-
gat, in my hearing, offer'd to pay cap-
tain *Thomas Sheirman*, commander of his
majesty's ship *Tyger*, under whose convoy
he was to come home, the sum of one
hundred pounds down presently; upon
condition he would lend him ten of the
worst men he had to help to sail his ship
home, and likewise pay the men what
wages they should demand; which cap-
tain *Sheirman* absolutely refused upon any
terms whatsoever.

At *Cabo Corce* we took in part of the
Indian corn ordered us for the provision
of our negroes to *Barbadoes*, the allow-
ance being a chest which contains about
four bushels for every negro. It is charg'd
to the company at two achies *per* chest, and
bare measure; but we could buy better
of the blacks at an achy and $\frac{1}{2}$, and heap'd
measure. Here is some palm oil, but it is
cheaper at *Whidaw*, tho' the island of *St.*
Thomas is the cheapest place, and where
there is most plenty of it.

The company had here a small brigan-
tine, commanded by one *Bradshaw*, for
the use of the castle, she being chiefly em-
ploy'd to carry stores and merchandize,
&c. to the other factories upon this coast.

While we lay at this place, the king
of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the
Arcanys arrived here, with about 20,000
Blacks, in their return from the wars
against the king of *Futtoo*, whom they
had routed out of his country, and forc'd
to seek protection at the *Mine*-castle, and
made his brother king, who soon followed
them to *Cape Corce* castle, where he took
the fatish to be at constant enmity with
his brother, to be ever true to the *English*
interest, and not to molest the *Arcanys* in
their trade, which was the occasion of the
war with his brother. But of this I shall
say more when I come to give an account
of their fatishes.

While we were here there happened a
wedding, as follows. The gunner of the
castle, either tir'd with, or disliking his
present wife, turn'd her away, and, while
we were here, took to him another,
being daughter to captain *Amo* one of
the castle capashiers; the wedding be-
ing concluded with only giving a treat
to the castle officers and some of her
jetty relations, and a cloth to herself,
they were man and wife; but when
they came to the point of consummation,
the girl being not above twelve years
old, found it so painful that she could not
bear it; which fretted the gunner to that
degree, that he grew angry with his new
wife; but finding that prevailed but little,
he bought three or four yards of red flow-
er'd silk from our ships; which shewing
his wife, promis'd to give it her for a cloth,
upon her passive obedience, and not other-
wise. The beauty of the silk so dazzled
the eyes of the girl, and so sooth'd her pride,
as that night it seems the gunner made a
breach with his cannon; for the next morn-
ing the lady was in her silks, and both
good friends.

The *Gold Coast* is more healthy and
hilly, and less woody than any other part
of *Guiney*, being cover'd with thick shrubs
and furzes, so that I could not go half a
mile into the inland, and therefore can
give no account of it.

When a factor sends a *Black* upon an
errand to another factor, though forty miles
distant, his passport is only the factor's
cane, which he delivers him; upon shew-
ing of which he is permitted to pass any
where unmolested, and has credence given
him, and confidence reposed in him by
the person he is sent to. The kings and
great capashiers here are very fond of
canes, and 'tis the greatest present the
African company can make them, each
of our castle capashiers having one as a
badge of his office; and the king of *Sabo*
had one given him about six foot long,
thick, and with a large silver head, which he
much esteem'd, and carried always with
him.

Having landed all the castle cargo,
which took us up a great deal of time,
the *East-India Merchant* and our ship ha-
ving each 300 tons of goods, and no
boats to load it in but our own long-
boats, which could not work both at
the same time, and sometimes the sea so
high, that we could do nothing for six
or seven days together, the canoes not
being able to come off to fetch the goods,
which occasion'd our long stay here, to-
gether with filling our water, disposing
of our windward cargo as much as we
could, the castle refusing to take the re-
mainder

mainder ashore on any terms, settling accounts with the company's chief merchants, taking corn aboard, &c. All which having at length effected, on the 24th of *April* about five in the evening, I took my leave of the company's worthy factors here, who had heap'd upon me abundance of civilities during my stay with them, and whose candour I shall always gratefully remember, as well as that of all the honest gentlemen of our nation upon this whole coast, who endeavour'd to outvie each other in their favours and kind entertainments of us in their several factories, being overjoy'd at our arrival, and no less troubled and concern'd for our departure. But go we must; and accordingly, after a great many reciprocal endearments, I wish'd them all a merry *Christmas*, and took boat, having two chests of gold for the *African* company in *London* with me in her. I had order'd the ship to be got under sail, and stand off and on in the road to expect us; but before we could reach her, we were overtaken by a very severe tornado, which, for fear of sinking the boat, the sea running very high, made us row right afore it, blowing extremely hard till ten o'clock at night, by which time we were drove half way between *Cape Corce* and the *Mine Castle*; but then having less wind, we turn'd the boat's head, and rowed to the east to look for the ship, which, about one in the morning, we found at anchor off of the *Danes Hill Fort*, which is about gun-shot from *Cape Corce Castle*, to the east, on the top of a round steep hill. It has ten guns, and is impregnable by its situation, if it has men and provisions sufficient. We got it from the *Danes*, and now Mr. *John Rootsey* was factor there for the company, with about twelve soldiers in garrison. It has a very good garden belonging to it at the foot of the hill, which produces a vast quantity of limes and oranges.

When we came aboard we got in the chests of gold, and hoisted our pinnace upon the booms, but were acquainted by my mate, that when he came to an anchor with the small bower in the tornado, bringing up the ship, the cable broke, so that he was forced to let go the best bower, by which we rid all night.

April the 25th. This morning we took our leave of the castle, paying our respects with fifteen guns, which they return'd, it being too late to salute them last night: About eight o'clock sent our long-boat on the buoy to weigh the small-bower anchor, and get him aboard, but he was so settled in the ground with the tornado, that in heaving a strain the buoy-rope broke, and the boat drove to leeward: we after sent our boats

with a taw-line and double-headed shot to sweep for him, but to no purpose, for they could not find him all day, therefore were forced to leave him behind: Captain *Sburley* got into *Animabo* this day, but the seeking for our anchor hinder'd us.

The 26th at six in the morning we hove up our best bower, and stood to the E. for

Animabo; we pass'd by *Maury*, or *Fort Nassaw*, possess'd by the *Dutch*; 'tis about a league from *Cape Corce*; it lies high, and looks like a handsome small modern fortification, of about sixteen or twenty guns; but I was not ashore there, therefore can say no more of it. About nine o'clock we were abreast *Anishen*, which is a thatch'd house, where our *African* company have a small factory, and lies about a league short of *Animabo*, where about ten o'clock we arriv'd, and anchor'd in seven fathom water; about a mile and half off shore, the castle bearing N. W. which we saluted with seven guns, and were return'd the same. We moor'd our ship with ketch-anchor and hauser; and after dinner I went ashore to Mr. *Searle* the factor here, to know where and when we should send for the corn assign'd us here by the chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, there being not enough to supply us there, and therefore were to call for the rest at this place and *Aena*, to complete our quantity of 700 chests each. Mr. *Searle* immediately order'd what quantity he had to be deliver'd us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night, when Capt. *Sburley* and I went aboard. *Animabo* lies in the kingdom of *Fantine*, is a pretty large town; the *Negro* inhabitants are accounted very bold and stout fellows, but the most desperate treacherous villains, and greatest cheats upon the whole coast, for the gold here is accounted the worst, and most mix'd with brass, of any in *Guinea*; it lies about four leagues to the east of *Cabo Corce*. Our castle is pretty strong, of about eighteen guns, where we were very kindly entertain'd by Mr. *Searle* some days, and by Mr. *Cooper* at *Aga* on other days.

Aga is a small thatch'd house, about half a mile to the east from *Animabo* on the sea-shore, having little or no defence except a few muskets. It has a large yard and fine pond for ducks. Mr. *Cooper* the factor, who is a very ingenious young gentleman, gave us a cordial reception, having the company of his wife (as he call'd her) to dine with us, as we had of Mrs. *Searle's* at *Animabo*, being both *Mulattos*, as was Mr. *Ronons's* at *Cabo Corce*. This is a pleasant way of marrying, for they can turn them off and take others at pleasure; which makes them very careful to humour their husbands, in washing their linen, cleaning their chambers,

PHIL-
LIPS.
April
1694.

PHIL- &c. and the charge of keeping them is lit-
LIPS. tle or nothing.

~~~~~ We lay at *Animabo* until the 2d day of  
May *May*, when captain *Shurley* and I having  
1694. each of us got off 180 chests of corn, fill'd  
two boats of water, and dispos'd of what  
we could of the remainder of our wind-  
ward cargo, we took leave of Mr. *Searle*  
and Mr. *Cooper*, and got up our anchors,  
and stood to the E. along shore about two  
leagues distant; and at night came to an  
anchor in fifteen fathom water. While we  
lay at *Animabo* we had frequently the com-  
pany of Mr. *Fasleman*, the Dutch governor  
of *Cormantine Castle*, to dine with us, and  
were handsomely treated at dinner one day  
by him at his castle of *Cormantine*, and the  
next day he and our factors favour'd me  
with their company aboard the *Hannibal*.  
*Cormantine* is a pretty neat fort of about  
twenty guns, lying much higher than ours,  
and about a league to the east of it. Du-  
ring our stay here, Mr. *Henry Nurse*, eldest  
son to agent *Nurse*, a very hopeful young  
gentleman, departed this life aboard the  
*East-India Merchant*, where he was third  
mate. Out of respect to him captain *Shur-  
ley* and I sent our boats and officers to attend  
the corpse to *Cape Coast Castle* to be bu-  
ried. When it put off from our ships we  
fired each twenty guns at half a minute's  
distance, as usual in such cases. He was in-  
terr'd in a by place in the castle very de-  
cently, as we were inform'd by our officers  
that return'd at night, and had all rings  
given them, as had all the factors of the  
castle. I had two little *Negro* boys pre-  
sented me here by our honest factors, and  
two before at *Cape Corce*, with good store  
of *Muscovy* ducks and other fresh provi-  
sions.

Corman-  
tine.

*May* the 3d. This morning we got un-  
der sail, and stood along shore for *Winiba*.  
We had several canoos come off, which oc-  
casion'd our lying by often in hopes of trade,  
but found little, they wanting gold. At  
eight in the evening we anchor'd, lest we  
should out-shoot our port.

*May* the 4th. This morning at eight  
made sail, and at eleven came to an anchor  
at *Winiba* in nine fathom good ground; and  
having moor'd ship after dinner, went a-  
shore to see for our canoos, which Mr. *Ni-  
cholas Buckerige*, the factor here, had pro-  
mis'd to procure us for our use at *Whi-  
daw*.

Here we got each of us one five-hand  
canoo, and set our canoo-men and carpen-  
ters to work to fit them with knees and  
timbers to strengthen them. We hal'd  
our long-boat ashore and trimm'd him, be-  
ing leaky and much worm-eaten. We fill'd  
some water, and cut good store of fire-

wood, by the queen's permission. This  
queen is about fifty years old, as black as  
jet, but very corpulent. We went with  
Mr. *Buckerige* to pay our respects to her un-  
der a great tree where she sat. She received  
us very kindly, and made her attendants  
dance after their manner before us. She  
was very free of her kisses to Mr. *Buckerige*,  
whom she seem'd much to esteem; and  
truly he deserved it from all that knew him,  
being an extraordinary good-humoured and  
ingenious gentleman, and understood this  
country and language very well. We pre-  
sented her with an anchor of brandy each,  
and some hands of tobacco, which she re-  
ceived with abundance of thanks and fa-  
tisfaction, and so bid her good night. She  
was so extremely civil before we parted, to  
offer each of us a bed-fellow of her young  
maids of honour while we continued there,  
but we modestly declined her majesty's  
proffer, and that night lay ashore with Mr.  
*Buckerige*. Next day we were forced to keep  
a fast; for the cook being dressing of din-  
ner, among which there was a young pig  
roasting at a quick fire, the flame of it  
reached the dry palm branches that thatch'd  
the kitchen, which immediately took fire,  
and spread so in an instant, that, in less  
than a quarter of an hour, our dinner and  
kitchen were converted to ashes. Mr. *Buck-  
erige* lived here in a little thatched house  
with mud walls, without any defence, and  
was often in great fear and hazard of be-  
ing destroyed and plundered by the *Quam-  
boers*, who are an inland people, and fre-  
quently make ravages towards the sea-side  
for booty, and had sent him some threat-  
ning messages, though the queen assured  
him, that she would lose her own life be-  
fore he should receive any injury; but he  
little depended upon that, but was very glad  
our ships were there for a safe retreat upon  
occasion. And one night being alarmed  
with a rumour that the *Quamboers* were  
upon their march towards the town, he  
packed up all the company's goods ready  
to come aboard us, but that he was in-  
formed soon that it was a causeless report.  
He was building of a fort for his security  
about a musket-shot from the sea-side,  
upon an eminence, and had raised the  
walls about eight feet high, square, and  
dug a tank within; but not having work-  
men nor other necessaries from *Cape Corce*,  
as he expected and wanted, the building  
went on but slowly, to his great vexation,  
who had now covered the tops of the walls  
with palm branches, against the rainy sea-  
son, to keep the water from soaking in  
to decay them. He made bricks here,  
but sad crumbling unserviceable trash:  
and, as he told me, necessity had forced  
him



him to pound oyster-shells into powder, to serve for lime to make mortar, there being store of oysters on this coast, and the said oyster lime would fasten and cement very well; there was not above 20 houses in this town: round it are pleasant fields inclos'd with good hedges, and full of *Indian* corn and good grass, this country lying low; about a mile from the town towards the inland are divers large lakes or ponds of water; on the sides of which we saw many *Guiney* hens, and great diversity of other fowls, but the best sight was the vast herds of wild deer, which rang'd the plains about these lakes; of which I can modestly affirm, that I have seen 500 at once, but so very wild that they would not suffer us to come within shot of them; being inform'd by Mr. *Buckerige*, that the negroes method of killing them, was to lie perdue near the fountain where they came to drink in the night, and so take their conveniency of shooting them; and we being desirous to regale ourselves with a haunch of venison, left my gunner and the gunner of the *East-India Merchant*, with guns and ammunition near the lakes, to make wars with them in the night, at their own instance, who promis'd to victual our ships with venison by next day, having both been old deer-stealers in *England*, and understood the trade; but they were now it seems out of their element, for next day they return'd to us loaden with excuses, but no venison,

Here are a vast number of over-grown large baboons, some as big as a large mastiff dog, which go in droves of 50 and 100 together, and are very dangerous to be met with, especially by women; whom I have been credibly assured they have often seized upon, ravished, and in that kind abused one after another, till they have killed them. Here is plenty of wood, and good watering, but both about a mile to the east of the town.

Mr. *Buckerige* had a good trade here for gold, and were the fort that is begun compleated and armed, for the defence of the company's goods and factors, as well as the town and traders from free-booters, it would certainly turn to the *African* company's great advantage, there being no other nation near to molest or interfere in the trade, nor will the queen permit any other nation to settle here, tho' she complained that our agents at *Cape Coast* did neglect her in not sending her a cane, and a piece of silk for a cloth, according to promise; the same goods are in demand here as to windward on the *Gold Coast*.

Our business being compleated at *Winiba* by the 9th instant, we went aboard and got our ships under sail for *Acra*, Mr. *Buckerige* going my passenger, to pay a visit to Mr.

*Bloome* the factor there. Capt. *Shurley* has been long sick of a flux and fever, and is now very ill, and I troubled with violent convulsions in my head, that I can get no sleep without opiates, and so giddy that I cannot walk without assistance; we stood along shore all day with an easy sail to the east, and at night came to an anchor in 14 fathom water, with our stream-anchor and cable, which we have chiefly used along the whole coast for the easiness of weighing him.

May the 10th. This day had a fine gale at S. W. steering within two leagues of the shore along to the east till night, when chopt to an anchor in 11 fathom clay ground.

May the 11th. This day we lay becalm'd.

May the 12th. We weigh'd early this morning, with a small breeze at W. S. W. and at 10 saw *Acra* fort; and at 12 let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two mile off shore: here Mr. *John Bloome* the factor ordered us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 chests a-piece, which we got aboard, filled some water, and had pretty good trade, which encouraged us to stay till the 17th, in which time we took 14 marks of gold, and 13 more in our way from *Cape Corce* here, having taken in all upon the coast for produce of as much of my windward cargo as I could dispose of, 113 marks of gold, for account of the royal *African* company and the owners of the ship. I bought a five-hand canoo here of the *Black* general, who had surprized and seized the *Danes* fort here, forced the *Danes* general to fly to the *Dutch* to save his life, murdered his second and several of the soldiers, and now trades with the *Dutch* interlopers, and supplies them with water and other necessaries, which they can get no where else, except the islands of *St. Thomas* and *Princes*. When the castle was surprized there was store of merchandize of all kinds therein, and above 50 marks of gold, as I was informed by the *Danes* general, who soon left the *Dutch* and came to *Cape Corce* castle, where he was very kindly received and entertained by our agents; but finding no ships of his own nation arrive, he accepted of the offer I made him of his passage gratis, with us to *Europe*, tho' he owned he was in great fear of being called to an account in *Denmark* for the loss of the castle, it being surprized by a parcel of negroes that were admitted in, under pretence to trade, but were privately armed, and while his second was shewing them goods, one of them stabbed him behind, and then disperfed to secure all the others in the castle, having a party lying concealed without, to assist them

PHIL-  
LIPS.

May  
1694.

The  
Danes fort  
taken by  
the Blacks.



PHIL- them upon signal given; the general hear-  
LIPS. ing a disorder in the castle, came out of his  
chamber with his sword in his hand to see  
May what was the matter, and was immediately  
1094. assaulted by two *Blacks*, against whom he  
made good his ground for some time, call-  
ing to his second and soldiers for assistance,  
but finding none come, but in their stead  
more armed *Blacks*, he betook him to a  
window, whence he flung himself out, and  
fled to the *Dutch* as before, but not with-  
out receiving several wounds, one of which  
had disabled his left arm; he was a young  
man about twenty-six years of age, which  
possibly may occasion the more reflections  
upon him; for what accidents happen to  
old men are passed over, and looked upon  
as not to be avoided; whereas the same  
happening to a young man, are generally  
imputed to his ignorance, carelessness, or  
intemperance, tho' he may have more  
sense, care and sobriety, than many of  
the formal long-beards.

The Black  
general's  
entertain-  
ment.

This *Black* general sent two of his ser-  
vants to invite Mr. *Bloome*, Mr. *Buckerige*,  
and myself, to dine with him, which we  
accepted, and were carried there in ham-  
mocks he had sent to attend us; when we  
came to enter the castle the guard demand-  
ed our swords, which Mr. *Bloome* and Mr.  
*Buckerige*, and the rest delivered, but I re-  
fused, at which they seemed concerned,  
and went to acquaint the general, who  
himself came to receive us, and told me  
it was always the custom, that all who en-  
tered there left their swords at the gate.  
I replied that might be, but that it was  
never the custom of *English* commanders  
to part with their swords, upon any ac-  
count whatsoever; in which finding me re-  
solute, he seemed satisfied and led us in;  
he shewed us the way into the dining room,  
which was by climbing up a ladder, and  
entring thro' a hole, or scuttle: when we  
were ascended he drank to us in a glass of  
brandy, and all the guns in the fort were  
discharged; after we had walked about a  
quarter of an hour in the castle, I pulled  
off my sword of my own accord, and gave  
it my own boy to hold, which I perceived  
he took very kindly.

We were treated at dinner with plenty  
of punch and victuals, and indeed pretty  
well dressed, considering the swinish man-  
ner it is the custom of the negroes to eat;  
but we were obliged for it to the experience  
the *Black* general got in one of our facto-  
ries, where he had served sometime in  
quality of cook, and now went very often  
into the kitchen to give the necessary or-  
ders, tho' at dinner he was in great state,  
having a negro boy with a pistol on each  
side him for a guard: He drank the king  
of *England's*, the *African* company's, and

our own healths frequently, with volleys  
of cannon, of which he fired above 200,  
during our stay there: The flag he had  
flying was white, with a black man painted  
in the middle brandishing a scymiter: The  
castle is old and much out of repair; it  
has about 16 guns, but much out of kel-  
ter; it lies about four miles to the east of  
our castle; in our return from thence we  
killed four hares with clubs, of which  
vermin here are vast numbers, in the sedge  
and furzes, which are hereabouts very  
thick: Mr. *Bloome*, with a little spaniel  
he had, would in half an hour's time take  
three or four of them when he pleased;  
but I thought them very insipid meat: The  
next day after our being with the *Black*  
general, arrived at *Acra* two *Danish* ships of  
26 guns a-piece; as they passed by our ships  
they saluted us with nine guns each, which  
we returned, and they came to an anchor  
about a mile to the east of us; they were  
sent on purpose from *Denmark* to compound  
with the *Black* general for the surrendering  
of their fort, and to settle it again, for  
which end they had brought with them a  
governor, soldiers, provisions, ammunition,  
merchandize, &c. They made some pro-  
positions to the *Black* general while we were  
here, but his demands were so exorbitant,  
that they would not comply with them;  
tho' since I understood that the fort was de-  
livered to them, upon signing an instru-  
ment, to quit all pretensions of reparation,  
or satisfaction, from the *Black* general and  
his accomplices, for seizing the castle, and  
for the merchandize and 50 marks of gold  
that were in it at the time of seizure, and  
pay down 50 marks of gold more upon  
delivery of the castle; all which they per-  
formed, and having resettled it, went for  
*Whidaw* to purchase slaves, and in their  
voyage thence to the *West-Indies*, put into  
the island of *Princes* for water, where *Avery*  
the pirate fell in with them, fought, took,  
plundered, and burnt them, which was the  
unhappy end of their voyage. The poor  
*Danish* general went from us aboard his  
countrymen, but not without reluctance,  
and fear of being harshly treated in *Den-*  
*mark*; but it seems *Long Ben* (as they called  
that rogue *Avery*) prevented that.

Captain *Thomas Shurley*, commander of Captain  
the *East-India Merchant*, my consort, de-  
parted this life here, having been long sick  
of a fever and flux; he was handsomely  
buried in *Acra* castle *a la Soldado*, his  
own ship firing guns at half a minute  
distance, during the time the corpse was  
rowing ashore: Mr. *Bloome*, myself, Mr.  
*Buckerige*, and the chief of the *Dutch* fac-  
tory, held up the pall; after he was buried,  
according to the service of the church of  
*England*, his own ship fired 30 guns, the  
*Hannibal*



*Hannibal* 26, *Acra* fort 20, and the *Dutch* and *Blacks* fort 16 each: He was very averse to making a will, and took it amiss when I urged him to it; he left the command of his ship to his first mate, Mr. *Clay*, and as to his own concerns, said his purser, Mr. *Price*, knew how all lay.

*Acra* fort. *Acra* fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garrison, not consisting of above twelve white men; it is in form square, having a bastion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted; the south flanker fell down while we were here, the rain having soaked in, and washed away the clay and mortar from the stones, for want of lime therein, and were now building it up after the old careless rate. The *Dutch* fort of sixteen guns lies about musket-shot from ours, much higher, so that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of mischief, in case of a war; for there could no men ply our guns but they could pick off with their small shot: The town here is very small, not consisting of twenty houses, but in the inland is grand *Acra*, and other large towns, whence we have a good trade for gold, which is perfectly good and pure; hereabouts there are more lions, tygers, leopards, muscats, and other ravenous creatures, than in any other parts of *Guiney*, as I was informed by Mr. *Bloome*, who had sent hence a young tyger to Mr. *Ronan* at *Cape Corce*, which was very tame, and he presented me with, and I kept him in a wooden cage aboard, feeding him with guts of fowls, and other garbage, for he would eat nothing but flesh; he was so very gentle, that any of our white men might play with him thro' the cage with their hands, but at the sight of the blacks he would be outrageous; I have frequently put my hand in his mouth, taken him by the tongue and paw, without offering me the least injury, but wantonly playing, and permitting himself to be stroaked like a cat, which he did in all kinds resemble, but that he was finely spotted like a leopard, and about the size of an ordinary grey hound, and as slender in his limbs and body, but he at length discovered himself to be a true tiger, and that there was no changing of nature, as by the sequel will appear. I had purchased two civet-cats, which exactly resembled one of our foxes, except that their colour was a light grey, being about the same size; they were kept in wood coops, and fed with flower and water boil'd, but the civetty scent they so strongly emitted, was so offensive to me, that I never cared to come near them. We bought several monkeys, baboons, and parrots, for a piece of eight each of a *Dutch* interloper, who was come from *An-*

*gola*, where are accounted the best green parrots.

May the 16th. We had a very extraordinary fierce tornado, when riding only by our stream anchor, and being near the *East-India Merchant*, and in her haufe, lest we should drive aboard her, if the stream cable gave way, my mate let go the best bower anchor, by which he rid till the storm was over; then going to heave it up again, the cable broke; the longboat then was sent upon the buoy, but in heaving a strain, the new buoy-rope, of eight inches, broke also; we then swept him with a new shroud hauser of seven inches, but that broke as the rest; we swept him again with the new end of our stream cable of twelve inches, and brought it to the capstern, and hove the ship apeak, then heaving a mighty strain to weigh him, the stream cable broke likewise; then, as our last effort, we resolved to try what could be done with the sheet cable, the end of which by the help of negro divers, we got past under the shank, then clapt a hitch upon it, which being well seized we brought the cable to the geer capstern; and hove right up and down a great strain, then clapt on stoppers, and resolved to let the ship bob at him all night, to weaken and loose the anchor in the ground; having good flat service in the haufe, we got aboard our stream anchor, being now well fast, and resolving to venture no more anchors aground here, if we could not get up our best bower; having only the sheet and stream anchors to trust to.

May the 17th. In the morning we went to work, having the *East-India Merchant's* men and boatswain to assist us. We brought the sheet-cable to the geer-capstern; a violl, with runners and tackles, to our main-capstern, and had the greatest strain with both that I ever saw, steaving in *Turkey* being nothing to it. I expected every minute when something would give way; and immediately the cable broke within three feet of the haufehold, being a new cable of sixteen inches, and never wet before. This is the most holding ground that ever I knew: We being oblig'd to weigh our stream-anchor every night and morning, lest it should settle so far into the clay as not to be able to get it up. Few ships come here but leave their anchors behind them, as we were forced now; for having compleated all my business on shore, I set sail, and stood off and on all night, to wait for the *East-India Merchant*, which joined me next morning: by which time, the current had drove me above four leagues to the east of *Acra*, notwithstanding I did my best to keep up to windward; so that

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A tornado?



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I was forc'd to part from *Acra* without taking leave of honest Mr. *Buckrige* and *Bloome*. The *East-India Merchant* left her best bower-anchor behind as well as I, their cable breaking in weighing it, and not having time to endeavour its recovery.

May the 18th. We steer'd all day within two leagues along shore, (which is low and very woody) with a brave top-gallant gale at W. S. W.; at twelve at night were off the river of *Volta*, where our water shoal'd very much, which occasioned us to steer off and keep the lead going every glass; but when we were over the bank of sand, (which the violent stream of that vast river has carried with it above three leagues into the sea) we deepened our water again. I was told, that the strength of the current of this river, where it exonerates itself, occasions the water to be fresh at sea for two or three leagues, and for satisfaction, when we were upon the bank against the boak of it, I had some sea-water taken up and tasted it, but found it as salt as any where else.

May the 19th. Steering along shore within three leagues, with fine easy gale, we spy'd a canoo making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and staid for her; when she came aboard the master of her brought in three women and four children to sell, but they asked very dear for them, and they were almost dead for want of victuals, looking like meer skeletons, and so weak that they could not stand, so that they were not worth buying; he promised to procure us 2 or 300 slaves if we would anchor, come ashore, and stay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the sample he brought us, and being loth to venture ashore upon his bare word, where we did not use to trade, and had no factory, we sent him away, and pursued our voyage; besides that we were upon the *Alampo* coast, which negroes are esteem'd the worst and most washy of any that are brought to the *West-Indies*, and yield the least price; why I know not, for they seem as well limb'd and lusty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceived in them, was, that they are not so black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes else upon the whole coast (as I observed) are: The negroes most in demand at *Barbadoes*, are the *Gold Coast*, or, as they call them, *Cormantines*, which will yield 3 or 4 *l.* a head more than the *Whidaw*, or, as they call them, *Papa* negroes; but these are preferred before the *Angola*, as they are before the *Alampo*, which are accounted the worst of all.

Arrival at *Whidaw*. May the 20th. This morning about nine o'clock we arrived at *Whidaw*, being

about sixty leagues from *Acra* to the east, and let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two miles off shore, and moor'd with our stream anchor right against the landing place, a little to the west of the great thick tuft of trees that looks like a barn, and other trees at the east end of it, making like a tower. This day got our canoos and all things else ready, in order to go ashore to-morrow to purchase our slaves.

May the 21st. This morning I went ashore at *Whidaw*, accompany'd by my doctor and purser, Mr. *Clay*, the present captain of the *East-India Merchant*, his doctor and purser, and about a dozen of our seamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reside till we could purchase 1300 negro slaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal*, and 650 for the *East-India Merchant*, according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the royal *African* company; in procuring which quantity of slaves we spent about nine weeks, during which time what observations my indisposition with convulsions in my head, &c. would permit me to make on this country, its trade, manners, &c. are as follow, viz.

*Whidaw* or *Quedaw*, lies in the latitude of 6° 10' N. latitude, being the pleasantest country I have seen in *Guiney*, consisting of champaigns and small ascending hills, beautified with always green shady groves of lime, wild orange, and other trees, and irrigated with divers broad fresh rivers, which yield plenty of good fish; towards the sea-shore it is very marshy, and has divers large swamps.

Our factory lies about three miles from the sea-side, where we were carried in hammocks, which the factor Mr. *Joseph Peirson*, sent to attend our landing, with several armed blacks that belonged to him for our guard; we were soon truss'd in a bag, toss'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory; and this way of travelling being rarely used any where except in *Africa*, I think it may not be amiss to give some description of it.

The hammock is a large cloth made of cotton generally, but the factors have them very fine of silk, or broad-cloth; it's about nine foot long, and six or seven broad, slung at both ends with several small cords or ribbands, which draw up the ends of the hammock like a purse; at the end of which is a noose fitted to slip over the ends of a pole, about nine foot long, which cloth or hammock the traveller gets into, and either lies along or sits as he is dispos'd, then he is mounted on the heads of two negroes, which have small rolls of linen betwixt

Manner of  
travelling  
in ha-  
mocks.



betwixt the ends of the poles and their heads, and away they will walk and run as fast as most horses can trot, chearfully singing in parts to each other till they are quite tired, when, upon notice given, they are relieved by two fresh, and they in course by two more, there always being six negroes to attend the hammock, which are stild hammock-men; and of these there are several sets, like our hackney's, to be lett at easy rates, to such as are not able to keep sets of their own, as the cappaishiers and great men do, who use often to compliment us with their hammocks, to carry us from the king's town to our factory, which use to cost us more than if they were hired, their slaves incessantly importuning and dunning us for brandy and other dashes, which for our quiet's sake we were forc'd to give them, tho' they reap'd but small benefit thereby, their patroons taking all from them at their return. This country admits of no other kind of travelling for *Europeans*, by reason of the extraordinary and violent heat of the sun, in which an *Englishman* can scarcely walk half a mile without fainting; but the hammock travelling relieves us much; for as we sit or lie in that, there is a thin cloth thrown over the pole, which keeps the sun heat off, and lying down hollow on each side the hammock, with the motion of the negroes, attracts a fine cooling air; I have often taken pleasant naps in them travelling, and the generality of people in the *West-Indies* sleep in them of nights.

When any cappaishier or man of puncto travels, he has ten or a dozen blacks, with guns, to attend his hammock, making great huzzaiings according to their way, and firing along the road; and when arrived at his journey's end they fire a volley, which is the utmost of his grandeur.

Here are some horses, but very small, wild, and of no use but to eat, which the negroes do greedily, as well as dog's flesh, esteeming the last their greatest dainty.

Our factory, built by captain *Wiburne*, Sir *John Wiburne's* brother, stands low near the marshes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the *African* company send there, seldom returning to tell their tale; 'tis compass'd round with a mud wall, about six foot high, and on the south-side is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd house, where the factor lives, with the white men; also a store-house, a trunk for slaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is also a good forge, and some other small houses: To the east are two small flankers of mud, with a few pop-guns and harquebusses, which serve

more to terrify the poor ignorant negroes than to do any execution; while we were here the factor made a wide deep ditch, round the factory, and had my carpenters to make a draw-bridge over it, which has render'd it now pretty secure; for before it was enterable every rainy time, the walls being washed down, and when the rains were over, built up again. And here I must observe that the rainy season begins about the middle of *May*, and ends the beginning of *August*, in which space it was my misfortune to be there, which created sicknesses among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the most malignant season by the blacks themselves, who while the rains last, will hardly be prevail'd upon to stir out of their huts, and myself and poor men found it so by dear experience, the rains that fall down then being more like fountains then drops, and as hot as if warmed over a fire.

The factory is about 200 yards in circumference, and a most wretched place to live in, by reason of the swamps adjacent, whence proceed noisome stinks, and vast swarms of little flies, call'd musketoes, which are so intolerably troublesome, that if one does not take opium, laudanum, or some other soporifick, 'tis impossible to get any sleep in the night; and that one I lay there was the most uneasy that I ever felt, for I had not lain down above an hour in the factor's bed, but I was so vex'd and tormented by those little malicious animals, that I was forced to get up again, and dress myself, put gloves on my hands, and tie a handkerchief over my face till day-light, which notwithstanding these troublesome devils would sting thro'; and the place so stung would be much inflam'd, and rise into a knob, much provoking the exercise of a man's nails; and had king *James* the first been there some time, he would have been convinc'd that scratching where it itches was not the greatest pleasure in the world, as 'tis said was his opinion. The best means I could find to allay the inflammation, was to rub the parts affected with lime-juice, or vinegar, which tho' for the present it produced a smart, the ease it gave, in a short time, made abundant recompence; therefore to shun the spight of this curst little fie as much as we can, as well as to give us some cool air, (that which is confin'd in a close place in this country, appearing as intensely hot to an *European*, as if he suck'd in the heat at the mouth of an oven in *England*) we have negro boys to fan us all night with large fans made of skins. This factory, seated as 'tis, proved very beneficial to us, by housing our goods which came ashore late, and could not arrive at the king's town (where

Unwhol-  
somness of  
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(where I kept my warehouse) ere it was dark, when they would be very incident to be pilfer'd by the negro porters which carry them, at which they are most exquisite; for in the day-time they would steal the cowries, altho' our white men that attended the goods from the marine watched them, they having instruments like wedges, made on purpose to force asunder the staves of the barrels, that contain'd the cowries, whereby the shells dropt out; and when any of our seamen that watch'd the goods came near such porters, they would take out their machine, and the staves would insensibly close again, so that no hole did appear, having always their wives and children running by them to carry off the plunder; which with all our threats and complaints made to the king, we could not prevent, tho' we often beat them cruelly, and pinar'd some, but it was all one, what was bred in the bone, &c. whatever we could do would not make them forbear.

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind; for after we had procured a parcel of slaves, and sent them down to the sea-side to be carry'd off, it sometimes proved bad weather, and so great a sea, that the canoes could not come ashore to fetch them, so that they returned to the factory, where they were secured and provided for till good weather presented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we sometimes shipping off a hundred of both sexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. *Peirson*, was a brisk man, and had good interest with the king, and credit with the subjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very dastard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occasion requir'd; most of his slaves belonging to the factory, being *Gold Coast* negroes, who are very bold, brave, and sensible, ten of which would beat the best forty men the king of *Whidaw* had in his kingdom; besides their true love, respect and fidelity to their master, for whose interest or person they will most freely expose their own lives.

From the factory to the king's town is about four miles, thro' very pleasant fields, full of *India* and *Guiney* corn, potatoes, yams in great plenty, of which they have two harvests yearly.

On the road to the king's town are several little villages, or parcels of houses, which the negroes call *crooms*, and have each of them a captain, few of the houses being above five yards high, having no light but at the door, except the chief houses, which may have a hole bor'd thro' the walls; they are much like our sheep-houses in *Wales*, having for most part but

one room, where they eat and sleep together, the generality on the bare ground; the cappaheirs may have a mat spread under them, and a stone or hard bundle for a pillow. As soon as the king understood of our landing, he sent two of his cappaheirs, or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where we design'd to continue that night, and pay our devoirs to his majesty next day, which we signify'd to them, and they, by a foot-express, to their monarch; whereupon he sent two more of his grantees to invite us there that night, saying he waited for us, and that all former captains used to attend him the first night: whereupon, being unwilling to infringe the custom, or give his majesty any offence, we took our hammocks, and Mr. *Peirson*, myself, captain *Clay*, our surgeons, purfers, and about twelve men armed for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about fifty houses. When we came to visit to the palace (which was the meanest I ever the king saw, being low mud walls, the roof thatched, the floor the bare ground, with some pools of water and dirt in it) we were met at the entrance by several cappaheirs, with the usual ceremony of clapping their hands, and taking and shaking us by ours, with great demonstration of affection: when we entered the palace-yard they all fell on their knees near the door of the room where the king was, clapping their hands, knocking the ground with their foreheads, and kissing it, which they repeated three times, being their usual ceremony when they approached his majesty, we standing and observing till they had done; then rising, they led us to the room where the king was, which we found cover'd with his nobility upon their knees, and those that introduced us fell on theirs, and crawled to their several stations, and so they continued all the time we were with the king then, and all other times when we saw him.

When we were entered, the king peep'd upon us from behind a curtain, and beckoned us to him; whereupon we approached close to his throne, which was of clay, raised about two foot from the ground, and about six foot square, surrounded with old dirty curtains, always drawn betwixt him and his cappaheirs, whom he will not allow the sight of his handsome phiz. He had two or three little black children with him, and was smoaking tobacco in a long wooden pipe, the bole of which, I dare say, would hold an ounce, and rested upon his throne, with a bottle of brandy and a little dirty silver cup by his side; his head was tied about with a roll of coarse callico, and he had a loose gown of red damask to cover him; he



he has gowns and mantles of rich silver and gold brocaded silks, trimm'd with flowers of small party-coloured beads, which were presents made him, as he told us, by white captains, who traded there, and his variety of which he often shewed us; but he never wore shirt, shoe, nor stocking, in his life.

We saluted him with our hats, and he took us by the hands, snapt our fingers, and told us we were very welcome, that he was glad to see us, that he long'd for it, and that he lov'd *Englishmen* dearly, that we were his brothers, and that he would do us all the good offices he could; we returned him thanks by his interpreter, and assured him how great affection our masters, the royal *African* company of *England*, bore to him, for his civility and fair and just dealing with their captains; and that notwithstanding there were many other places, more plenty of negro slaves that begg'd their custom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had sent us to trade with him, to supply his country with necessaries, and that we hoped he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind usage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our slaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his capparheirs to do us justice, and not impose upon us in their prices; all which we should faithfully relate to our masters, the royal *African* company, when we came to *England*. He answered, that the *African* company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we should be fairly dealt with, and not imposed upon: But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his capparheirs shew him so much respect) dare he do any thing but what they please.

He desired us to sit down upon a bench close by him, which we did; then he drank to us his brother the king of *England*'s health, the *African* company's, our welcome, &c. in brandy and pitto, which is a pleasant liquor made of *Indian* corn, soak'd in water, some so strong that it will keep three months, and two quarts will fuddle a man; it drinks much like new ale. We had not staid long before there came a repast on a little square table, with an old sheet for a cloth, old battered pewter plates and spoons, with a large pewter basin of the same hue with his majesty's complexion, fill'd with stew'd fowls and broth, and a wooden bowl of boil'd potatoes to serve instead of bread; we had no napkins, knives, nor forks laid us, nor do they ever use any, but always tear their meat; and indeed we had no oc-

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casion for any, for our fowls were boil'd to such mash, that they would not bear carving. We had no great stomach to our dainties, however, in complaisance to his majesty, we supp'd two or three spoonfuls of the broth, which was very well relish'd with malagetta and red pepper; we often drank to the king out of a cup made of a cocoa-nut shell, which was all the plate I saw he had, except a little silver dram cup. He would bow to us, kiss his hand, and burst out often in loud screaming laughter. When we had signify'd to his majesty that we had satisfy'd our stomachs with his dainties, he gave some of the fowls out of the broth, with his own hands, to the little children that were with him, and the rest among his nobles, who scrambled for it on their bellies like so many dogs, making spoons of their hands, which they would dip into the broth, and then lick'd them, which sight did affect my stomach so much, (tho' it is not very nice) that I had much ado to refrain making them an addition of what I had eaten.

When they had done, the king ask'd for Capt. *Shurley*, and we acquainted him that he died upon the *Gold Coast* at *Acra*, when of a sudden his note was changed from laughing to a loud howling and crying, wringing his hands and often wiping his eyes, (tho' no tears came out) saying that *Shurley* was his great friend; that he was exceedingly troubled for his death, and that the *Gold Coast* negroes had given him something to drink which killed him; then he told us of mortar pieces, pictures, silks, and many other things, Capt. *Shurley* promised to bring him for presents; when Mr. *Clay* told him there were no such things on board, he seemed to be angry, and told *Clay* that he was sure they were brought, but because *Shurley* was dead he would keep them for himself; but to appease him we promised to present him with blunderbuffes, silks, &c. which we had from the royal *African* company for that purpose; so after having examined us about our cargo, what sort of goods we had, and what quantity of slaves we wanted, &c. we took our leaves and returned to the factory having promised to come in the morning to make our palavera or agreement with him about prices, how much of each sort of our goods for a slave.

According to promise we attended his majesty with samples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his capparheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as *per* the latter end; then we had warehouses, a kitchen, and lodgings assigned us, but none of our rooms

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had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our customs to the king and cappasheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was ordered to go about to give notice to all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to sell us; this bell is a hollow piece of iron in shape of a sugar loaf, the cavity of which would contain about 50 lb. of cowries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a stick, which made a small dead sound.

We were every morning, during our stay here, invited to breakfast with the king, where we always found the same dish of stew'd fowls and potatoes; he also would send us a hog, goat, sheep, or pot of pitto every day for our table, and we usually return'd his civility with three or four bottles of brandy, which is his *sum-mum bonum*: We had our cook ashore, and eat as well as we could, provisions being plenty and cheap; but we soon lost our stomachs by sickness, most of my men having fevers, and myself such convulsions and aches in my head, that I could hardly stand or go to the trunk without assistance, and there often fainted with the horrid stink of the negroes, it being an old house where all the slaves are kept together, and evacuate nature where they lie, so that no jakes can stink worse; there being forced to sit three or four hours at a time, quite ruin'd my health, but there was no help.

Capt. Clay and I had agreed to go to the trunk to buy the slaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no distraction or disagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ships than one, and the commanders can't set their horses together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their disagreements create animosities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loss and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the best use of such opportunities, and, as we found, make it their business, and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the *Reys Cosa*, and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's pre-

rogatives; then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, &c. and our surgeon examined them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-aged one, but by the teeth decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard; for tho' we separate the men and women aboard by partitions and bulk-heads, to prevent quarrels and wranglings among them, yet do what we can they will come together, and that distemper which they call the yaws, is very common here, and discovers itself by almost the same symptoms as the *Lues Venerea* or clap does with us; therefore our surgeon is forc'd to examine the privities of both men and women with the nicest scrutiny, which is a great slavery, but what can't be omitted: When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caused but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchased to the number of 50 or 60, we would send them aboard, there being a cappasheir, intitled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any run away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble,



ble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the sea-side, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of *Barbadoes* than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, &c. we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to *Barbadoes*, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs or arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thoughts of it, much less to put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion, (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despised for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleased God

to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsic value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think it so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him.

Near the king's palace on one side is a town, consisting of about 40 houses wall'd round, in which are kept the king's wives, to whom none are admitted but an old cappaheir, who is captain of them; and the king himself. I have been assur'd by the interpreter here, Capt. Tom, (who is a sensible *Gold Coast* negro, and lived a long time with one of our factors, as his boy, and thereby learnt the *English* language, and is now one of the greatest men in the king of *Whidaw's* court) that the number of the king's wives are near 3000; and considering the custom of that country, it's very probable, for each cappaheir has from 10 to 20 wives, more or less, as he pleases, and can maintain; all which, together with his goods, fall to the king at his death, there being no regard had to his children, they having nothing but what is privately convey'd away by stealth during their father's sickness; nor do the king's sons after grown to any stature come near him but in private, for fear of giving umbrage to the great cappaheirs, who expect next to be elected king, and to them the king's sons give as much respect as the meanest subject: When the king dies all his wives and estate fall to the next king by election. The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappaheirs, his measure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every slave the cappaheirs sold us publickly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or custom, especially the booges, of which he would take a small dish-full out of each measure; to avoid this they would privately send for us to their houses in the night, and dispose of two or three slaves at a time, and we as privately would send them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practice for fear of offending the king, should he come to know it, who enjoyns them to carry all their slaves to be sold publickly at the trunk with his own; sometimes, after he had sold one of his wives or subjects, he would relent, and desire us to exchange for another, which

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we freely did often, and he took very kindly.

Their marriages are as in the primitive times. When a man fancies a young woman he applies himself to her father, and desires her for a wife, which is seldom refused; then he gives her a fine cloth, and bracelets and necklaces of rangoes mix'd with coral for her arms and neck; invites her friends and his to a treat of pitto, and the ceremony is over, never having a farthing portion with her.

Their women are most employ'd in making *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baskets, canchy, pitto, and in planting and sowing their corn, yams, potatoes, &c. The *Whidaw* cloth is about two yards long, and about a quarter of a yard broad, three such being commonly joyn'd together. It is of divers colours, but generally white and blue. For a pound of leaf tobacco, be it never so rotten and bad, we could buy one of these cloths, which would yield a crown in *Barbadoes*; also one for eight knives, value prime cost eighteen pence. To make these cloths, especially the blue streaks, they unravel most of the sayes and perpetua-noes we sell them.

Close by the king's palace is an old rotten house he calls his armory, wherein are six old iron minion guns, about five hundred weight each, most dismounted and much out of kelter. These he values himself much upon, tho' they are fit for no service, but to create an esteem and dread in his poor ignorant subjects, by firing them sometimes as they lie upon the ground, which was done to welcome us upon our first arrival. His physician and gunner is a *Portuguese* negro, and pretends to be a christian, and is called *John Fernando*. He can neither write nor read; however, he makes these poor people think him a brave fellow. When we first came here, he accosted us, and, in broken *English*, desired us to tell the king, That he was a good gunner, and he would serve us in all kinds, which (he pretending to be a christian) we promised; and it was not unpleasant to see with what impudence he would brag of his skill to the king, having had our promise not to detect him, which he would, by a wink, often put us in mind of.

Wars.

The *Whidawers* are constantly at wars with the *Arda* and *Allampo* men, the *Quamboos* and *Achims*, and all the plunder is men and women to sell for slaves. I have seen nine or ten bags full of men, women, and childrens heads at a time brought to the king's town, when the soldiers returned from ravaging, which they in great scorn and disdain would fling

and kick about, with shoutings for joy of their success against their enemies; and there are few of them but have a jaw-bone or piece of scull of some great man they say they have kill'd, hanging at the handle of their swords, which much resembles one of our pruning bills.

About the year 1692 the king of *Whidaw* was in great dread of one *Afferry*, a neighbouring prince, and a brave bold warrior, who used to trade with the *Europeans* on the *Allampo* coast for slaves, and I have been told was in great esteem with them, being of a more generous and noble disposition than is usual among the negroes. Upon some disgust this *Afferry* made wars with the *Whidawers*, gain'd many battles over them, and declared, before he would sheath his sword, he would have the old *Whidaw* king's head and country, which put the old monarch in great terror; and finding his forces not able to withstand this furious invader, resolv'd to piece out the lion's skin with the fox's tail, and what he could not effect by strength, to accomplish by treachery; to which purpose he set all his engines at work; and at length, by frequent and large presents, and larger promises, corrupted two negroes in *Afferry's* army to poison their gallant leader; who being ignorant of such base degenerate practices himself, was the less suspicious of others; and without any apprehension swallow'd the fatal dose, which put a period to all his conquests, and he died by the villany of two mercenary traitors of his own, who slighted the appearance of the greatest *Whidaw* army in open field, and thereby the old trembling *Whidawer* was secur'd on his throne; tho', when I was there, I observ'd, he could not hear his name mention'd without some consternation upon his spirits. And since 'tis come in my way, I shall insert all, that by the strictest inquiry I could learn concerning their poisoning, so much dreaded and talk'd of in the world.

I have taken one cappasheir at a time *Poisoning*. privately to my warehouse, where, after I had well warm'd him with brandy and other strong liquors (the key of most secrets) express'd abundance of kindness to him, and made him some presents, I have desired him to be very ingenuous and free with me, and give me a full account how, in what manner, and with what they use to poison the white men that were not good, as I term'd them, to induce them to the greater freedom; if it was a common practice in their country, and what antidote they knew most prevalent to dispel the malignity. All that I could screw from them, was, that there

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was poison to be bought far up in the inland countries, but that it was so dear, that as much as would serve to poison a man would cost the value of three or four slaves; that it was their common way, as they were inform'd, to do it in water or other liquor the party drank; that generally the small ball of poison was stuck under the nail of their little finger (which indeed they wear at a great length) and insensibly drop'd into the callabash or cup drunk out of, and it would instantly dissolve, and was of that prodigious strength, that nothing would prevail against the venom if it was right made. They added, That they never knew it practised in that country, and believ'd the chief reason was the scarcity and dearth of it. When I was first with the king, I desir'd he would order and take care that we should have no foul play offer'd us by poison; at which he laugh'd, and said there was no such thing in his dominions; tho' we could observe, that he was so cautious himself, that he would not drink out of the same cup as we and his cappaheirs did all the time we were there, but kept a little silver one by his side on purpose; nor would he taste of our brandy out of the bottle till we drank first; but his cappaheirs were not so squeamish, but would drink out of any cup, or any liquor we would give them; and we seldom fail'd of their custom three or four times a day, when they must each have a large glass of brandy, which they drank as freely as we do claret. When we went to the trunk we were oblig'd always to carry three or four bottles of brandy to drink at our bargains; and they would often beg brandy of us under pretence they had married a new wife, and must make merry, which we always gave them to keep them in good temper. And here I cannot forget a story of the uxorious old king of *Whidaw*, who sent for me one night to come privately to him; which having done, he told me that he had married a pretty young girl that he had a great kindness for, and was that night to bed her, and therefore desir'd me to present him with a rundlet of brandy to give her friends to be merry with, and to order my doctor to prescribe him something to make him lusty, and perform his task vigorously; but to be sure that what he gave him should do him no harm. Being willing to indulge him in his humour, I promised the brandy, and that I would order my doctor to attend him; and if he gave him any thing, he would pawn his life it should not damage him; whereupon I took leave, and wish'd him

a merry *Christmas*. I sent the brandy and my surgeon to him, who gave him a dose of *Spanish* flies, which so heated the old man's reins, that next morning he bragg'd to us, that he never had a pleasanter night, nor behaved himself more gallantly, making large harangues upon the charms of his mistress, and other impertinences relating to his last night's adventure. He gave the doctor many thanks, and presented him with two good cloths.

In the island of *St. Thomas*, lying under the equator, subject to *Portugal*, the inhabitants are so exquisite at poisoning, that it has been affirm'd to me, they will cut meat from the same joint, with the same knife; that piece they carve their enemy shall be poison'd, the rest not, one side of the knife only being poison'd. How true this is I know not; but I verily believe the *Portugueses* in these islands to be greater rogues and villains than the negroes are, being most of them banditti, banish'd *Portugal* for murders and other heinous crimes; but when I touch'd there in my passage to *Barbadoes*, I cannot say that either my self or men receiv'd any injury in that kind.

Provisions at *Whidaw* are good and plenty, viz. cows and hogs; the first very small, sold for five, six, or seven bars of iron each, value about twenty shillings in *England*. The hogs are large, and make excellent pork, it eating sweeter and whiter than ours in *England*. And indeed it cannot but be good, for the poorer sort of negroes have more regard to their hogs than to themselves, and feed them better. For a well-grown well-fed hog we use to give seven bars, which went as far in victualling our men aboard, as two kine of five and six bars each. Here are goats and sheep, but very small and poor; also some tame fowl of the bigness of our chickens, of which we could buy three or four for a gullina of cowries, or one for a knife. Here are some *Muscovia* ducks, but not in that plenty they are upon the *Gold Coast*. The fresh rivers afford store of good fish, some very large, of which the king would often present us. The negroes admire dogs flesh before any other, of which I have seen many very fat brought to market to be sold. Their bread is made of *Indian* or *Guiney* corn ground, which they do between two stones call'd the *Cancy* stones, and *Rubber*, and is made as follows. First they place the cancy stone, which is smooth and broad, shelving in a frame; then put on it thirty or forty grains of *Indian* corn after it has lain some time soaking in water;



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ter; then with the rubber (which is a small stone big enough for one to grasp in his hand) they bruise the corn, and continue rubbing it till it is reduc'd to a meal (much as our painters grind their paint, often sprinkling water thereon to moisten it. Of the said meal temper'd with water they make round lumps like dumplings, which they boil in an earthen crock, or bake o'er the fire on an iron or stone; and this they call cancy, which, with a little palm oil, and a callibash of pitto, a few yams or potatoes, is the diet of the generality.

At *Whidaw* are several fairs or markets, but the largest is about a mile from the king's town, to the N. E. in the fields, under a tuft of trees, where twice a-week, I think on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*, there is a great congress of men, women and children. Their chief wares to sell are *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baskets, jars for pitto, callibashes of all kinds, wooden bowls and cups, red and blue pepper, malagetta, salt, palm oil, cancy and such stuff. In this country the women go stark naked as they were born till they are married; then they cover their *pudenda* as a token of it; but 'tis the sign of a virgin to be bare; and they go so without any apprehension of shame or immodesty, of which I have seen above 200 at a time so. The young men do the same; so that of both sides they may see how they like their tackle before they go to work, and not, as we are forc'd to do, take wives at all adventures, without knowing their bodily defects and infirmities, which are cover'd and conceal'd by their cloaths.

The king's wives have liberty to come to this fair to sell their cloths, &c. in making of which they imploy most of their time. When they appear, all other negroes relinquish the path; and if any of us happen'd to be walking in their way, they would stop, call to us, and make signs with their hands for us to go aside, which we always readily did; and as they pass'd, they would salute us by bowing their heads and kissing their hands, laughing often very loud, and staring on us as if we were so many monsters.

Myself, doctor and purser once taking a walk with the *French* factor here, came to the king's wives town, and look'd over the wall, and saw many of them at work, and spake to them, and they in their dialect to us. Then the *Frenchman* (being too forward, as most of his countrymen are) went to open the gate, which was fasten'd with withs; whereupon all the women ran screaming away, and immediately came some cappaheirs from the king,

and desir'd us to forbear and come away thence, which we willingly did, but the *Frenchman* could hardly be perswaded.

Next morning when we came to breakfast with the king, he took occasion to tell us mildly of our miscarriage, and that it was against the laws and custom of his country for any to go near his wives town, but that he excused it in us being strangers, and consequently ignorant, and desir'd us to desist for the future, which we promised, and express'd a concern for having unknowingly disoblig'd him; but he resent'd it highly from the *Frenchman*, who, he said, knew the law, and might have inform'd us, and not led us there, and that he should suffer for it. To excuse the poor *Frenchman* I took all the blame upon myself, and assur'd the king it was I led him there accidentally; that the *Frenchman* was against it, and that I had no other end in looking over the wall, but to see what a brave town he had for his wives, that I might give an account of it when I came to *England*; but that none of us would come near it more. Then he took me by the hand, and said, If that was all, he was sorry he had mention'd it, and would not be angry with the *Frenchman*.

This poor *French* factor and a second live in a little mud house near the king's. There had not been a *French* ship there in three or four years, so that they were much dejected and poor, having no livelihood but from the king's bounty, and no opportunity to go thence. They din'd with us almost every day, and I gave them some provisions, and offer'd them their passage *gratis* to *Barbadoes*, whence they might soon get passage to *Martinico*; but fearing the usage they might meet with at *Barbadoes*, being enemies, they would not venture.

Near the king's town are thirty or forty large trees planted in some order and line; and there is the pleasanterest walk in that country, the branches being so thick that they keep the sun off, and attract a fine cooling air. Under these trees I spent most of my time while I staid, where there was a small market kept; and, among other things in it, I observ'd an ordinary, which, for the novelty of it, I shall describe.

It was kept at the foot of one of the An ordi- largest trees; the master thereof had for nary. a table a piece of flat wood, about a yard diameter, which was placed on the ground. The meat was beef and dogs flesh boiled, wrap'd up in a raw cow's hide, and placed on one side, and an earthen crock with boiled cancies in it, to serve



serve for bread on the other. When any one came to eat, he would down on his knees by the table, and lay eight or nine cowry shells thereon; then the cook would very dexterously cut him the value of what he pitched on in small bits, and give him his piece of cancy and some salt; if that did not satisfy his stomach, he would lay down more shells, and accordingly have more meat. I have seen eight or nine round his table at once, and he served them all, and received their money with great dexterity, and without the least confusion; but there was no need to change money, which was a great ease to him. For drink they went to the river; nor do the negroes usually drink till after their meat.

Alligators. As to strange beasts (except the natives) I saw none but alligators and snakes, tho' they told me there were great store of elephants, lions, tygers, leopards, &c. up in the country. Near adjoyning to the king's palace are two pretty large ponds full of alligators, which the king highly esteems as a piece of great magnificence. Of these I have seen several on the banks of the ponds sunning themselves, and others with their snouts out of the water. The largest I saw was not above four yards long, and I think there is nothing they resemble more in shape than a lizard. We have sometimes thrown a lump of earth (for I don't remember I saw a stone, except cancy ones that are brought here, in this country) at those on the banks; and when struck they would gape very wide, scream out, run to the edge of the pool, and plunge in. We have thrown a dead goat in among them, and they have in an instant tore it to pieces, fighting very vigorously for it. I would have shot at some of them with ball, but the negroes would not give me leave; and I was loath to disgust them in any kind, lest they should avenge themselves by poison, which I was in great fear of, they having daily opportunities, for we had all our pitto and water from them. The blacks have a great respect for this hideous monster, it being their neighbour the king of great *Ardas's Fatish* or god, as the snake is the god of the *Whidawers*; and here are vast numbers of snakes of a prodigious bigness, and black colour; I having seen one as big as an ordinary man's thigh. I never heard they were ravenous or did any harm, no more than the alligators in this country; and the blacks assur'd me they would not, and that I need not fear them. I have often had the snakes in the room where I lay, coming in thro' the holes in the walls

and thatch, and sometimes they have crawl'd upon the bed while I lay in it, which almost frighted me out of my senses; but the negro boys, three or four of which always lay by my bed side, upon the least call would come and take them in their arms, and carry them into the next field, and put them down very gently; so they would if they saw them lying in the paths in our way. They worship this type of the devil, and deluder of mankind, with deep devotion here; and I have been told, the killing one has cost the lives of some white men.

Here are great plenty of turtle doves, in shooting of which I had good diversion when my head-aches would permit. There are a prodigious many monstrous bats lodge themselves in the day-time in the great trees afore-mentioned; among which once shooting at random with bird shot, there drop'd down above a dozen, which were most hideously deform'd, and as big as one of our black-birds.

Their musick here is much the same as Musick. to windward, consisting of a loud grating bellowing noise like a company of bulls or ass-negroes, which they make thro' hollow elephants teeth, of which four or five joyn'd with one that beats a piece of hollow brass or iron with a stick, makes their discord; and to this ridiculous musick they dance as untowardly, the whole being only an antick continued jumping of one at a time, with odd gestures of head, arms and body.

The king had two little dwarfs which would often come begging cowries of us, which we durst not refuse them, tho' they deserv'd hanging more from us; for we were every night constantly disturb'd by them with a most unnatural sort of howling they kept all night under the trees by our lodgings, which we could never prevail with them to forbear upon any terms; they saying it was praying for their king to the *Fatish*, who often spoke to them (and certainly I think all the devils in hell could not make a worse noise) out of a great wooden image by the king's palace, which they had endeavoured to carve like a man, but resembled more a devil. I having been often told, that that figure spoke every night to the cappasheirs and others its devotees, gave them to understand, that I would gladly hear it, and to that end I would go along with them when they pleased. They answer'd, It was in the night-time it spake, and about the usual time promised to call me if I would venture with them. I thank'd them, and assured them I would sit up on purpose to expect them. Accordingly about mid-night they came,

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came, and I went with them; but for fear of tricks, took four of my men with me, well arm'd with pistols and cutlasses. When we arriv'd at the image they made abundance of profound bows and other reverences to it, while I did nothing but look on, expecting the voice. After I had waited half an hour, I ask'd them why it did not speak? They reply'd, It would speak presently. I stay'd two hours longer, but not a word from the stock; at which the blacks seem'd to be much surpriz'd, saying, They never knew it so long without speaking before. I began to grow impatient of waiting so long, therefore ran the ferrel of my cane into the mouth of it, and turn'd it therein several times, which they wish'd me to forbear for fear it should do me harm. I told them, That I saw nothing to be afraid of but a piece of wood, and that if it could speak, I was resolv'd to make it. Whereupon I took out one of my little pistols (I always carried loaden in my pockets in this country for fear of surprize) and fir'd at the ill-favour'd image, and the bullet went in under its left eye. When the negroes saw me going to shoot, they all run away and left me and my men there, where we stay'd about half an hour after, but not a syllable of complaint of the wound or any thing else could we hear; so we e'en left the image with the bullet in his buggilog; and went to bed. But next morning those that were with me, and others that heard what I had done, were astonish'd to see me alive. When next I saw the king I told him of it, who assur'd me it spake every night to the blacks, but would not to the white men. I answer'd, That if it could have spoke, it certainly would when I shot it; but that he knew it was a piece of wood, and it was impossible for it to speak. He reply'd, That he knew the figure was wood, but that it was most true, that the *Fatish* or god used to speak out of it; that himself had often heard it, and wish'd it might do me no mischief for abusing it. I told him, If his subjects did not do me harm by poison, I did not fear the *Fatish* at all; and he assur'd me I need not fear the other. I have often seen little figures of clay about their houses, with oil, rice, corn, and other offerings before them; also goats ript open, spread and hung on trees, as sacrifices to the *Fatish*. And in truth they have so many things they call *Fatishes*, that I could never understand the true meaning of the word. On the *Gold Coast* when they make any solemn promise or oath, they take about six spoonfuls of water mix'd with some powders of divers

colours, which the *Fatishman* puts into it; which potion is to kill them the very minute that they break or violate the oath or promise they took it on, and which they firmly believe. Captain *Sburley* used to make his negroes aboard take the *Fatish*, that they would not swim ashore and run away, and then would let them out of irons. His potion was a cup of *English* beer, with a little aloes in it to imbitter it, which operated upon their faith as much as if it had been made by the best *Fatishes* in *Guiney*; for my part I put more dependance upon my shackles than any *Fatish* I could give them. When I was at *Cape Corce* castle, as I hinted before, I saw the *Fatish*, in all its circumstances, given to the new king of *Futto*, by Mess. *Platt*, *Ronan* and *Melross*, the *African* company's three chief merchants there, the king of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the *Arcanys*. The occasion of which, as well as I could learn it, is as follows.

The *Arcanys*, who are the best traders *Arcanys*. to our ships and castles, and have the purest gold, are an inland people; so that to come to the sea-side to our factories and shipping, they were oblig'd to pass thro' the territories of other princes with their gold to buy, and back with the commodities purchased; which tho' very troublesome because of the distance, yet they underwent it with great alacrity. Among others they were to pass thro' the king of *Futto*'s country, which they did for some time without interruption; but at length the *Futtoers* designing to make a prey of the *Arcanys* (instigated by our no-friends the *Dutch* at the *Mine-castle*) refused them passage thro' their country to our castles and ships, but would force them to buy the goods from them at their own rates, which they had bought from the *Dutch*, and which the *Arcanys* could buy cheaper and better at our castles; so that both they and we suffer'd by this obstruction; and the *Futtoers* would, upon refusal of the *Arcanys* to deal with them, abuse the traders, and plunder them of their gold.

This treatment the *Arcanys* so far stomach'd and resented, that some of their principal merchants resolv'd to unite together with lives and fortunes to reduce the king of *Futto* to justice. To effect which they made war against him, and chose one *Nimpha*, the most eminent of their traders, and for fortune, experience, and courage the best qualified, for their general. And having communicated their resolutions to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they receiv'd from them all due encouragement to forward their



their generous design, with a promise to supply them with arms, ammunition, and other necessities of war for their expedition. The *Arcanys* pursued their resolutions to raise an army; and, to render it the more formidable, hired the king of *Sabo* and his subjects into their service. And indeed that prince is one of the most majestick and warlike negroes that I have seen; and I have been assured his actions in the field do well answer his aspect and port. The *Arcanys* joined by the *Saboers*, and several *Cape Corce* negroes our chief merchants sent to assist them, under the command of captain *Hansico*, captain *Amo*, and others of the castle cappaheirs, made an army up of 20000 *Blacks*, and march'd directly against the king of *Futto*, who, for defence of his country, had raised much such another army. They had many small skirmishes, pickeering with each other, the negroes not caring for a fair set battle, but watch to get advantages by ambuscades and surprizes, in which the *Arcanys* and *Saboers* were so successful, that they reduced the king of *Futto* to great streights, and at length forced him to abandon his chief town, and flee to the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* for protection, who gave him sanctuary. In the interim *Nimpha* and the king of *Sabo* entred his town triumphantly, plunder'd and burn'd most of it, and constituted his brother king in his stead; and having oblig'd all the great cappaheirs in *Futto* to take the *Fatish* to be true to their new king, they brought him along with them to *Cape Corce* castle, there to take the *Fatish* to be a true friend to the *English*, and promote their interest in all kinds; to be at eternal enmity with his brother the late king; to preserve an inviolable friendship with the *Arcanys*; and to suffer them to pass thro' his country to and from our factories with their gold and goods, without any molestation. Which articles ingraved on parchment in the name of the royal *African* company of *England*, *Nimpha* and the king of *Sabo*, the king of *Futto* signed by making his mark; and captain *Shurley*, myself, and divers of our factors and the castle cappaheirs witnessed them. Then the king of *Futto* took the *Fatish* on his bare knees to keep them inviolably, which was six spoonfuls of water, in which the *Fatisher* had put about a dozen sorts of powders, which none but himself knew what they were; and having stirred them well, gave the king of *Sabo* his potion, assuring him, that, upon the least infringement of the articles he took it upon, he would in the twinkling of an eye drop down as dead as a door-nail, which he

seem'd firmly to believe. This new king of *Futto* had a very dull dronish aspect and mein, and was carry'd every where upon a negro's back, his foot being sore with a worm.

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When the king of *Sabo* and *Nimpha* came to our castle first on their return from the war, it and our ships saluted them with nine guns each, and they us with their small shot. They walked under canopies with several horse-tails tied to them, having constant shooting before them till they came to the castle gate, where having flourished their swords antickly, they entered, and with great respect kiss'd all our hands, we taking and shaking them by theirs, and bidding them welcome. Our agents ordered a hog'shead of brandy to be set on end without the castle, and the head knock'd out, for all the army to drink the *African* company's healths.

The king of *Sabo* had two wives always accompanied him to the wars, and were with him now, often picking his head publicly, and eating the lice, which is a common custom here; nor is it any shame to be lousy among them. I have given the best account I can of this sort of *Fatish*, and the occasion of it. They have little pieces of gold exquisitely made in divers figures, which, for ornament, the *Blacks* wear tied to their hair, and about their necks, wrists, and small of their leg, and these they call *Fatishes*: also every negro has some creature or other he pays his devotion to, and admits and supposes to be his guardian, to take care of him and keep him from all harm, which he calls his *Fatish*. That of general *Nimpha* was a cow; and our factors having killed one to entertain us before our departure, which, by the way, is the greatest token of respect and welcome that can be shewn a friend in this country (and which the *Dutch* general at the *Mine*-castle shewed Mr. *Ronan*, captain *Shurley*, captain *Freeman*, and myself, when he invited us to dine there, a cow being kill'd and dress'd all at once) when we came to dinner at *Cape Corce*, we could not persuade *Nimpha* (who together with the kings of *Sabo* and *Futto*, used to have the favour to sit at table with us) to touch a bit, nor so much as come to look on the meat; and his reason was, because it was his *Fatish*, which he was sorry we had kill'd, and would not eat of. Others have a dog, sheep, leopard, or what else they fancy for their *Fatish* to keep them from harm. So ignorant and superstitious are these poor creatures, that when I was at *Cape Muinseradoc*, observing a negro of some quality wear a slip



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of leopard skin about his arm, I inquired of him the reason of it? and he informed me that it was his *Fatish* to keep him from the thunder, which indeed is very dreadful there, captain *Skurley* having lost his fore-mast thereby, as I before noted. Others wear tigers teeth, goats horns full of a reddish paste, bones of fishes, &c. all which have their peculiar virtues to defend them from some imminent danger or other; and this is all I could learn of their *Fatishes* during my short stay on this coast.

The *Whidawers* much admire white men, and say, That God loves them, because they have such plenty of all sorts of commodities; and are much puzzled to think how we find the way thro' the sea into their country. The king's *Fatishman* here pretends to great power and skill; as for instance, we happening to be there in the rain seasons, when the sea is most turbulent, it chanced to be one time so grown and exceeding boisterous, that our canoes were not able to bring us any goods ashore for eighteen days, which made the cappsheirs backward in selling us slaves, by reason we had no goods ashore to pay for them; whereupon we made our complaint to the king, that it was a great hinderance to our business that they would not give us credit till our goods could be brought us, of which we had great plenty of all kinds, and that the violent raging of the sea was the reason we had not them ashore; that, if they would trade with us, we would give them our notes for what we bought, and honestly pay them as soon as the sea was calmer. The old king desired me to be easy, and he would make the sea quiet next day. Accordingly he sent his *Fatishman* with a jar of palm-oil, a bag of rice and corn, a jar of pitto, a bottle of brandy, and a piece of painted callico, and several other things to present the sea to appease it. When the *Fatishman* came to the sea-side (as I was informed by my men that were there and saw the ceremony) he made a speech to it, assuring the sea that his king was its friend, and loved the white men; that we were honest fellows, and come to trade with him to supply his country with what he wanted, and that he requested the sea not to be angry, nor hinder us to land our goods; and told it, That if it wanted palm-oil, his king had sent it some; and so threw the jar with the oil into the sea, as he did with the same compliment the rice, corn, pitto, brandy, callico, &c. It happened the next day that the sea was somewhat smoother, and we got ashore some goods, which the old king was very proud of,

and appropriated to his *Fatishman*, tho' it really proceeded from the moon's being near the wain, at which time, in all these southern countries, the gales are more faint, and the sea calmer, than at full and change. However, we let him indulge himself with the fancy, being glad we had our goods to trade. This *Fatishman* told me he could make it rain corn or salt if he pleased. I promised him large gratuities if he would shew me one instance of his skill in that kind; but he was too conscious of his inability and deceit to accept them, or attempt it. The following story I had from Mr. *Pier-son*, factor here for the *African* company, who was sent here from *Cape Corce* to be second to Mr. *Smith* then chief factor. Soon after his arrival Mr. *Smith* fell very ill of the country malignant fever; and having little prospect of recovery, resigned his charge of the company's affairs to *Pier-son*. This Mr. *Smith* had the character of an obliging ingenious young gentleman, and was much esteemed by the king, who hearing of his desperate illness, sent his *Fatishman* to hinder him from dying; who coming to the factory, went to Mr. *Smith's* bed-side, and told him, That his king had such a kindness for him, that he had sent him to keep him alive, and that he should not die. Mr. *Smith* was in such a languishing condition, that he little regarded him. Then the *Fatishman* went from him to the hog-yard, where they bury the white men; and having carry'd with him some brandy, rum, oil, rice, &c. he cry'd out aloud, O you dead white men that lie here, you have a mind to have this factor that is sick to you, but he is our king's friend, and he loves him, and will not part with him as yet. Then he went to captain *Wiburn's* grave who built the factory, and cry'd, O you captain of all the dead white men that lie here, this is your doings; you would have this man from us to bear you company, because he is a good man, but our king will not part with him, nor you shall not have him yet. Then making a hole in the ground over his grave, he poured in the brandy, rum, oil, rice, &c. telling him, If he wanted those things, there they were for him, but the factor he must not expect, nor should not have, with more such nonsense; then went to *Smith*, and assured him he should not die; but growing troublesome to the sick man, *Pier-son* turn'd him out of the factory, and in two days after poor *Smith* made his exit.

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our slaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to be sold, we are



are obliged to pay our customs to the king and cappasheirs for leave to trade, protection and justice; which for every ship are as follow, viz.

To the king six slaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can persuade him to take, but cowries are most esteem'd and desir'd; all which are measur'd in his presence, and he would wrangle with us stoutly about heaping up the measure.

To the cappasheirs in all two slaves value, as above.

The usual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finish'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One slave's value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our slaves while there.

One slave's value to the captain of the sand for his care of our goods.

One ditto to the captain of the slaves who conducts them safe to the sea-side.

One ditto to captain Tom the interpreter, for his trouble.

One ditto for filling water.

Half a slave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Besides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the sea-side, which is seven miles at least, and the stoutest fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying these last charges in nothing else but these shells.

The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries, the smaller the more esteemed; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave.

The next in demand are brass neptunes or basons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms, legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper stellas, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad ditto, coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries or booges, and brass basons,

to set off the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, &c. else they will not take them; for if a cappa-shier sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in brass, which are dear slaves; for a slave in cowries costs us above four pounds in England; whereas a slave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not cost fifty shillings; but without the cowries and brass they will take none of the last goods, and but small quantities at best, especially if they can discover that you have good store of cowries and brass aboard, then no other goods will serve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after for the rest of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or else lie a long time for your slaves, so that those you have on board are dying while you are buying others ashore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at first, of what sorts and quantities of goods he has, and be sure to say his cargo consists mostly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, &c. so that he may dispose of those goods as soon as he can, and at last his cowries and brass will bring him slaves as fast as he can buy them: but this is to be understood of a single ship: or more, if the captains agree, which seldom happens; for where there are divers ships, and of separate interests, about buying the same commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the Guiney commanders words and promises are the least to be depended upon of any I know use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old sheets, pewter basons, muskets, &c. which are the best goods on the Gold Coast for gold; are in no esteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a slave, which at prime cost in England came to 4*l.* 15*s.* so of the rest, especially salempores or fine calicoes, of which they would have four for a slave, which were charged to us by the African company at six pounds first cost; so that it was great loss to send such goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five shillings, as good a slave as for four pieces of calicoes that cost six pounds *Sterling*.

The only money they have here are these cowries or shells we carry them, being brought from the East-Indies, and were charg'd to us at four pounds *per cent.* of which



PHIL- which we gave 100 l. for a slave; as soon  
LIPS. as the negroes have them, they bore holes  
in the backs of them, and string them on  
rushes, forty shells on each, which they call  
a foggy; and five of such foggys being  
tied together, is called a galina, being two  
hundred shells, which is their way of ac-  
counting their shell-money. When they go  
to market to buy any thing they bargain for  
so many cowries, foggys, or so many gali-  
nas, and without these shells they can pur-  
chase nothing.

King of  
Whidaw  
described.

The king of *Whidaw* is about 60 years  
of age, as near as I could guess; for none  
of the negroes know their own age, nor  
do, or can they keep any account of time:  
He is of a middle stature, and spare, his  
hair and beard grey, his aspect but very  
ordinary and mean, and I believe so is his  
heart; he seems of a good free temper, and  
full of mirth and kindness, especially when  
he intends to beg a boon: He never went  
out of his palace while we were there,  
but in his palace-yard would walk bare-  
foot thro' the mud and water, with as little  
concern as any of his poor subjects; of  
which I have been told he can raise 40,000  
in twenty-four hours.

His chief capparshiers were Capt. *Spring-  
gatha*, I judge about 80 years old, and a  
politick blade; he expects to be king next,  
and governs the king now as he pleases.  
We found more difficulty, opposition, and  
quirking from him in settling our trade, than  
from the king and all the other capparshiers.

The next is Capt. *Charter*, the king's  
great confidant, who formerly was a boy  
to Mr. *Charter*, one of the *African* com-  
pany's factors that was here, whose name  
he took, and is now very proud of. He is  
a very handsome sensible *Black*, about thir-  
ty years old, and a generous trader. He  
sold us more slaves than all the other cap-  
parshiers put together; all the *Blacks* have  
their eyes on him, *Springgatha* being very  
old. Next *Charter* is Capt. *Tom*, the inter-  
preter, Capt. *Biby*, Capt. *Agwa*, king *Tom*,  
who is brother to the king of *Great Ardra*,  
(and for some crimes banish'd his country,  
takes sanctuary here) and divers others,  
that attended the king when we were with  
him. About half a mile from our factory  
is a croom of negroes, which call them-  
selves *Mine-men*, and assist the *Dutch* ships  
that come here in their business, but the  
*Dutch West-India* company seldom order  
their ships for slaves, but chiefly mind their  
trade on the *Gold Coast*, where they have  
more and better castles than we, and more  
advantageously seated, the *Mine* and *Com-  
mendo* being in the very direct path of the  
gold trade.

Except the afore-mention'd negroes, the

*Dutch* have no factory at *Whidaw*, nor any  
house. Some *Dutch* interlopers, when they  
have goods lying on their hands, that will  
not vend for gold, have orders to fall down  
here and dispose of them for negro slaves,  
which they carry for *Surinam* and *Curisoe*  
in the *West-Indies*.

At the island of *St. Thomas* I met with  
one that had 200 negroes aboard for *Sur-  
rinam*, but had the misfortune, as well as  
we, to have a great sickness and mortality  
among them, which, together with their  
stink and nastiness, so fretted *Clause* the  
*Dutch* skipper, that he swore sacrament,  
that notwithstanding his owners were brave  
and generous merchants, yet if he lived to  
come to *Holland* again, he would deliver  
them their ship; and if they would give  
him 100 l. pay per month to go and carry ne-  
groes again, he would not take it, but would  
sooner go elsewhere a common sailor for 20  
guilders a month.

The road where our ships ride is very good and clean ground, and gradual found-  
ings; the best anchoring is in eight fathom  
water, against a great tuft of trees that  
make like a barn, about a mile and a  
half off the shore, on which there runs such  
a prodigious swell and surf, that we venture  
drowning every time we go ashore and  
come off, the canoes frequently over-set-  
ting, but the canoo-men are such excellent  
divers and swimmers, that they preserve  
the lives of those they have any kindness  
for, but such as they have any displeasure  
to they will let shift for themselves, there-  
fore 'tis very prudent for all commanders  
to be kind and obliging to them, their  
lives lying in their hands, which they can  
make them lose at pleasure, and impute  
all to accident, and they could not help it;  
and there are no amends to be had: The  
canoes we buy on the *Gold Coast*, and  
strengthen them with knees and weather-  
boards fore and aft, to keep the sea out,  
they plunging very deep when they go  
against a sea: They are made of the trunk  
of the cotton tree hollow'd, from a two  
hand to a twelve hand canoo, the largest being  
not above four foot broad, but twenty-eight  
or thirty foot long; those that are most fit  
for the use at *Whidaw*, are five hand or seven  
hand canoes; of which each ship that buys  
many slaves ought to carry two, for they are  
very incident to be staved by the great sea  
when they overset, and here is none for  
supply, and without them there is no land-  
ing or coming off for goods or men:  
The canoo-men we bring from *Cape Corce*  
being seven in number, of which one is  
boatwain, and is commonly one of the  
most skilful canoo-men in *Guiney*; he  
commands the rest, and always steers the  
canoo,



canoo, and gives his orders to the rest, when to row or when to lie on their paddles, to watch a smooth or shun a great sea they see coming; their pay is certain and stated, half of which we pay them in gold at *Cape Corce*, and the rest in goods when we have done with them at *Whidaw*; 'tis also customary to give them a canoo to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unless an opportunity offers to sell it, which is very rare. They lost us six or seven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-setting of the canoos in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the least satisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, lest they should, in revenge, play us more such tricks; we kept two men ashore here constantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our small hog-heads in the night, and roll'd them over the sand to the sea-side, ready to raft off in the morning, before the sea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in halling off to the longboat the great sea would often break our raft, and stave our cask, whereby we lost a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we started into our butts in the hold, and sent the small cask ashore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpose; we had a little deal yaul which did us great service in bringing off cows, hogs, slaves, letters, &c. from the canoos, with only two boys in her: When our slaves are aboard we shackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in sight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their escape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a chest of small arms, ready loaden and prim'd, constantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with some granada shells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the steerage, the door of which is always kept shut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice a day, at 10 in the morning and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are aptest to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in distributing their victuals to them, and settling them, stand to their arms; and some with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being *Indian* corn ground as small as oat-meal in iron mills, which we carry for that pur-

pose; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding; about a peckful of which in vessels, call'd *crews*, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little salt, mala-getta, and palm oil, to relish; they are divided into messes of ten each, for the easier and better order in serving them: Three days a week they have horse-beans boil'd for their dinner and supper, great quantities of which the *African* company do send aboard us for that purpose; these beans the negroes extremely love and desire, beating their breast, eating them, and crying *Pram! Pram!* which is, *Very good!* they are indeed the best diet for them, having a binding quality, and consequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate distemper that most affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and fore-castle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in case of any disturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into messes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themselves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he passes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is serv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them. When they have occasion to ease nature, they are permitted by the centinels to come up, and go to conveniency which is provided for that purpose, on each side the ship, each of which will contain a dozen of them at once, and have broad ladders to ascend them with the greater ease: When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleased; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loath to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 *Gold Coast* negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make



PHIL. guardians and overseers of the *Whidaw*  
LIPS. negroes, and sleep among them to keep  
✓ May them from quarrelling, and in order, as  
1694. well as to give us notice, if they can dis-  
cover any caballing or plotting among  
them, which trust they will discharge with  
great diligence; they also take care to  
make the negroes scrape the decks where  
they lodge every morning very clean,  
to eschew any distempers that may en-  
gender from filth and nastiness; when we  
constitute a guardian, we give him a cat  
of nine tails as a badge of his office, which  
he is not a little proud of, and will exer-  
cise with great authority. We often at  
sea in the evenings would let the slaves  
come up into the sun to air themselves,  
and make them jump and dance for an  
hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and  
fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them  
in health; but notwithstanding all our  
endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to  
have great sickness and mortality among  
them.

July 27. Having bought my compliment of 700  
slaves, viz. 480 men and 220 women, and  
finish'd all my business at *Whidaw*, I took  
my leave of the old king and his cappa-  
sheirs, and parted, with many affectionate  
expressions on both sides, being forced to  
promise him that I would return again the  
next year, with several things he desired  
me to bring from *England*; and having  
sign'd bills of lading to Mr. *Peirson*, for  
the negroes aboard, I set sail the 27th of  
*July* in the morning, accompany'd with  
the *East-India Merchant*, who had bought  
650 slaves, for the island of *St. Thomas*,  
with the wind at W. S. W. At noon we  
had good observation in lat.  $6^{\circ} 18' N$ . the  
trees of *Whidaw* that seem like a barn, then  
bearing N. by W. about six leagues off,  
being just discernable; from which take  
my departure; we got in our longboat and  
bent a new fore top-sail.

Departure  
from *Whi-*  
*daw*.

*Saturday* the 28th. We have had the  
winds constantly between the S. and W.  
we making use of all opportunities to get  
as much as we could to the southward,  
tho' were often forc'd to bear down and lie  
by for the *East-India Merchant*, which  
sail'd ill, and was very leewardly.

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Prince's  
island.

*Thursday* the 2d of *August*. We spy'd  
the island of *Princes*, bearing S. eight  
leagues off, and at noon were in latitude  
 $1^{\circ} 50' N$ . the south end of *Princes* bearing  
then S. S. W. six leagues off and the N. W.  
end S. W. by S. being a very high moun-  
tainous island; we made easting to this  
day noon from *Whidaw*, 297 miles, or  
99 leagues.

*Friday* the 3d. We past by the island  
of *Princes* with the wind at S. S. W. and  
S. W. and at six o'clock on *Saturday* morn-

ing fell in with the land, it bearing E. S. E.  
three leagues off, having then 12 fathom  
water, we tack'd off and lay W. and W.  
by S. the other way till noon, when we  
had good observation of the latitude, in lat.  
 $00^{\circ} 57' N$ . The land we fell in with was a  
low even tract full of trees, with a small  
island at the south end of it; I took it  
to be cape *St. John's* in the *Bight*.

*Sunday* the 5th. We ply'd along shore  
to windward, standing in to 14 fathom  
water, then off again; but our ship being  
very light would often refuse to stay or  
keep to; therefore this day we fill'd all  
the empty butts we had in the hold with  
salt water, and brought her somewhat  
more by the head. To day I had a setton  
made in my neck, for the ease of my head,  
having often used blisters and other remedies  
to no purpose. We lost sight of the *East-*  
*India Merchant* last night, she having  
tack'd in the night, by reason of two gram-  
pus's the men that look'd out saw a  
head of the ship, which they took to be two  
rocks, as we understood since. Of these  
grampus's there are great numbers in this  
sea, being as big as small whales, and are  
much enamour'd with the ships, which  
they will follow and wantonly play about,  
supposing it, I presume, some great gi-  
gantick brother of their watry element.  
We use to have good diversion in seeing a  
fish, call'd a thrasher, combat these gram-  
pus's; for where-ever they meet they quar-  
rel; as near as I can guess 'tis about four  
yards long, but very slender: When it en-  
gages it raises itself an end, quite out of  
the water, and falls upon the grampus  
with such violence, that we could hear  
the noise, and see the breach in the sea the  
blow made, above a mile; we observed  
the latitude this day, in  $00^{\circ} 25' N$ .

*Monday* the 6th. Plying to windward  
along shore in the morning, we spy'd a  
ship at an anchor under the land, and in  
less than an hour she got under sail, and  
stood off to us; we made a clear ship for  
her, but it proving hazy weather we lost  
sight of her. This morning we cross'd  
the line, being by our observation at noon  
in 10 minutes S. latitude; at which time  
our negroes being all upon deck at their  
dinners, a young tiger I had aboard, which  
was given me by Mr. *Ronan*, at *Cape Corce*  
castle, and which I kept in a wooden cage  
upon the quarter-deck, broke out of it,  
seiz'd upon a negro woman's leg, and in  
an instant, before any of us could come  
to her rescue, tore the calf quite off,  
which as soon as one of our quarter-masters  
perceiv'd, he ran to him, and giving him  
a little blow with the flat of a cutlass, the  
tiger couch'd down like a spaniel dog, and  
the man took him up in his arms, dragg'd  
him



him along, and without any resistance, or harm, pent him up in his coop again.

'Twas strange to me to observe this ravenous wild creature, that he would be as familiar with our white men as a spaniel, letting them play with him, stroak him, take him by the tongue or paw, and would wantonly lick their hands, pat them with his foot like a cat, without offering the least injury; but when he saw a black, tho' at a distance, he would grow raving mad, bounce and leap in his cage as if he would break it to pieces, and his eyes would look like perfect fire, so that I was forced to get a larger and stronger coop made for him; and always hang an old sail before it to blind him, while the slaves were at victuals, else there was no appeasing of him; but at last he shew'd himself a true tyger to us, and that nature is not to be chang'd, as I shall observe hereafter.

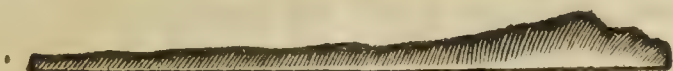
*Tuesday* the 7th. This day we ply'd along shore to the south, taking the opportunity of the land breeze to stand off with, and the sea breeze to stand in; which we boldly did into 12 fathom in the day-time, and 15 in the night, as may be done all

along this coast without any danger. We were at noon this day in latitude  $00^{\circ} 24'$  south.

*Wednesday* the 8th. Yesterday at twelve we tack'd to the south, and lay up S. by E. with a fine fresh gale at S. W. by W. till four in the evening, when heaving the lead we had but 10 fathom water, tho' we were above four leagues off shore, the pitch of cape *Lopus* being then just discernable, bearing S. W. by W. six leagues off: We were then abreast of a great white sand upon the shore, which reach'd far up on the land, which I judge to be about the river of *Gabon*, and which the *Dutch* waggoner takes notice of, and calls the *Grote White Pleken*, of which there runs a sand a great way into the sea, which made us have such shoal water at that distance; but there is no danger, being gradual soundings all along into the shore. We made several trips to windward till noon this day; we were by our observation in latitude  $00^{\circ} 35'$  S.; cape *de Lopo Gonzales* bearing then due south five leagues off, being a low land, and seeming as underneath.

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*Thursday* the 9th. From noon yesterday we stood off shore, lying up W. by S. and W. S. W. till four; then in again, lying S. S. by S. till six; when reflecting on the time it might cost me to endeavour to get into cape *Lopus*, (where I design'd to wood and water) by reason of the uncertainty of the winds, and the current setting us to leeward; which together with my negroes dying very fast, and the want of some provisions I was in, made me resolve to stand over for the island of *St. Thomas*, about 40 leagues distant, not doubting fetching of it, being so far to the south of the line: Accordingly at six tack'd to the W. cape *Lopus* then bearing S. S. E. distant seven leagues. We lay up west, W. by S. and W. S. W. at night, till six this morning; when the wind scanted to S. W. by S. and S. W. so that we could lie but W. by N. and W. N. W. till noon this day, when had good observation in the latitude  $00^{\circ} 19'$  S.

*Friday* the 10th. These 24 hours we have had the winds at S. by W. and S. S. W. we lying up for most part W. by S. until 12 this day; when I much admired we could not see the island, having by our reckonings run the length of it; but the weather was very dark and hazy, so that we had no observation.

*Saturday* the 11th. From noon yesterday we lay up W. by S. and W. S. W. till two in the evening, when our men from the top-mast head saw the island to the N. W. of us: At three I saw it off the deck, the south point bearing W. by N. the north point N. W. by W. and the *Cabras* N. W. distant about six leagues. At four had but little wind till eight, then small breeze at S. by W. we lying up W. by S. till 12, when being near the island we tack'd off, lying S. E. till four; then in again, and lay by till seven, when being clear day-light we bore up along the island for the town, having gradual soundings from 14 to seven fathom water; but a little to windward of the town, on a sudden we had but five fathom; upon which I edg'd off, and as I went off still shoal'd my water to four fathom and half, which so frightened me that I let go my anchor in four fathom and a quarter, right abreast the castle; but here is no danger, it being no less water in two miles round, but deeper into the shore, as I found afterwards by sounding.

*Sunday* the 12th. Yesterday at noon, after having anchor'd, I went ashore to visit the general, but he being dead, I was conducted to the governor, who receiv'd me civilly; and after having ask'd me some



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some questions of form, understanding that I wanted only wood and water, and some provisions, gave me free liberty to supply myself: He expressed an admiration at my lying so far off at an anchor, hinting as tho' he believed I was unwilling to come under the command of the castle guns, as other ships did, assuring me there was the usual and best road; wherefore to remove his jealousy, this morning I got under sail, and stood in till I came within musket-shot of the castle, and there let go my anchor in five fathom, moor'd my ship, saluted the castle with five guns, and put all the negro men into irons, lest they should swim away, being so near the shore; the castle bore off us S. by E. About four days after my arrival, came in here the *East-India Merchant*, having passed by the island to the south without seeing it, therefore when they found their error, were forced to stand back again in quest of it, and at last found it.

Island of  
St. Thomas.

The island of *St. Thomas*, inhabited by the *Portugueses*, lies under the equator, the middle of it being in  $00^{\circ} 10'$  N. about 45 leagues W. N. W. from cape *Lopus*, and 40 due W. from the river of *Gabon*: It is full of high mountains, which are cover'd over with thick groves of tall trees; and during the time I was ashore I don't remember that I ever saw the tops of them free from great heavy clouds, which occasions a continual mist or drizzling rain upon them; and from their constant droppings are derived fine small rivulets of water, which irrigate and moisten the vallies underneath.

The town lies on the north-east side of the island, in the bottom of a fine bay; may contain about 200 houses, large and well built, but most of boards and rafters only, with galleries and great open windows round about them, for conveniency of air, &c. There be some houses built of good square stone, but very few. Thro' the town there runs a small fresh brook into the sea, over which is built a little bridge of one arch, which they say lies directly under the equinoctial; and that in passing from one end of the bridge to the other, you cross the line: In this little river we fill'd all our water, which to my taste and apprehension seem'd very good, tho' the distempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and slaves, made me suspect it did partake of some of the malignity of the island thro' which it runs.

The most convenient time to fill it is in the night, by reason the women of the town are washing cloaths, and otherwise dirtying and defiling the water all the day-time, along the river above the place where we fill; therefore we left our cooper and

two seamen every night with our cask ashore to fill them, and roll them to the sea-side, ready for the longboat to hoist in the morning and carry aboard; the cooper and other men, when they had done their business, for the rest of the night were lodg'd in the house of Signior *Lorenzo de Soozo*, a native of *Tercera*, one of the western islands, and now marry'd here, and captain of a small *Portuguese* vessel belonging to this island, with which he uses to go and trade upon the coast of *Guiney* for gold and slaves, and sometimes to *Brazil* for sugars, &c. He was very obliging and assistant to us in our business, and testify'd a great deal of affection to us and desire to serve us, for which we gratefully requited him: One of our men arm'd was constantly oblig'd to watch the cask in the night, else the *Portugueses*, who are the greatest thieves in the world, would steal all their iron hoops off. Fire-wood is here plenty, and very good round wood, of which for 11 dollars I bought my longboat, that would easily carry 12 tons, as full and deep as I durst load her: I was supply'd with it by *Emanuel Fernando*, who was a negro *Portuguese*, but one of the greatest men for quality and riches in the island, being chief secretary to the king of *Portugal* here: His negroes cut it, and his canoos brought it to our longboat, so that we had no trouble in the least, but to load her as deep as she could swim aboard.

This island affords the best pork that ever I tasted, it being impossible for any flesh to be more palatable, or eat sweeter; and here is such plenty of it, that for three dollars we could buy a fine large young hog, fit for salting, which at a crown *per* dollar is but 15s. Here are all other provisions in great plenty; their kine are but small, which we could buy for five dollars *per* head: They have fine large poultry, 10 of which we could buy for a dollar; and the market is daily stock'd with good fresh fish. We supply'd ourselves with some *Indian* corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins, yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, &c. for the use and refreshment of our negroes, at the following rates, *viz.*

*Indian* corn at two alcars *per* dollar.

Figolas, or kidney-beans, at dollars three *per* cheft, which would contain near four bushels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half *per* thousand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very sweet, much like a potato in taste, at dollars 25 *per* thousand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 *per* thousand nuts.

Limes,



Limes, oranges, lemons, bananas, &c. for little or nothing; so that this island is well supply'd with all things for the use of man in great abundance: but the unhealthiness of it, lying under the torrid zone, palls the delights of the inhabitants, and imbitters all their plenty; for the climate is so sickly, especially in *December, January and February*, that most of the white people severely feel the effects of it, being seldom free from agues, fevers and fluxes ten days together; the last of which is the most reigning and dangerous distemper. To prevent which, when I was inquiring of the governor and some other gentlemen of the island, the properest method, they very kindly advised me, as a secret, every night, before I went to sleep, to wash clean, and dabble my fundament with luke-warm water for half a quarter of an hour, and assured me, it was their own constant custom every night. I gave them thanks, and put it in practice; but tho' it preserved me possibly from the flux, yet it could not guard me from a fever, which soon seized me, and of which I had a most violent fit; but by the blessing of God, and care of my honest doctor Mr. *Gordon*, who continually ply'd me with vomits, bleedings, blisters, glisters, and what else he thought proper, I at length recovered.

The town may contain about 200 *White* inhabitants, who all look like shadows, and seldom any of them arrive at the age of fifty years, tho' the negroes which are here in great numbers, agree well enough with the climate, which is so very malignant, that few or none of the *Portuguezes* would come to live here but such as are forc'd to flee, or are banished their country for some villanies. They told me that I happened to come here in the healthiest time of the year, tho' my poor men and negroes, by their sickness and mortality, made it appear unhealthy enough; and if that was their best, the Lord deliver every body from their worst seasons.

The sugar that is made here is very coarse and dirty, and seldom well cured; but they have often supplies of very good from *Brazil*; tho' at this time the island was so bare, that I could not furnish myself with an hundred weight that was fit for man's use, at any price.

They make store of rum here, but 'tis sad stinking raw stuff. There are a great many plantations and houses well built, which, as we sailed along the island, looked very delightful. This island, as well as *St. Jago*, breeds great quantities of monkeys and baboons, which, I have been told, have a certain place where they meet daily to truck with each other, one bringing a plantain, another a yam, another an orange, banana, potato, or

some other merchandize, and so each exchanges what he has with some other baboon for what he wants or likes better, and after repair home to their quarters. I have nothing to say to the truth of this, having never been upon their exchange, nor seen their traffick; but I have seen such actions from these creatures, aping mankind, that were very surprizing. Parakeets or green birds are here in such numbers, that for half a dollar we could buy a cane cage with forty of them in it. I purchas'd near 500 of them, but could not bring above a dozen alive to *Barbadoes*, the least cold killing them.

The castle lies about a quarter of a mile from the town upon a neck of land at the entrance of the bay. It may have about twenty old guns, some mounted, and some dismounted, the walls being very ruinous and weakly mann'd, so that it serves more for a scarecrow than any thing else; for I would have undertaken to have brought off, burnt or sunk every vessel they had in the port, with my own ship and boats only, in spite of what resistance the castle or town could make. And I believe the reason why the town is not more molested or taken from them, is the poverty of it, there being nothing to be got but provisions, together with the unhealthiness of it. Here are great quantities of palm-oil made, of which we could buy a barrel containing twenty odd gallons for six dollars, which in *Barbadoes* would yield three pounds. The road where the ships lie is good and clean ground: about a league to the N. E. of which lie two large rocks or little islands, about a mile off shore, call'd the *Cabras*; a little to leeward of which is good riding, close to the shore, near a fine river to fill water, and there you may cut your wood yourself for little or nothing, and the country people will bring you down all necessaries that you want; besides that, you save the customs that you are obliged to pay if you lie at the town, which for every ship, little or great, is one negro slave to the general, or who is deputed by him, for leave to wood, water, &c. eight dollars to the captain of the castle, and one dollar to the argusite, who comes aboard you, none of the inhabitants daring to come, or to trade with you in the least, without permission from the governor. The island is about twelve leagues long, N. and S. and about ten leagues broad.

Having compleated all my business ashore in fourteen days that I lay here, yesterday in the afternoon I came off with a resolution to go to sea. Accordingly about six in the evening we got up our anchors,



PHIL- anchors, and set sail for *Barbadoes*, being  
LIPS. forc'd to leave the *East-India Merchant*  
August behind, who could not get ready to sail  
1694. in nine or ten days; which time I could  
not afford to stay, in respect of the mor-  
tality of my negroes, of which two or three  
died every day, also the small quantity of  
provisions I had to serve for my passage to  
*Barbadoes*. We stood of E. and E. by N.  
with a small breeze at S. W. till eight,  
when we had a fine fresh gale at S. steer-  
ing off N. E. N. N. E. and N. till ten  
o'clock, when we were abreast the *Cabras*,  
then hal'd up N. N. W. and N. W. till  
twelve, at which time it fell stark calm,  
and continued so till noon this day. We  
were forced to go away to leeward of the  
island, because the winds here are between  
the S. and W. S. W. constantly, and the

current sets strong to the N. so that there was  
no plying against wind and tide.

Sunday the 26th. Yesterday at two in  
the evening sprung up a fine breeze at S. S.  
W. but soon veer'd to W. S. W. we keeping  
up W. N. W. and N. W. the wind often  
shifting a point or two. At noon this day  
the island of *St. Thomas* being in latitude  
 $00^{\circ} 10'$  N. bore off us S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant  
14 leagues, from which take my departure  
for *Barbadoes*, we being then 27 miles to the  
N. and 33 miles to the W. of it, as appears  
by the following table, which I have rather  
chose to annex, shewing the course of our  
sailing every day, than write every 24 hours  
work down at large, which had been tedious,  
since nothing extraordinary occurred to us  
in our voyage but what I shall briefly re-  
count afterwards.

A TABLE of our voyage from the island of *St. Thomas* to *Barbadoes*, shewing what course,  
distance, difference of latitude, and departure we made every day during our passage, with  
account of the observations and winds.

| 1694.     | Mont. | Days. | Course.                   | Dist. | N.                   | S. | E. | W.  | Latitude.              | Winds.                                   |
|-----------|-------|-------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|----|----|-----|------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| August    | 26    |       | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 43    | 27'                  |    |    | 33  | R. $00^{\circ} 37'$ N. | S. W.                                    |
|           | 27    |       | W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.       | 60    |                      | 4  |    | 59  | R. $00 33$             | S. by W.                                 |
|           | 28    |       | W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.       | 59    |                      | 8  |    | 58  | R. $00 25$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.                      |
|           | 29    |       | W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. | 74    |                      | 18 |    | 71  | R. $00 07$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.                      |
|           | 30    |       | W.                        | 71    |                      |    |    | 71  |                        | S. by W.                                 |
|           | 31    |       |                           | 76    |                      |    |    | 76  |                        |                                          |
| September | 1     |       | W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.       | 78    |                      | 6  |    | 77  | R. $00 01$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.                      |
|           | 2     |       | W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.       | 48    |                      | 7  |    | 47  | R. $00 06$ S.          | Cross'd the<br>line to the<br>southward. |
|           | 3     |       | W. by S.                  | 54    |                      | 10 |    | 53  | R. $00 16$ S.          | S.                                       |
|           | 4     |       | W.                        | 62    |                      |    |    | 62  |                        | S. by W.                                 |
|           | 5     |       |                           | 58    |                      |    |    | 58  |                        |                                          |
|           | 6     |       |                           | 41    |                      |    |    | 41  |                        | Various.                                 |
|           | 7     |       |                           | 61    |                      |    |    | 61  |                        | S. by W.                                 |
|           | 8     |       | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 74    |                      | 46 |    | 58  | R. $01 02$             | S. E. by S.                              |
|           | 9     |       | W. S. W.                  | 118   |                      | 45 |    | 108 | R. $01 47$             | S. E.                                    |
|           | 10    |       |                           | 114   |                      | 43 |    | 105 | R. $02 30$             |                                          |
|           | 11    |       | W.                        | 122   | 10                   |    |    | 122 | Ob. $02 20$            | S. S. E.                                 |
|           | 12    |       |                           | 127   | 10                   |    |    | 127 | Ob. $02 10$            |                                          |
|           | 13    |       |                           | 124   |                      |    |    | 124 |                        |                                          |
|           | 14    |       | W. by S.                  | 120   | 9                    | 19 |    | 118 | R. $02 29$             | S. E.                                    |
|           | 15    |       | W.                        | 113   |                      |    |    | 113 |                        | E. S. E.                                 |
|           | 16    |       |                           | 99    |                      |    |    | 99  |                        |                                          |
|           | 17    |       | N. W.                     | 84    | 59                   |    |    | 59  | R. $01 30$             | S. E.                                    |
|           | 18    |       | N. N. W.                  | 106   | 98                   |    |    | 40  | R. $00 08$ N.          | Cross'd the<br>line again<br>to the N.   |
|           | 19    |       | N. W. by N.               | 130   | 108                  |    |    | 72  | R. $01 56$             |                                          |
|           |       |       | Correct by ob.            |       | 74                   |    |    | 20  | Ob. $03 10$            |                                          |
|           | 20    |       | N. W. by W.               | 100   | 55                   |    |    | 83  | R. $04 05$ N.          | S. E. by E.                              |
|           | 21    |       | N. W.                     | 63    | 45                   |    |    | 45  | Ob. $05 00$ N.         | S. S. E.                                 |
|           | 22    |       | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    | 95    | 73                   |    |    | 60  | R. $06 13$             | S. by E.                                 |
|           | 23    |       | N. N. W.                  | 90    | 83                   |    |    | 34  | R. $07 36$             | S.                                       |
|           | 24    |       | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    | 118   | 90                   |    |    | 75  | Ob. $09 20$            | S.                                       |
|           | 25    |       | N. by E.                  | 33    | 32                   |    | 6  |     | R. $09 52$             | Various.                                 |
|           | 26    |       | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. | 16    | 14                   |    | 7  |     | Ob. $10 09$            | N. W. by W.                              |
|           | 27    |       | N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.    | 30    | 21                   |    |    | 22  | R. $10 30$             | Various.                                 |
|           | 28    |       | N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. | 140   | 134                  |    |    | 40  | Ob. $12 45$            | S. W.                                    |
|           | 29    |       | N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.       | 28    | 27                   |    | 2  |     | Ob. $13 12$            | Various.                                 |
|           | 30    |       | N. by W.                  | 9     | 8                    |    |    | 2   | Ob. $13 20$            | Various.                                 |
|           |       |       |                           |       | Carry'd over 15 2293 |    |    |     |                        |                                          |



| 1694.<br>Mont. Days.               | Course.                        | Dif. | N. | S. | E. | W.  | Latitude.     | Winds.                           |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|----|----|----|-----|---------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>October</i>                     | 1 Calm.                        |      |    |    |    |     | R. 13° 20' N. |                                  |
|                                    | 2 Calm.                        |      |    |    |    |     |               |                                  |
|                                    | 3 Calm.                        |      |    |    |    |     |               |                                  |
|                                    | 4 S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 38   |    | 36 |    | 9   | Ob. 12 44     | W.                               |
|                                    | 5 W.                           | 15   |    |    |    | 15  |               | S. by W.                         |
|                                    | 6 W. by N.                     | 36   | 6  |    |    | 35  | R. 12 50      | S. S. W.                         |
|                                    | 7 N. W. by W.                  | 81   | 45 |    |    | 67  | R. 13 35      | S. W.                            |
|                                    | 8 N. W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. | 64   | 30 |    |    | 56  | Ob. 14 03     | S. W. by W.                      |
|                                    | 9 N. W.                        | 29   | 20 |    |    | 20  | Ob. 14 24     | Various.                         |
|                                    | 10 W. N. W.                    | 12   | 4  |    |    | 11  | R. 14 28      |                                  |
|                                    | 11 W.                          | 50   |    |    |    | 50  |               | N. E.                            |
|                                    | 12                             | 42   |    |    |    | 42  | Ob. 14 16     | E. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 13                             | 78   |    |    |    | 78  | Ob. 14 20     | S. E.                            |
|                                    | 14                             | 72   |    |    |    | 72  |               | E.                               |
|                                    | 15                             | 70   |    |    |    | 70  |               | E. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 16                             | 59   |    |    |    | 59  | Ob. 14 5      | E.                               |
|                                    | 17                             | 56   |    |    |    | 56  |               | E. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 18                             | 48   |    |    |    | 48  | Ob. 13 50     |                                  |
|                                    | 19                             | 12   |    |    |    | 12  |               |                                  |
|                                    | 20                             | 30   |    |    |    | 30  |               | S. E.                            |
|                                    | 21 W. by S.                    | 78   |    | 15 |    | 76  | Ob. 13 34     | E. by N.                         |
|                                    | 22                             | 104  |    | 20 |    | 102 | Ob. 13 12     | N. E.                            |
|                                    | 23 W.                          | 78   |    |    |    | 78  | Ob. 13 14     | N. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 24                             | 66   |    |    |    | 66  | Ob. 13 17     | E. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 25 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.         | 93   |    | 9  |    | 92  | Ob. 13 7      |                                  |
|                                    | 26 W.                          | 124  |    |    |    | 124 |               | N. E.                            |
|                                    | 27                             | 60   |    |    |    | 60  | Ob. 13        | Various.                         |
|                                    | 28 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.         | 76   | 7  |    |    | 75  | Ob. 13 8      |                                  |
|                                    | 29 W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.         | 82   | 4  |    |    | 81  | Ob. 13 12     | N. E.                            |
|                                    | 30 W.                          | 80   |    |    |    | 80  | Ob. 13 15     | N. N. E.                         |
|                                    | 31 W. by S.                    | 70   |    | 13 |    | 68  | Ob. 13 5      | E. by N.                         |
| <i>November</i>                    | 1 W.                           | 68   |    |    |    | 68  | Ob. 13 2      |                                  |
|                                    | 2                              | 52   |    |    |    | 52  | Ob. 13 15     | E.                               |
|                                    | 3 W. S. W.                     | 28   |    | 10 |    | 25  | Ob. 13 4      |                                  |
|                                    | 4 W. by N.                     | 21   | 4  |    |    | 20  | 13 8          |                                  |
|                                    |                                |      |    |    |    |     | 1797          |                                  |
| Brought over from the other side   |                                |      |    |    |    |     | 15 2293       |                                  |
|                                    |                                |      |    |    |    |     | 4090          |                                  |
| Eastings deducted is               |                                |      |    |    |    |     | 15            |                                  |
| Total westing made to Barbadoes is |                                |      |    |    |    |     | 4075          | miles, 67° 54', or leagues 1358. |

This TABLE is so plain, that it needs no illustrating; only, that in the column of latitude, where R. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by dead reckoning; and where Ob. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by observation.

I shall now proceed to recount what extraordinarily occur'd to us in our voyage, exclusive of the course of sailing, &c. supply'd by the above table; beginning where we left off, viz.

From *Sunday* the 26th of *August* we used all our diligence to get to the southward of the equator, for the steady S. E. winds that constantly blow that side, but were so held by the nose with S. S. W. and S. W. winds, that we could not cross the line till *Sunday* the second of *September*, having then made W. departure from the island of *St. Thomas* 492 miles, or leagues 164.

We continued creeping to the southward for fresher gales till *Monday* the

tenth, when I found we were in latitude 2° 30' south, having a brave stiff gale at S. E. and S. S. E. smooth water, and clear weather, but felt it very cold, considering where we were. I observed, that the more we went to the southward, the stronger we had the winds, and the more they veer'd to the eastward; but esteeming ourselves southerly enough, and having as much wind, and as fair as we did desire, we steer'd away W. keeping about the same latitude, with the winds always be-



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between the S. by E. and E. by S. till Sunday the 16th, when judging that we had run a sufficient distance west to the southward of the line, we altered our course to N. W. and N. N. W. to cross it again to the northward; which we did upon the 18th, finding ourselves at noon that day by our observation in  $00^{\circ} 8'$  north latitude, having then made meridian distance in all from the island of *St. Thomas* to the westward  $30^{\circ} 40'$ , or leagues 613, of which we ran 449 leagues, or twenty-two degrees and an half, on the south side of the line.

We now made it our care to get to the N. for the other trade-wind, keeping our course N. N. W. and N. W. having our old wind still attending us at S. S. E. and S. E. but blowing fainter every day till Monday the 24th, when we being in latitude  $9^{\circ} 20'$  N. it took its final leave of us, having then made westing in all from *St. Thomas*  $37^{\circ} 9'$ , or leagues 743. The winds came about to W. N. W. and W. with many showers of rain, and dirty squally weather; from which time we had faint whiffing various winds, and tedious troublesome calms, till the 4th of *October*, being in  $12^{\circ} 44'$  north latitude, it settled at W. and S. W. with dirty stormy weather; therefore being apprehensive of a long passage, I put our men to short allowance of provisions, and to two quarts of water a man per day, boiling our provisions in salt water.

Novemb.

We continued perplexed with calms (in which the heats were most intense and unsupportable) small gales, between the W. and S. W. till the eleventh, we were in  $14^{\circ} 28'$ , being then to the W. of *St. Thomas*  $42^{\circ} 21'$ , or leagues 847, much admiring that we did not fall in with the N. E. trade wind, being we were so far north; but that evening sprung up a small gale at N. E. which continued shuffling between the N. E. and S. E. blowing gently till the 20th, when it began to freshen, continuing between the aforesaid points, we steering W. by S. and W. for *Barbadoes*, and keeping as near as we could in  $13^{\circ} 12'$  N. the allowed latitude of that island, till the 4th of *November* at noon we descried it, bearing off us W. by N. distant seven leagues. I had then very good observation in  $13^{\circ} 4'$  N. so that I make the island to lie in  $13^{\circ} 8'$ , and  $68^{\circ} 49'$  meridian distance west of *St. Thomas*: and whatever some pretend, that 'tis but 60 or 62 degrees west longitude from *Cape Lopez*, I must beg their excuse, if I believe they are mistaken, notwithstanding their positiveness and magisterialness in asserting it; for I am sure we kept our reckoning with

all the care and art that navigation could furnish us with. We stood in till four, when being within three leagues of the island, we laid the ship's head off, and lay by till morning, when we filled our sails, and bore away along the island for *Carlisle* bay. About five in the evening we got about *Needham's* point, and soon let go our anchor in twenty fathom water, having not time to birth ourselves that night; but next morning we warp'd into eight fathom, and moor'd our ship secure; for which mercy God be prais'd.

We spent in our passage from *St. Thomas* to *Barbadoes* two months eleven days, from the 25th of *August* to the 4th of *November* following: in which time there happened such sickness and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the first we buried 14, and of the last 320, which was a fatal great detriment to our voyage, the royal *African* company losing ten pounds by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship ten pounds ten shillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negro delivered alive ashore to the *African* company's agents at *Barbadoes*; whereby the loss in all amounted to near 6560 pounds sterling. The distemper which my men as well as the *Blacks* mostly died of, was the white flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the least check it; so that when any of our men were seized with it, we esteemed him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what should cause it in them so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the island of *St. Thomas*. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing else but the unpurg'd black sugar, and raw unwholesome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great excess, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chastised several of them, and flung over-board what rum and sugar I could find; and was forced to clap one *Lord*, our trumpeter, in irons, for his being the promoter of their unseasonable carousing bouts, and going in one of his drunken fits with his knife to kill the boatswain in his bed, and committing other enormities: but tho' he remained upon the poop day and night in irons for two months, without any other shelter than the canopy of heaven, he was never troubled with any sickness, but made good the proverb, *That naught's never in danger, or that he who is born to be bang'd, &c.* I have given some account of him elsewhere, therefore shall say no more here.

The



The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships that carry them escape without it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them; but tho' we had 100 at a time sick of it, and that it went thro' the ship, yet we lost not above a dozen by it. All the assistance we gave the diseased was only as much water as they desir'd to drink, and some palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very surprizing in this distemper among the *Blacks*, that tho' it immediately infects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man; for I had several white men and boys aboard that had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the *Blacks* that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least catch'd it, tho' it be the very same malady in its effects, as well as symptoms, among the *Blacks*, as among us in *England*, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, &c. But what the small-pox spar'd, the flux swept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodgings as clean and sweet as possible, and enduring so much misery and stench so long among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret ourselves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.

I deliver'd alive at *Barbadoes* to the company's factors 372, which being sold, came out at about nineteen pounds *per* head one with another.

About three weeks ere I arriv'd at *Barbadoes* there happen'd a very severe hurricane, which had put most of the ships in the road ashore, of which I saw about eight or nine beat to pieces among the rocks. The *Bristol* man of war captain *Gurney* split his cables, and got out to sea ere the violence of it came, and return'd after it was over. The *Play-Prize*, captain *Bowls*, with two or three more ships, rid it out; and the *Tiger*, captain *Sherman*, who had parted hence with col. *Kendal*, the late governor for *England*, met with such violent storms, that he lost

his mast, and was forced to put back for this island to refit.

I shall pretend to give no account of this island, which is so well known, being one of our own plantations, but only observe, that tho' it be a pretty pleasant spot, and inhabited by a great many worthy hospitable gentlemen, yet it was it's fate now to be violently infected with the plague, so that in the late war it proved a perfect grave to most that came there, all new-comers being generally seiz'd with the pestilence; of which very few recover'd. Capt. *Thomas Sherman*, in his majesty's ship *Tiger*, in two years that he lay there, bury'd out of her 600 men, as he told me, tho' his complement was but 200, but still pressing new out of the merchant ships that came in, to recruit his number in the room of those that died daily. I lost about 18 of my men by it, and, in truth, did not expect to escape myself, and therefore was so indifferent, that there was not a friend or acquaintance of mine seiz'd with the distemper, but I freely and frequently went to visit him, which possibly was the reason that I escaped it, by having accustom'd myself to the town, and most infectious air, from the beginning, which I did by advice of the ever honoured and worthy Col. *Kendal*; to whose kindness and affection I was beholden for a great many benefits and good offices here (being myself a stranger to the island,) while those that kept in the country, in better air, for fear of it, were commonly infected when they came on any business to town. Here died about 20 masters of ships during my stay here; of which number were poor Capt. *Gurney* and *Bowls*, that commanded his majesty's ships *Bristol* and *Play-prize*. I was lodg'd in *Bridgtown*, at the house of Mr. *William Shaller*, from whom I receiv'd a great deal of civility and assistance in my business, upon the account and recommendation of my honest old friend, Mr. *Roger Shaller* of *London*, his brother; and indeed I receiv'd a great deal of respect and kind treatment from all the honest gentlemen in the island, who are very generous, and for whom I shall ever entertain an honourable esteem.

Having got aboard near 700 hogshheads of sugars, at nine and ten shillings *per* hundred freight for *Muscovadoes*, and 11 for *Clay'd*; some cotton at 2 *d. per lb.* and ginger at 8 *s. per cent.* we got all clear to sail against the 2d of *April*, the *Tiger* man of war being then ready to carry Col. *Kendal* to *England*, and to take under her convoy such ships as were ready to sail at that time, of which there were small and great about 30, seven of which were merchant-men of 28

S f f

guns



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guns and upwards each, and were order'd by Capt. *Sherman* to make the line of battle, in case we met an enemy, he being pleas'd to appoint me, in the *Hannibal*, to lead on the starboard tack, and Capt. *Buttrom* in the *Faulkenburg*, on the larboard tack, in case of engaging, while himself kept the centre; and the other ships of the line were dispos'd for seconds. Col. *Kendal* having disengag'd himself from the multitude of gentlemen that came to attend him, and wish him a good voyage, the 2d of *April* in the evening got aboard the *Tiger*, with a discharge of all the cannon round the town; and the third in the evening we set sail for *England*, with the *Chester* man of war in our company, which Col. *Cotbington*, the general of the leeward islands, had sent from *Antigua* to *Barbadoes*, to strengthen our convoy, till we were past *Diseada*, upon advice he had receiv'd, that there was a squadron of *French* men of war from *Martinico*, waiting for us thereabouts.

*Wednesday* the 3d. Yesterday about four in the evening we got under sail, and stood out of *Carlisle* bay, and then laid our fore top-sail to the mast, and drove to leeward to wait for the rest of the fleet: At seven were abreast the hole. We had great popling sea, but little wind at night, till this day at noon.

*Thursday* the 4th. From noon yesterday we had but little wind till six in the evening, at which time had a small gale at E. the island of *Barbadoes* then bearing S. S. E. distant seven leagues.

From *Thursday* the 4th until *Sunday* the 7th the *Chester* kept us company, when esteeming ourselves clear of all danger, she stood away for *Antigua*. We have had the winds at E. and E. by N. lying up N. N. E. and N. by E. until *Friday* the 12th of *April* the wind veer'd to S. E. by E. and S. E. fine gales; and *Monday* the 15th to S. S. W. and S. W. we steer'd N. N. E. and N. E. by N. with good weather, till *Thursday* the 18th. At noon we were in latitude  $29^{\circ} 24' N.$  having then made from *Barbadoes* 80 miles easting, the sea being cover'd over with a yellowish sort of weed, like rushes, drove from the gulph of *Florida* with the violent current there.

*Friday* the 19th. In the morning 'twas my unhappiness to be seized with violent convulsions in my head, together with a vertigo, so that I could not stand, and all things I look'd on turn'd round; the vertigo was much allay'd soon, but the convulsions continued so severe upon me, that I was forced for most part to keep my bed, till we made the island of *Scilly*, which was upon the 22d of *May*, in which time

the hearing of my left ear was much impair'd, I having lost the hearing of my right ear upon the coast of *Guiney*, by a former fit: And now having none to look after me, (my doctor having died of the plague in *Barbadoes*) my deafness increased daily. There was nothing remarkable in our passage, but the death of madam *North*, Col. *Russel's* daughter-in-law, and the misfortune befell one of my cabin boys, who playing with the tyger in his cage, with his hand, a long time without any offence; at length he scratch'd his hand against the point of a nail, so that it bled a little; as soon as the tyger saw the blood, he seiz'd upon his hand, and in an instant tore it to pieces, almost as far as the wrist ere we could disengage him, the ends of the nerves and torn sinews hanging about like strings, most dismal to behold. I fired a gun for the man of war to lie by, and sent for his surgeon, who dress'd it, till with a north-east wind we put into *Falmouth*, on the 24th of *May*, where I left him ashore with the best surgeon in the town for cure, and parted thence the 28th, with the wind at N. W. but coming out of the harbour, my mate run the ship aground, as an earnest or omen of what follow'd after. With the assistance of my friend Capt. *Sherman's* boat, she was soon got afloat again, without any damage, and join'd the rest of the fleet. The 29th in the morning we were off of *Plymouth* sound, and in the evening that day off the *Start* we join'd the homeward bound *Bilboa* fleet, under convoy of Capt. *Hughs*, in the *Rocheester*, and Capt. *Guy* in the *Crown*, men of war, with whom we continu'd till we came to the east of *Beachyhead*, when the wind taking us short at E. N. E. we thought to tide it into the *Downs*; accordingly the first of *June*, plying to windward with the tide of flood, and my mate, who was drunk, standing with the ship off shore, and Captain *Gillum*, a *New England* man, of 28 guns, standing in, the two ships drawing nigh, and both thro' obstinacy and folly refusing to bear up, or tack in time, they run aboard each other, our stemlings in her midships, and beat her side in so, that he was forc'd to bring his ship upon the heel with his guns, to keep her from sinking, but he carry'd away our ship's head and boltsprit, foremast and foretopmast, sunk our three boats that were astern; and had not the *Hannibal* been a strong well-built old ship, 'twas enough to have sunk her too: I was in my bed extremely sick, and knew nothing of the accident, till my steward came running into my round-house, with his hands lifted up, tears in his eyes, and terror and confusion in his face: I could not hear what he said,

nor



nor imagine what was the matter, but full of consternation, twenty mischiefs presented themselves to my thoughts at once, as fire, running aground, the enemy, foundering, &c. but getting out of bed as fast as I could, and crawling to the cuddy door, I saw the sad disaster, and the poor ship like a wreck floating in the sea, with her mast and rigging dangling about her ears. I caused them immediately to make a weff with our ensign, and fire guns for help; and the *Rocheſter* and *Crown* men of war very kindly bore down to us, and my old acquaintance Capt. *Guy* (who had formerly been lieutenant of the *Hannibal*, when she was employ'd as a 4th rate in his majesty's service) took the end of our stream-cable into his gun-room-port, and tow'd us after him for *Spithead*, where all the ships were now crouding for, the wind being contrary, and looking like dirty weather: He likewise sent his lieutenant, boatswain, and 30 able seamen to help right up my ship, and fix some jury masts; we were forced to cut away and loose our boats, and most of our broken masts and rigging, my old drunken beast of a mate *Robſon*, that was the occasion of it, lying dead drunk asleep upon the fore-castle, while ours and the men of wars men got down the main-top-mast, and fitted him for a jury foremast, and the main-top-gallant-mast for a fore-top-mast, making a boltsprit of an old boom we had; we set our mainsail, and with that and our small sails afore, together with the *Crown's* tugging of us, we got safe to *Spithead*, where all the rest of the ships were come before.

This last unexpected accident, so near home, did so grieve and afflict me, that my convulsions grew more violent than ever, whereby, before we reach'd *Spithead*, my hearing was quite gone: When our ship was anchor'd, I sent an account to Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, and other owners of our disaster, and of the ship's and my own

condition, requesting they would please to send down a commander, mate, and boatswain, to take care of their ship, and refit her for her passage to *London*, I being render'd incapable to do it, thro' my deafness and indisposition, and had discharg'd my mate as soon as we came to *Spithead*. Accordingly Capt. *John Hereford* was dispatch'd with proper officers down to *Portsmouth*; to whom by my owners direction I resign'd the command of their ship; and after having deliver'd two chests of gold I had aboard, to the royal *African* company's servants, who came with a guard for it, I went along with them in the coach up for *London*, in order to recover my health and hearing, having taken some physick and let blood in the arm and forehead, for my giddiness, at *Portsmouth*.

When I came to *London*, thro' the kindness and good-will of my friends and acquaintance, who were sorry to see me return in that condition, I was advis'd to a great many applauded physicians, who all pretended they would cure my deafness: I went under the care of several of them, who were the most celebrated in that famous city, by whose orders I was tormented by the apothecaries, with doses of nasty physick every day, for four or five months time, and butcher'd by the surgeons with blisters, issues, setons, &c. and spent about 100 guineas among them, without receiving a farthing benefit; wherefore I did conceive it more prudence to bear my deafness as contentedly as I could, than any longer to undergo so much misery and charge to no purpose; accordingly I shook hands with the doctors, and being rendered unfit for my employment by my deafness, I settled my affairs in *London*, took my leave of it, and came down to *Wales*, among my relations in *Brecknock*, my native town, there to spend the rest of my life as easily as I can, under my hard misfortune.







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A  
VOYAGE

INTO THE

North-West Passage,

Undertaken *Anno* 1612.

Written by *JOHN GATONBE.*

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-noster Row.* 1746.

VOL. VI.

T t t



To the Right Worshipfull

*Sir* CHRISTOPHER HILYEARDS, *Knt.*

*John Gatonbe wisshethe in this life the contynvance of health and prosperitie, with great increase of worship, and everlasting felicitie in Christ our Saviour.*

**P**Urposing with myselfe to present this journal, or travis-book, to you, which is vsually kept of seafayringe men and mariners, in ther navigation of long voyages and unknowne countryes; and having been lett thes two years, being travelling vpon the sea to mayntayne my poore estat of wife and children; and this winter being at home, and remembering the manyfold cvrtesies shewed by you to my anciente father, *Nicholas Gatonbe*, I thought good this simple labour, such as it is, to offer vnto you, right worshipfull, desiring you to accept it, as a gift that proceedeth from such a one, who hartily wisheth you well, and would, if ability served, present you with a better, seeing and knowing your worship and your ancestors have been alwayes well-wishers to this towne, and the inhabitants of the same; wherefor I intreat your worship to peruse it over.

And, *First*, you shall see the setting out of our voyage, what adventures we had with our generall.

*Secondly*, The tym of our saylling.

*Thirldy*, Our travis upon the sea, with the windes and weyther we had.

*Fourthly*, The height of the poll observed.

*Fifthly*, The ice we faylled by, with the coldnes of the aire.

*Sixthly*, The barrenness of the country, with huge mountaynes lying full of snow.

*Seventhly*, The nature and conditions of the inhabitants, and salvages of the same.

*Eighthly*, The things we bought of them for old iron, with that which happened vnto vs in the country.

*Lastly*, Of our returne homward, and our safe arivall.

Thvs craving both pardon for my boldnes, and also requesting your favorable accepting of my simple travell, I cease from further troubling your worship with my rudnes, praying Gode to inriche you with the plentyfull increase of the gifts of his sprite.

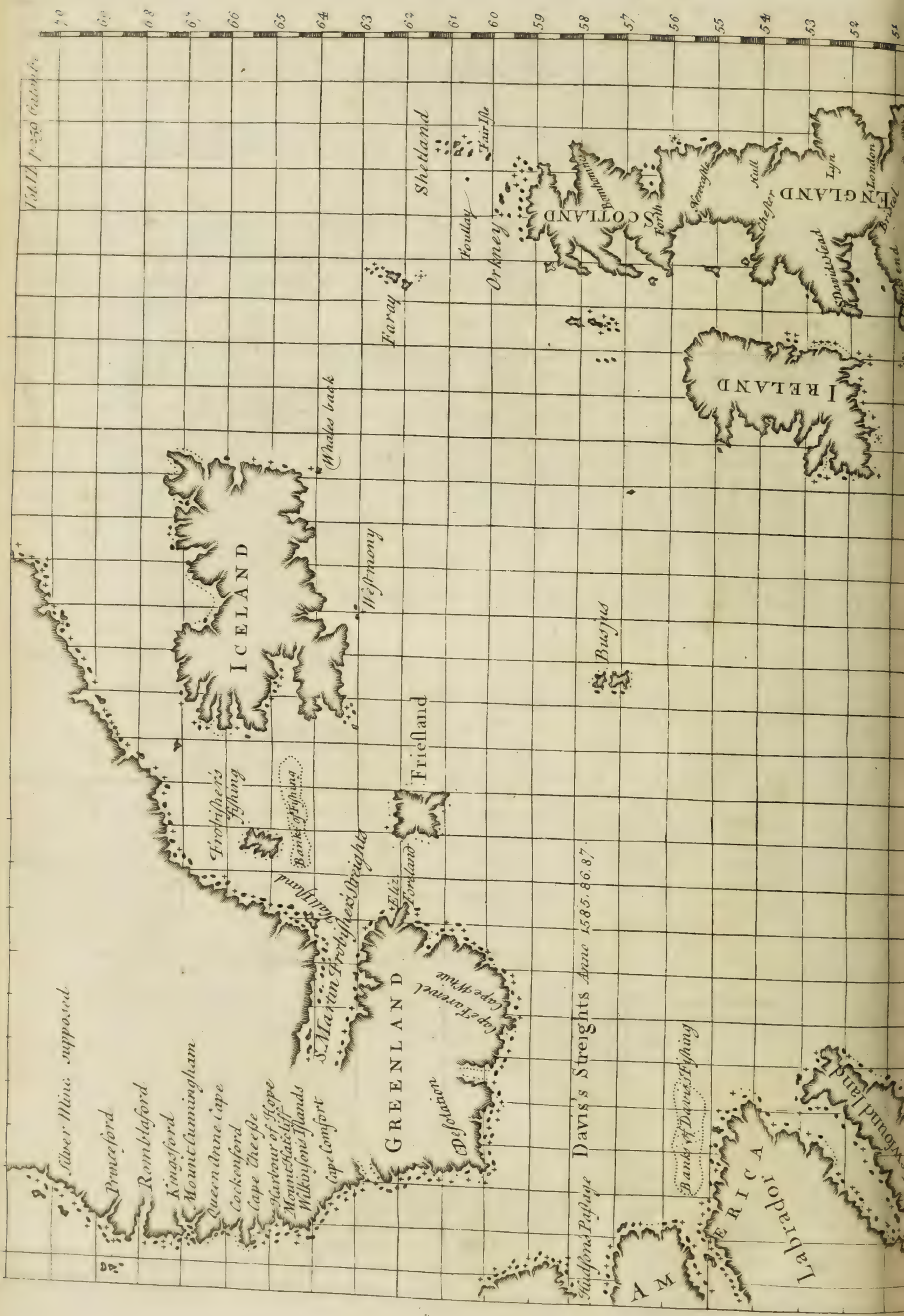
From the poor house of *John*  
*Gatonbe*, this 25th day of  
Februarie, 1615.

*We have preserved the spelling of this dedication, as a specimen of the orthography of the time; but we thought it proper for the sake of the generality of our readers, to accommodate the spelling of the piece itself to the modern way, especially, as there was no method observ'd by the writer.*









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70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51

Silver Mine supposed

Ponceford

Rombiaford

Kingsford

Mount Cunningham

Queen Anne's Cape

Cockenford

Cape Theeße

Harbour of Hope

Mount Hattiff

Wilkison's Islands

Cape Comfort

GREENLAND

Desolation

Cape Farewell

Cape Wray

Elizabeth

Forland

Davis's Straights Anno 1585.86.87

Hudson's Passage

AM

Banks of Davis's Fishing

AMERICA

Labrador

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

S. Martin

Davis's Straights

Elizabeth

Forland

Cape Farewell

Cape Wray

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Orkney

Foully

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London

Bristol

England

Ireland

Bujus

Davis's Straights

Anno 1585.86.87

Hudson's Passage

Banks of Davis's Fishing

AMERICA

Labrador

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land

Labrador Land



# A VOYAGE into the North-West Passage,

GA-  
TONBE.  
April  
1612.

Undertaken in the Year 1612.

By the Merchants Adventurers of London, Sir George Lancaster Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Ball, Mr. Cocken, and Mr. James Hall being Venturer with them, and General of both the Ships.

**T**HE 10th of April, being Good-Friday, we haled both our ships into Hull road, the one being of the burden of one hundred and forty tons, called the *Patience*, we being forty men and boys in her; the other of sixty tons, called the *Heart's-Ease*, containing twenty men and boys. This day we cross'd both our yards, and entered into pay, making fit to take the first wind to sail withal.

Monday April 20 we fet sail in Hull road, the wind at E. S. E. and bore down to *Cleeneffs*; and anchor'd; and towards night the wind came to the N. E. and so we return'd into *Paul* road again this night; being much wind.

21. This day the wind came to S. S. W. and so at night we went over and rode at the *Nefs*, our pinnace being about businefs at the town.

Set fail.

22. This day, being Wednesday, we weigh'd and fet sail, the wind at S. S. W. and came out of *Humber* at 12 o'clock at noon, going our course N. and by W.

23. This day the wind southerly, we going the same course, being seven leagues off *Whitby* at noon, and at six

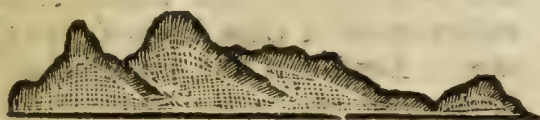
o'clock at night we were nine leagues off *Hunclife*, it bearing from us S. S. W. we failing N. N. W.

24. This day the wind at E. S. E. and very fair weather, we being some twelve leagues off *Stabs-head*, it bearing W. S. W. from us. At noon we observed the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $56^{\circ} 12'$ .

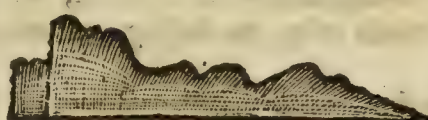
25. This day the wind at S. E. we failing N. N. W. and at 9 o'clock in the morning we spake with north-sea fishermen, and had fresh fish of them, they belonging to *Yarmouth*, being from *Bobomness* W. S. W. nine leagues off, the pole being rais'd  $508^{\circ} 30'$ .

26. This day, being Sunday, the wind southerly, we sail'd betwixt *Orkney* and *Fair-Isle* and *Foullay*, leaving the islands and *Shetland* off our starboard side at 3 o'clock in the morning; and at 6 o'clock we failed W. and by N. to the sea, *Foullay* bearing from us N. E. five leagues off; and at noon the wind came southerly, we failing then W. This day at night the wind came contrary, to the S. W. we failing to the northward N. W.

*Fair-Isle* sheweth thus two leagues off.



*Foullay* sheweth thus three leagues off.



After we parted from these two islands, we had sight of no other land till we came to sight of Greenland.

27. This day we had much wind at N. W. being forced to take in our top-sails for our vice-admiral, she being a-stern of us, we failing W. N. W. and at four o'clock at night we tacked about to the southward, we failing S. W. and by S. the wind coming to the W. and by S.

28. This day the wind came to the N. W. with cloudy weather. This day at 6 o'clock in the morning we tack'd

about to the southward, failing W. S. W. and at noon we did observe the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $59^{\circ} 47'$ .

29. This day the wind at N. W. we standing to the southward W. S. W. being thick hazy weather.

30. This day calm and misty from twelve o'clock to 6 o'clock in the morning; then the wind came to the S. W. we failing all the day after W. and by N.

May



GA- May 1. being Friday, the wind at W.  
TONBR. S. W. we failing to the northward N. W.  
May and by N. being misty and much wind;  
1612. and at noon it cleared up, and we did  
observe the sun, and found the pole rais'd  
 $61^{\circ} 31'$ , we tacking about to the south-  
ward, wending S. and by W. having fair  
weather; and at 8 o'clock at night we tack'd  
about and stood to the northward, wending  
N. N. W.

2. This day stormy weather, with the  
wind at S. W. and by W. being misty and  
rain, we standing to the northward N.  
W. and by W. and at 10 o'clock it fell little  
wind and calm; and the wind ran to the  
N. E. we failing our course W. having a  
fresh gale of wind at noon.

3. This day we had fair weather, the  
wind at E. S. E. we failing W. This day  
we did observe the sun, and found the pole  
to be rais'd  $61^{\circ} 46'$ ; and at 4 o'clock at  
night the wind came contrary, being wester-  
ly, we standing to the northward N. N. W.  
and at 6 o'clock we stood to the southward  
again.

4. This day the wind at N. W. we fail-  
ing W. S. W. and at 5 o'clock our vice-  
admiral sprung her fore-mast, whereby she  
was forced to take in her top-sails and fore-  
sails; and so did we in the admiral, till  
such time as they had fished it and made it  
strong. This day at noon we did observe  
the sun, and found the pole rais'd  $61^{\circ} 8'$ ,  
the wind being come to N. N. E. we  
failing our course W.

5. This day the wind came to W. and  
by S. and began to blow, we standing to  
the northward N. W. and by N.

6. This day the wind at W. and at 6  
o'clock in the morning the wind came to  
N. and by W. and so we steer hence W.  
the altitude of the pole being  $61^{\circ} 36'$ .

7. This day the wind at N. W. and by  
N. we failing W. and by S. and at 2  
o'clock in the afternoon it came up to  
the N. E. being cloudy and thick, which  
turn'd to much rain, we failing our course  
west.

8. This day much wind and rain at E.  
N. E. we failing W. and at noon we had  
fair weather, the wind being come to the N.  
This day we hoped to see *Friesland*, yet did  
not.

9. This day the wind at N. N. E. stor-  
my weather, we failing our course W. and  
at noon it grew fair, and we observed the  
sun, and found the altitude of the pole to  
be  $59^{\circ} 51'$ . This day our master found  
by his instrument the compass varied  $15^{\circ}$   
to the westward of the north, the occasion  
we had no sight of *Friesland* failing to the  
southward some twelve leagues; so that for  
our west course we kept, we had made but  
a W. and by S. way: yet I suppose it to  
be the current which doth set to the south-  
westward, and so doth set from the wester-  
most part of *Friesland* into the N. W.  
passage.

10. This day the wind northerly, we  
failing W. and by N. and at noon we ob-  
serv'd the sun, and found the altitude of  
the pole to be  $60^{\circ} 4'$ , being very fair  
weather.

11. The wind N. and at noon we found-  
ed and had no ground of one hundred and  
fifty fathom, it being little wind and calm,  
sometimes southerly, and sometimes at S. W.  
sometimes easterly: thus it did continue  
variable all the day, being fair weather and  
smooth sea, we failing for the most part W.  
and by S.

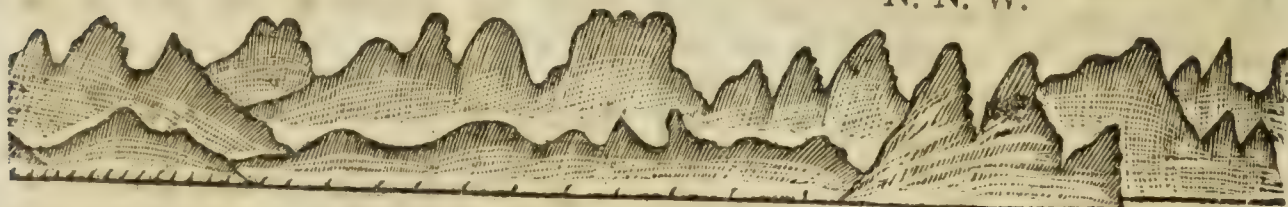
12. This day calm; and at 4 o'clock  
in the morning the wind came to E. N.  
E. we failing W. and by N. This day  
the water changed of a blackish colour;  
also we saw many whales and grampus's.

13. The wind at E. we failing W. and  
by N. this day being hazy, we met with  
ice, the wind being come to N. N. E.  
Much wind and snow at 9 o'clock at night;  
so that we were forced to take in our sails,  
and stand with our fore-sail to the eastward,  
wending E. Also some of our men spied  
land, yet we could not well discern it, it  
snowing so fast.

14. We stood in with the land again  
at 2 o'clock in the morning, wending N.  
N. W. and had sight of land betwixt 5  
and 6 o'clock in the morning: and our  
master made it *Cape Farewel*, so called by *Cape*  
captain *Dauids* at the first finding of the *Farewel*.  
country in anno 1585. because he could  
not come near the land, by six or seven  
leagues, for ice. It bearing from us N.  
N. W. and we failing along by the ice  
W. N. W. all the day.

The land did rise thus, full of snow.

The cape seven leagues off.  
N. N. W.



This land is the southermost point in Greenland, the height of the pole there being  $59^{\circ} 15'$ .



15. The wind at N. N. W. failing W. and at 4 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about again to the ice, again failing N. N. E. and at 10 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about again, being hard aboard the ice, having sight of the land, it stretching more to the northward. The ice lieth all along it, being as it were a great bay betwixt two head-lands.

16. This day a cold hazy wind, it being at N. N. W. we failing W. and at 7 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about, lying N. E. and by N. and at 2 o'clock we met with ice again; we lying to and fro, hoisted our shallop out; and espying seals lying upon the ice, our shallop rowed to them, and killed one of them; the rest tumbled into the water, being twenty in a company. This day we observ'd the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $59^{\circ} 30'$ , we being some 70 leagues within the straights, it being 115 leagues between the coast of *America* and *Greenland* in the entrance of this passage.

17. The wind at S. in the morning, we failing N. W. This day we run among the ice, and were inclosed with the ice, so that we could get no passage to the northward; and so we were forced to stand out again, and were glad that God had deliver'd us from amongst it; it being 4 o'clock in the afternoon before we were

clear of the ice, failing S. W. to the sea. This day, being *Sunday*, we had sight of the land called *Desolation*, it being from us 15 leagues N. and by E.

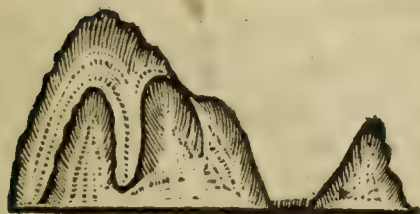
18. This day at one o'clock in the morning we had much wind and snow, the wind being westerly; and at six o'clock in the morning it proved fair weather. We tack-ing about into the shore, did wend N. and by W. which did near the land of *Desolation*: and at noon we tack'd about and stood back again, being ten leagues from the land, it bearing N. N. E. of us; the ice hindering of us this day, we did observe the sun, and found the pole  $59^{\circ} 53'$ .

19. The wind southerly, we failing for the most part N. W. by N. and N. N. W. Then the land of *Desolation* did bear off us N. E. and by E. This day we did meet with great islands of ice. This day we did observe the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $60^{\circ} 35'$ : also we had a forcible current which we went along the coast with till we came to bring *Desolation* point E. of us. This current set from *Desolation* into *America* side, and into *Hudson's* straights, being so called by his men, they leaving him behind them in that country, which was his death in the year 1611.

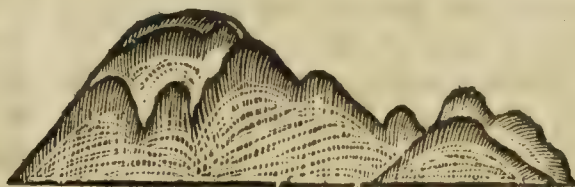
GATONBE.  
May  
1612.

Land of  
*Desolation*.

Cape Desolation rises thus 15 leagues off, N. E. by N.



The land of Desolation rises thus 12 leagues off, N. E. by E.



*This land so called by captain Davids, it being so desolate and comfortless, with huge mountains of snow lying upon it, such as he had never seen, nor any of his men before him.*

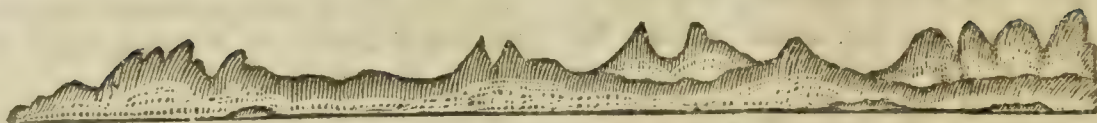
20. This day the wind at N. and by E. we failing E. and by N. to the land, which we had no sight of as this day. This day we did observe the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $61^{\circ} 32'$ , being to the northward of *Desolation* some thirty leagues. This day we stood to the westward; and at 10 o'clock at night we stood to the eastward, again meeting ice.

21. The wind at N. E. and by E. This day we had sight of land at 2 o'clock in

the morning; and our master, mate, *John Hemslay* and I called it *The land of Comfort*. And we called up our men, and tack'd about our ships, the ice hindering us from coming near the land, we failing along the land N. and N. and by W. being distant from it seven leagues. And at noon we being near the ice, our men went with the shallop to it, and killed four seals, and brought other two aboard quick, we having good sport betwixt them and our mastiff-dogs.

The land  
of Com-  
fort.





Cape Comfort rises thus, the height of the pole being  $62^{\circ} 33'$ , the smoothest land, and best to look to of all the country of Greenland; yet we could not come near it for ice.

22. The wind at N. and by E. This day we turn'd amongst the ice, meeting with many islands of ice which were very high like great mountains: some of them we judg'd to be thirty yards from the water, floating upon the seas, being fifteen leagues off the land. This day we had sight of the land, yet could not come near it for ice. This day we did observe the sun, and found the pole raised  $62^{\circ} 55'$ .

23. The wind at N. N. W. This day being calm at noon, we sound'd with our lead, and had no ground of one hundred and eighty fathom, being some one hundred ten leagues within the passage. This day we found the altitude of the pole to be  $63^{\circ}$ , failing N. E. and by E. in with the land.

24. This day the wind at N. and by E. we failing N. W. and by W. being thick cloudy weather; and at 8 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about to the eastward, it being little wind, and sometimes calm.

25. This day calm, with little wind and variable; sometimes at N. sometimes N. W. we failing for the most part N. E. and by E. This day we sound'd by an island of ice with our shallop, and found no ground of one hundred and fifty fathom, being off the land twenty-one leagues: and at 10 o'clock at night it was thick and misty weather, so that one ship could not see the other.

26. This day the wind at N. we failing E. N. E. failing in with land, being very thick and misty weather; and at two o'clock in the afternoon it clear'd up, and we saw the land, being some three leagues from it, it seeming as though we were hard by it, being a very high land, having much snow lying upon it. Also two of the savages came rowing to our ships in their boats, we failing in still with the land; sound'g, and having with our lead and line twenty-five fathom, sometimes twenty, eighteen, fifteen, twelve fathom, it being rocky ground, coming amongst many dry rocks and islands. This day we look'd for a harbour with our shallops for the ships to ride in safety, and found one, which our general called *The harbour of Hope*; for here we came to land with our ships; the which we could not come near, the time we sailed along the land, from the sight of *Cape Farewel* until we came to this place.

Harbour  
of Hope.

27. The 27th day we harboured in the harbour of *Hope* (the islands we called *Wilkinson's islands*; the mountain we called *Mount Hatchlife*) at two o'clock in the morning; praising our God for our safe arrival in this unknown country, having been from home five weeks and two days.

28. The twenty-eighth day our general found a convenient place to land the quarters of our pinnace for our carpenters to set together, it being an island hard by our ships. This day also our general caused our ship's boat to be mann'd, and our shallop, and went himself to discover the country, and what rivers he could find in the main; the savages rowing to and fro to our ships, holding up their hands to the sun, and clapping them on their breasts, and crying, *Elyot*, which is as much as to say in *English*, *Are we friends?* thus saluting us in this manner every time they came to us, and we offering the same courtesy to them, making them the more bold to come to our ships, they bringing with them seal-skins, and pieces of unicorn horn, with other trifles, which they did barter with us for old iron.

29, 30, 31. These days our carpenters made haste with our great pinnace to get her down, the weather being fair, and the wind for the most part easterly; for our general was minded to make what speed he could for to sail along the coast further to the northward, being as yet not come to the place where he was at afore by seventy leagues.

June 1. Our general returned aboard June. again, having found two rivers in the main, the one he called *LANCASTER* river; the other, *Ball* river; for *Greenland* is like *Norway*, having many islands and rocks along the main.

2. Our master and Mr. *Barker*, master of the *Vice Admiral*, went in the shallop and rowed amongst the islands, and to one of the rivers where they were afore, having their fowling-pieces with them to shoot fowl with, of which that country affordeth small store.

3. This day we imploy'd ourselves in searching the country, which affordeth nothing as yet for the profit of our voyage.

4. At night one of the savages stole a musket from our men which kept the island,

Inhabi-  
tants of  
Green-  
land.



island, where our great pinnacle was set up, they keeping a bad watch, and leaving their musket where they kept centry, being at the fire in the coy, the weather being cold; it was taken away by one of the wild men, they could not tell when. The cause of our watching was, for that the savages will steal all things they can come by, but chiefly iron.

*The fashion of the savages rowing in their boats, the boat being made of seal skins, and clos'd all but the place where he rows in her, and that is clos'd about him when he sits in her, from his waste downward. His oar hath two webs, and he useth both hands to row with. See Plate, folio 263.*

5. This day we launch'd our great pinnacle, which our general called the *Better Hope*. This day also *James Pullay* catching hold of one of the savages, another did cast a dart at him, and struck him into the body with it, on the left side, which gave him his death's wound. Also the savage he took we haul'd into the ship, and by him we had our musket again; for two of the savages being aged men, and rulers of the rest, came with great reverence to know the occasion we had taken one of their men; we with signs and other tokens did shew them the occasion, being the best language we all had amongst us, delivering their man, his boat, oar, and darts: Our general gave unto him a coat, a knife, and a seeing-glass also, to requite the injury we had done, yet he with a frowning look desiring to be gone from us, we let him go out of the ship, and helping him into the chains, he leap'd over-board, and the other two did help him ashore; and when he was ashore the savages cut off the coat our master gave him, from his back, so little did they regard it: It was made of yellow cotton, with red gards of other cotton about it.

6. *James Pullay* departed this life to the mercy of God, at three o'clock in the morning, and we bury'd him at noon upon one of the islands we rode by. This day also we carry'd the quarters of *Mr. Barker's* small shallop to be set together by the carpenters ashore, that we might have our shallops ready to go with us along to the northwards.

7, 8, 9. Rainy weather, otherwise our shallop had been done, and we gone from hence to the northwards.

10. The shallop was done and launch'd this day. *Mr. Hall* being general of both the ships, did hold a parley with all the company of both ships, strictly commanding that none of us should barter for any

thing, but *Mr. Wilkinson*, who was merchant for the venturers, and them that were appointed by the merchant, in pain of forfeiting their wages; which articles were wisely answer'd by the officers of the ships.

11. We cross'd our yards, and got an anchor home, but the wind came contrary, spending our time in rowing from island to island, and the savages came to and fro to our ships, bringing us fresh fish, which we bought for iron nails.

12. One of the savages brought two young seals, which he had killed at sea, and our master bought them, and we haul'd them into the ship, we wondering he could kill them at sea, it blowing so much wind at S. W.

14. This day, being *Sunday*, we came out with the wind N. N. E. and the savages rowed to us, being six leagues off the land into the sea; and for that our captain gave one of them a knife. This day we observed the sun, and found the pole's altitude to be 64 degrees, being the height of the place we came out of, being the harbour *Hope*; *Wilkinson's* islands and mount *Hat-cliff* we rowed under, they bearing off us E.

15. The wind at E. S. E. we sailing along the land to the northward, N. by E. being fair weather.

16. The wind at N. by W. we sailing into the shore N. E. by E. This day *Mr. Hall* and *Mr. Barker* took their shallops, being well mann'd, and rowed into the land to discover the country, and to see what traffick they could have with savages. This day lying off and on with our ships, they being ashore with the shallops, the wind came out of the sea, and we stood off, sailing N. N. W. The wind being come to west, and the vice-admiral following of us, struck on a blind rock, and took no harm, praised be God! our shallops not coming to us till we were five or six leagues off the land.

17. The wind at S. E. we sailing along the land to the northward N. by E. This day, being *Wednesday*, we rowed with both our shallops into the land, and founded the harbour we anchor'd in, being the second harbour we came in.

18. At eight o'clock at night we had a fore storm off the land at S. E. with such mighty whirl-winds, which came from the mountains, that all our cables we had, being new ones, we bent to our great anchor, and let it fall, to keep us from the rocks.

19. In the morning we broke one of our cables, and we rode by our great anchor, having much wind and rain.

20. The weather faired, and our general caused our great pinnacle to be made ready, and to row along the coast, he going with



GA.  
TONBE.  
June  
1612.

with us himself, we being in her 22 men and boys. This day we rowed some four leagues, and came to a great island and anchor'd there three hours; and from thence we went into a river lying up E. by N. up the river.

21. We rowed up the river still, and we found nothing in it for any profit, rowing some three leagues into it, the ice stopping that we could get no further.

22. We being let by ice returned and rowed out again, and the savages followed and rowed after us, and so along with us, intending to do us some harm; for when we came near any island they did throw stones at us with their slings.

23. The wind at N. N. W. and we rowed amongst the islands to the northward, and so came to a great river, which troubled us to row over, there went such a forcible tide of flood, it being within a league of *Queen Anne Cape*, and came to an island and rested us there till the flood was done, and then we rowed about the cape and came to an island, whereon was a warlock, and rowed into it and found it a good harbour for ships. This day we rowed into a river, as we supposed, but found it to be a bay, we being three leagues to the northward of the cape. This day our men went ashore and killed six partridges, and spy'd in a valley seven wild deer, yet as soon as they did see us, they did run away as fast as their feet could carry them.

24. We rowed out again, and so along the land. This day we came to a mountain, where we rowed to it amongst the islands, taking it for a river our master had been at afore, yet it was not: The mount we called *Gabriel Mount*.

25. We rowed from thence to an island which lieth two leagues off the land, with many broken rocks about it, that stretch from the main, and so to the sea-board; and there we rested all that day, the wind blowing very much at N. it being against us. This island our master called by the name of *Thoroughgood* island. Here we got great store of mussels, being of a great bigness. Here one of our men killed a fox with a fowling-piece, being many in this island that run from the main, and feed upon fish they get off the island.

26. It being very fair weather we rowed from thence, amongst many broken rocks, and so along the land; and at noon we came to the river our master had been at afore, he naming it the *King's Ford*; there is a mount he named *Cunningham Mount*; we had traffick with the savages; and at night we anchor'd in a haven, on the south-side of the river, called *Denmark Haven*, there being in the entrance forty fathom deep, and had traffick with the savages for seals skins, and some salmon-trout.

27. We rowed over to the north side of the river, and sought for a roadstead for our ships, and found one, having twelve fathom deep, meaning to bring our ships thither, with God's help.

28. We rowed to our ships again, having but two days victuals; none could we get, being from our ships, the savages eating raw meat, do kill with their darts, both fowl, fish, and flesh, so that there was little to get but that they brought us.

29. We came to our ships again, being from them nine days, having had much tedious weather, with thicks and snow, as we rowed along the coast, it being some twenty-five leagues betwixt the ships and the *King's Ford*. The vice-admiral welcomed us to our ships with a volley of small shot, being all in health, God be thanked.

30. We made ready to sail to the river we had been at with our pinnace; fetching home an anchor, and getting our yards across.

1. This day, being the 1st of *July*, the *July*. wind northerly, yet at night it came southerly, and we set sail, hoping to have got to the sea, but the wind came westerly, with rain, and so we came in again.

2. The wind northerly, and rain, we riding in this harbour still.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. The wind northerly, we rode still, being wind-bound, and much rainy weather; we buying of the savages such things as they brought us, being fresh fish, namely, salmon-trout, muskfish, codfish, and butfish, a little quantity serving for our victuals.

9. Being calm we towed with our boats and shallops the vice-admiral to sea, our great pinnace going with them, our general and twelve of our men being also with them, they towing her astern of them, he leaving his two mates and the quarter-masters in the admiral, and they to come after him in her to the *King's Ford*.

10, 11, 12. We were wind-bound, the which time we salted two barrels of salmon-trout the savages brought us, we giving them old iron for the same.

13. At night we turned to the sea, seeing in the offing the other ship, our *Vice Admiral*, which had been put to the leeward of the place with contrary winds. That night we had much rain.

14. Much wind southerly, so that we were forced to lie to and fro, short of our place, being hazy weather, and rain. This day one of our small shallops broke loose from our stern, and we had much ado to get her again. Also at afternoon it became fair weather, so that it clear'd up, and we got sight of land, and of the *King's Ford*, and went in that night and anchor'd in the roadstead, where we founded afore with our pinnace,

Gabriel  
mount.

Through-  
good  
island.

Denmark  
haven.



pinnacle, there being twelve fathom, and oozy ground; and we called the roadstead

*Grampus-road*, for many times grampus's came into it.

GA-  
TONEE.  
July  
1612.



15. The *Heart's-Ease*, our vice-admiral, came to us into the river, and coming in to us, our small shallop being mann'd, our chief master-mate, *William Gordon* so call'd, rowed to her and met them, and speeches growing betwixt our general and him, he caused Mr. *Barker* to anchor in a little sound, on the south-side of the river, being from us some three leagues. Our general being angry would not come aboard of us, but was in the vice-admiral. At night our pinnacle came from the *Heart's-Ease*, with commission for four men more, and for bread and beer, and so returned aboard the vice admiral; our general minding presently to row with the pinnacle to the silver mine, the which he promised to bring us to, which put us in hopes that we should be rich men by it, yet it proved otherwise.

16. The wind northerly. This day we had traffick with the savages for trifling things, as darts and seals skins, and for some unicorns horns.

17, 18. The wind still northerly, yet the vice-admiral turned out to the sea, going to a river which he called *Romblaesford*, distant from us eighteen leagues to the northwards.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. We rowed to and fro in this great river, seeking if we could find any whales, to have killed one or two, that we might have got something for the profit of the voyage, for Mr. *Hall*, our general, told us that the times he had been there afore, he had seen great abundance in this river of whales; and now we could see none. Also we walked up the mountains to see if we could kill any wild beasts, as bears, or deers, or wolves, but we saw none. The cause is, the people of

the country kill them for meat, as I wrote afore, so that it is rare to see any wild beast in *Greenland*, more strange to catch them of us, yet we see many times their footing.

25. We wondered that the savages came not to us, but now one, and then one, thinking they had followed our vice-admiral, which was too true; for this day at night came our vice-admiral, with our great pinnacle at her stern, her flag hanging down, and her ancient hanging down over her poop, which was a sign of death: we being most of us asleep but the watch, were soon awake, for our pinnacle came aboard of us and told us of the death of our master and general, *James Hall*; and how with a dart he was slain of one of the savages, and died the 23d of July; for being in the ship's boat, and his man *William Huntriff*, and two more, one of the savages offer'd to sell him a dart, he taking up a piece of iron, in the mean time he threw his dart at him, and struck him through his clothes into his body four inches upon his right side, which gave his death's wound. Mr. *Barker* and twenty men more were in the great pinnacle, on the other side of the ship; the which, if the savages would, they might have killed most of them in the pinnacle, there being about them more than 150 boats of them, our men having no muskets ready, nor any other provision to prevent them from hurting them; for our men did think they had come in a friendly manner to bargain with them; yet it proved otherwise, to the danger of them all, and the loss of our general. This news coming, contrary to our expectation, made us not a little sorrowful.



GATONBE.  
July  
1612.

26. Mr. *Barker*, master of the vice-admiral, being by our general, Mr. *Hall*, lying upon his death-bed, authorized to be master and general of the ships, and to dispose of all things according to his liking, for the good of the voyage and safety of the men, yet by these controversies growing amongst the men, in that Mr. *Wilkinson*, doer for the venturers, and *William Gordon*, and *John Hemslay*, master mates, being vex'd, and stomaching that he should be master of the admiral, and general of both the ships, would not consent nor agree to it, they thinking to place one of themselves; but they falling to hard words, Mr. *Barker* leaving them, came afore the mast, and calling the rest of the company together, discoursed from point to point the will and command of our general late deceas'd, shewing us with all the writings and full consent which he gave, with the consent of all the company in the vice-admiral, and some of the chief officers who were there, in the admiral, as the goldsmith, the surgeon, two quarter-masters, the cockswain, and master of the pinnace, and ten men more of the admiral's company, who set their hands to it, being his last will and command, they belonging all to the admiral; yet many of our company respecting neither writing, counsel, nor the consent of our late general deceas'd, cry'd out *John Hemslay* shall be our master; which voice being heard in the ship amongst all, we quarter-masters, with the gunner, boatswain, surgeon, trumpeter, and cooper, and other officers of the admiral and vice-admiral, ended the uproar of the rest of the company, with this conclusion, that Mr. *Barker* was better, wiser, more ancient, and more worthy of the place than they, having taken charge twenty years before, knowing by experience many inconveniencies which might befall us; besides having been ruler and overseer of many good men in great ships in the town of *Hull*, besides other places of this realm; and having been one of the chief masters and wardens of the *Trinity-house*; one that was wise, and one that would speak for us amongst our merchants, and other great men, if need did require. Thus we coming amongst the company, persuading them that none had more right than he, they presently consented, giving their hearty good will.

27, 28, 29, 30. Having put in *William Huntrisse*, master of the vice-admiral in his own place, he went himself master in the admiral, and head commander of both the ships, causing them to be made ready for returning homeward with as much haste as we could make them, taking in ballast into both the ships, for to make them bear sail,

finding in the ships two months victuals, which well consider'd, was little enough to supply our want homeward, so that by the last of this month of *July* we were fit to set sail with both our ships homeward.

31. *John Gatonbe*, one of the quarter-masters of the admiral, by intreaty of Mr. *Barker* and the rest of the company of the vice-admiral, went for master-mate of her; also two of our men more went aboard of the *Heari's-Ease* with our clothes, in the room of Mr. *Barker* and two men more that went home in the admiral.

1. This day, the 1st of *August*, our August. general Mr. *Barker*, Mr. *Wilkinson*, *John Hemslay*, and Mr. *Warinder*, being one of the merchants deputies for them, came aboard, thinking to have taken 17 pound of unicorn horn, which was in the vice-admiral, and to have carry'd it aboard the admiral; which the company of us answered, that it should not go out of the ship, for we were, to carry it home in our ship, as able as they; which, when no persuasion would serve, they did sew it up in canvass, and deliver'd it to our master, *William Huntrisse*, before us all, to be deliver'd by him to our merchants, when God sent us to *London*, with their letters, if we should be parted.

2. Our master and I were sent for aboard the admiral to dinner; where, after dinner, Mr. *Barker* gave us articles which should be kept betwixt us, till God sent us to *London*, in our way homeward: Also if we were parted by any storm, then we should not come into any harbour till we arrived at *London*, except on some great occasion.

3. Riding with our yards still across, being ready to take the first wind, for the savage people would not come near us, being afraid we should kill some of them for the death of our master *Hall*; for we rowed up this river, the *King's-Ford*, and found it but twenty miles up, no savages coming near us.

4. We came out of the *King's-Ford*, the wind being at E. S. E. and so came to the sea, we turning homeward, committing ourselves, our ships, and voyage to God all-sufficient, who having been our guider hitherto, so he would continue his loving mercy to us still. This day we had much rain and calm weather, with a great sea, that came from the southern-board.

5. The Wind at E. N. E. we being eight leagues off the land, and mount *Cunningham*, the place we came out of, bearing east of us; it falling calm, and little wind, and came southerly; yet at 2 o'clock in the afternoon we had much wind and rain.

6. The wind at S. S. E. thick and rainy weather, we sailing S. W. from the land; and at noon we stood into the shore, being fair weather.



7. The wind at east, we sailing S. by W. and at 4 o'clock it came to north in the afternoon. This day we observed the sun, and found the pole's altitude sixty-six degrees, being quart off *Queen Anne's* cape, it bearing off us E. by N.

8. The wind at S. S. E. we standing in with the land, being much rain, and at 8 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about and stood to the sea again. This day we met with two islands of ice.

9. The wind most part southerly, being quart the harbour we rode in the second time we harboured, which we called *Cockenford*, it being E. S. E. off us five leagues, tacking about to the sea at 8 o'clock in the morning.

10. The wind at south west, we sailing S. S. E. into the land, being much rainy thick weather; and at 10 o'clock in the morning we tack'd about to sea again.

11. The wind southerly, with thick misty weather, we standing off to the sea, and sometimes to shore again.

12. The wind southerly, and rainy weather. This day we failed in to the land, lying at E. S. E. At 8 o'clock in the morning we stood to the sea again, and at noon it became fair weather, and the wind came to the north-east, we sailing S. S. W. along the land.

13. The wind northerly, we sailing S. S. W. and 8 o'clock in the morning we fail'd south; and at noon we went quart of *Wilkinson's* islands, so called by us, the first place we came to harbour in, when we came into the country, amongst these islands. Here was our great pinnacle set together. Here was *James Pullay* slain with a dart of the savages. The height of the pole is sixty-four degrees here. This day at 4 o'clock the savages rowed to us into the sea, and kept us company two or three hours, our ship sailing six miles an hour; and then took their farewell. This day also, afore night, we failed by many islands of ice.

14. The wind continuing still northerly, we sailing along the land south. This day we passed by much ice. This day we observed the sun, the pole's altitude being sixty-two degrees eleven minutes.

15. The wind still northerly, we sailing south. This day we observed the sun, and found the height of the pole sixty degrees nineteen minutes, being the height of the cape of *Desolation*, it bearing off us east, being twenty leagues off, sailing by much ice; and sailing at noon S. E. brought us in to more ice, so that at night we were forced to hale to sea S. W. before we got clear of them.

16. The wind came to the north-west, with misty weather, we sailing S. E. This day it clear'd up at noon, and we did ob-

serve the sun, and found the altitude to be fifty-nine degrees twenty minutes.

17. The wind came to the south-east, we sailing S. S. W. This day our admiral took our shallop from us, which we had towed one hundred and fifty leagues at our stern. This day we were clear of the ice, seeing none.

18. The wind at east, we sailing S. S. E. and at noon it fell misty weather, and little wind. This day at night it was so thick that we lost the sight one of the other, so that they could not hear us, nor we them, although we shot muskets, did drum, and hallow to them, and they to us, being all night one from the other parted.

19. The wind at E. N. E. and misty weather, we sailing south-east. This day we saw our admiral again, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we being three leagues to the windward of her, so that we did bear up, lasking with her, having sometimes sight of her, sometimes none, so that it was 4 o'clock at night before we spoke with her.

20. The wind at N. E. by E. and fair weather. This day our admiral took the shallop asunder that they had from us, and stowed her in their ships hold. This day the wind came to N. N. E. toward night, being thick two or three hours, that one ship could not see the other.

21. The wind at north-east, we sailing E. S. E. This day being fair, we did observe the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be fifty-six degrees thirty-six minutes, being to the southward of cape *Farewell*, some seventy-five leagues, it bearing from us N.

22. The wind at N. N. E. we sailing east. This day the pole was raised fifty-six degrees forty-two minutes, being a fair day, and the wind came to the north, we sailing E. N. E.

23. The wind at W. we sailing E. N. E. This day we observed the sun, and found the height of the pole to be fifty-seven degrees, being in a very temperate air, and hot weather, the like we had not felt the time we were in *Greenland*.

24. The wind westerly, also we sailing E. N. E. being little wind, and at evening calm and rainy weather.

25. The wind variable, sometimes at N. and sometimes at W. being fair weather. This day we found by observation the pole's altitude to be  $58^{\circ} 14'$ .

26. A fair day, the wind at W. N. W. we sailing N. E. and by E. and E. N. E. being little wind; and at afternoon we had a better gale.

27. The wind at N. W. sometimes at N. sometimes at N. N. W. being variable, with showers, sailing N. E. and by E.



Ga-  
TONBE.  
August.  
1612.

E. This day we did observe the sun; the altitude of the pole being  $59^{\circ} 49'$ ; hoping to have seen a sight of *Friesland* in our going homeward, made us hale the more northerly course than we would have done; yet we could not see it.

28. The wind southerly, we sailing E. N. E. This day we found by the sun, the pole raised  $61^{\circ} 5'$ , the height of the northermost part in *Shetland*, and the southermost part of *Friesland*, being betwixt them two hundred and sixty leagues, and *Shetland* bearing off us E. being from it two hundred and twenty leagues by my reckoning. This day the wind came to the S. E. in the afternoon, with much wind and rain, so that it increased to a great storm, so that we were forced to hand in our sails, and lie in try with our main course, and stood to the westward; and at 10 o'clock at night it came in a shower of rain to the W. S. W. then we stood to the eastward again, lying S. E.

29. The wind at W. S. W. we making more sail, went our course E. S. E. having much wind; and at noon did observe, finding the altitude of the pole to be  $61^{\circ} 13'$ .

30. The wind southerly, and so came to S. E. being much wind and rain, we sailing E. N. E. and at noon we had a forcible storm, it being come to the E. we lying in holling without sail: at night it came to N. W. and so to the W. with extreme much wind and rain, God being our only refuge.

31. The wind at W. and at 4 o'clock in the morning we set our sails, we going our course E. and by S. and E. S. E. being much wind, with showers of rain, and continued so with us all day.

Septemb.

September 1. Much wind at S. W. we sailing E. and by S. and at noon we made observation of the sun, finding the height of the pole to be  $60^{\circ} 25'$ . At afternoon we had little wind, with showers of rain being come to the S.

2. The wind variable, being for the most part southerly, we sailing E. S. E. and towards night fair and little wind. This day we observed the sun, and found the pole's height to be  $60^{\circ} 9'$ .

The wind at N. N. E. we sailing E. and at 8 o'clock in the morning it came to the N. with much wind, and made us shorten sail; at afternoon it growing to a vehement storm, so that we laid in try with our main-sail; and at 7 o'clock at night we took it in; and our admiral took in her main-sail

also, and laid both in holling, having no sight the one of the other all night, being a vehement storm.

4. The storm continued, we lying in holling, the wind being at N. N. W. we having lost the sight of our admiral; and being parted from us by this storm, we were a little sorry; but seeing we could not help it, seeing it was God's doing, rest content, doing our endeavour to get to our country so soon as we could, God willing; reckoning *Shetland* E. of us sixty-five leagues. The wind lessened at 9 o'clock at night; we set main-sail and fore-sail, sailing N. E. and E. the wind being come to N. W.

5. The wind at N. N. W. we sailing E. N. E. being showers of rain, and a fair gale of wind. This day no sight we had of our admiral, perswading ourselves not to see her till such time we came in *England*, and then hoping in God of a merry meeting. This day at afternoon little wind, and sometimes calm. This day we founded with our lead and line, and had an hundred fathom of line out before we had ground.

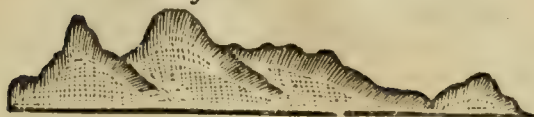
6. Also we observed the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $59^{\circ} 30'$ .

7. The wind at S. E. we sailing E. N. E. sometimes N. E. and by E. having fair weather; and at noon we had sight of a sail which came right with us, and would have spoke with us, but we bore up from her, thinking him to be a false knave, and we not provided with our ordnance nor our small pieces for him; and seeing that we did shun him, he left us, and went his course for *St. George's* channel, or for the *Lewes*, or some part in *Ireland*. This day, by our observation, we found the pole's height to be  $60^{\circ} 7'$ . The wind being come to E. S. E. sometimes E. we sailing N. E. and by N. This day we tack'd about at 4 o'clock at afternoon, wending to the southward, S. and by E. being some twelve leagues off the land.

8. The wind at E. N. E. we sailing S. E. This day we had sight of *Foullay* at six o'clock in the morning, it bearing from us E. and by N. five leagues off, we sailing still S. E. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we had sight of *Fair-Isle*, it bearing off us E. These two islands were them we parted from when we sail'd to *Greenland*. This day at night it became calm, and rain withal, sailing our course S. S. E.



Fair-Island.



Foullay.



*These two islands, the sight of them made us joyful, giving praise to God for our good land fall.*

9. This day thick weather and calm ; and at four o'clock in the morning the wind came up to S. S. W. we sailing for the most part W. S. W. being fair weather at afternoon, the wind southerly.

10. The wind southerly, we sailing E. S. E. to the eastward, being little wind, and sometimes calm, with showers of rain : yet at noon it came up to N. N. W. we sailing our course S. and by E.

11. The wind at N. N. W. we sailing S. At four o'clock in the morning we spied a sail that stood in with the land. This day fair weather, and little wind. This day we did observe the sun, and found the altitude of the pole to be  $57^{\circ} 13'$ .

12. This day the wind southerly, we sailing W. S. W. in with the land, and had sight of the coast of *Scotland*, being some five leagues off at four o'clock in the morning. This day we sailed close aboard the shore, being a league from *St. Andrew's bay* ; and at two o'clock in the afternoon we tack'd about to the sea. This day we spoke with a *Scotsman*, who told us the harbour we went in withal, was *St. Andrew's*. This day we had sight of many small sails, some sailing to the northward, some turning to the southward, we being some nine leagues to the N. of *Scots Forth*.

13. This day, being *Sunday*, the wind at S. S. E. we sailing to the land S. W. being small rainy weather : and at five o'clock in the morning we had sight of the land, being open of the *Scots Forth*, seeing the *Bass* and the *May*, two islands that lay in the mouth of the river of the *Forth* ; and at noon we had sight of *Stab's Head*, being in the S. side of the *Forth*. This day the wind came to the S. W. at four o'clock in the afternoon, blowing very hard, so that we took in our top-sails and sprit-sail ; and at night we did lie in try with our main-sail, it being increased to a forcible storm.

14. This day the wind came to W. being much wind all night ; yet at four o'clock in the morning we set our fore-sail, having sight of *Cheviot hills* over

*Berwick*, it bearing W. of us : and at noon we had sight of *Tinmouth castle*. Also this day at six o'clock at night, we were quart of *Huncliffe* two leagues off, we sailing along the land S. E. the wind being come to N. W.

15. The wind at N. W. and much wind, we sailing S. E. ; and at ten o'clock at noon we met with a shoal, so that we went S. in with the land : and at three o'clock at afternoon we had sight of the land called the *Shield* or *Cromer*, sailing along the land S. S. E. This day at eight o'clock we came into *Yarmouth roads*, and anchored.

16. This day the wind at W. we weigh'd and set sail, and went through *Stanforth*, and so to *Orford-Ness*, the tide being done.

17. The wind at W. and by S. This day we turn about the *Nefs*. This day we spoke with our neighbours *William Robinson* master of the *Frances*, and *William Hallay* master of a bark called the *Christopher*.

18. This day, being *Friday*, the wind at W. we turn over the *Spits*, being in company with *Carviels* and *Hollanders* come out of the east land. This day the tide being done, we anchored, having sight of the buoy of the *Red-sand*.

19. This day, being *Saturday*, we failed up the river of *Thames*, the wind being easterly ; and so before *London*, in *St. Katharine's pool* we anchored, having our flag and ancient hanging down, in token and sign of the death of *Mr. Hall* our general ; giving thanks to our good God for our safe arrival in our own country, who had delivered us from the cruelty of the savages, the dangers of the blind rocks in this unknown country, and the noisome cold weather in this waste wilderness, where there are huge mountains without wood, valleys without corn or grass, and the sea with small store of fish ; yet snow and ice there are good store in the sea and in the land.







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A  
RELATION  
OF  
Three Years SUFFERINGS  
OF  
ROBERT EVERARD,  
UPON THE  
*Coast of Affada near Madagafcar,*  
IN A  
VOYAGE to INDIA,  
In the Year 1686.

And of his wonderful Preservation and Deliverance, and Arrival at *London,*  
*Anno 1693.*

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RELATION  
OF

Three Years SUFFERINGS

ROBERT EMMETT

UPON THE

Coast of Africa near Sierra Leone

IN

VOYAGE TO INDIA

In the Year 1880.

And of his wonderful escape from the hands of the natives  
June 1883.

Edited by Henry Brinton and John Brinton of the London  
Printer R. S.



# A RELATION of Three Years Sufferings EVE- RARD. of Robert Everard upon the island of Affada near Madagascar, in a voyage to India, in the year 1686.

**M**Y father, Mr. William Everard, put me an apprentice to captain John Crib, by my consent, in the ship *Bauden*, bound for *Bombay* in *India*, and from thence to *Madagascar* for *Blacks* to *Acbin*, back to *India*.

I departed from *London*, *August* the 5th 1686, and we sailed out of the *Downs* the same month for the *Madeira*. In the channel we met with a small pink; from which we received aboard Mr. *Salway* a merchant, and then we proceeded on our voyage, till we arrived and anchored in *Madeira* road; and from thence sailed for the isle of *May*, where we took in salt, and bought five or six beasts. The *Blacks* told us there had been there a pirate, who had taken away some of their cattle.

Sailing from the isle of *May* to *St. Jago*, just as we got into port, the pirate follow'd us. But it happened at the same time, that the wind blew right off shore, so that he could not get in; so he was forced to bear away, and came to an anchor on the other side of the isle.

Two or three days after, he came out again, trying to get in, our fore-mast being unrigg'd at the same time: and had he got in (as pleased God he could not) he had certainly taken us; but was forced to bear away again for the town.

On the Lord's day following, there came aboard two men in habit like padres, and the captain made them very welcome. They desired of him to shew them the ship, which he ordered the gunner to do. By some of their questions and behaviour we supposed them to be the pirate's men; but our captain ordered the boat to be mann'd to put them on shore.

The next morning the ship came about, and strove to get to us, but could not: yet they hal'd us, but we could not tell what he said; so he fell to leeward again.

Four or five days after, we sailed out of *St. Jago*; and the next day we espy'd a ship to windward early in the morning, about two or three leagues distant, and a

small breeze of wind, but it presently proved quite calm; and we saw him row with about twelve oars on a side towards us. Our captain presently ordered the boatswain to call up all hands to be ready for him. His boat made towards us, and hal'd us, and asked, Where we were bound? Our captain answered, To *Whitehall*. We also hal'd him, and asked him, Where he was bound? He answered, To *Brasil*. Then bid us hoist out our boat; but our captain told him, If he had any business, his boat being out, might as well come on board us. But it returned, and went on board his own ship, which rowed up with us; and about eight or nine in the morning she came under our stern, ranging up our star-board quarter. Then our captain asked, Where he was bound? He answered, A-board us, the drummer beating a point of war. The captain told him, Win her, and have her. He thereupon boarded us for four or five hours, cutting our poop and Engage-ment with a pirate. ensign-staff; and his shot cut many of our shrouds. Our ship being very much pestered, we played but three or four of our guns; yet we beat his gunnel in, and made him put off, and lie upon the carreen.

As soon as she was gone we came out of our close quarters, and found one of his men almost dead upon our poop, with a fuzee, an axe, a cartouch-box, a stinkpot, a pistol, and a cutlass. In the fight, our captain's chief mate, and four men more were killed, and sixteen wounded, whereof one was myself. So by the brave courage of our captain and men the pirate was forced to leave us.

After this great engagement we sailed to a place call'd *Deligo*; seeing the land, and it proving calm, our merchant sent the boat ashore, and a *French* boy; but we never saw the boat after. Our ship stood in and off five or six days and nights, firing of guns, but could hear nothing of them.

We sailed to the place where we were bound, that was to *Deligo*: and about a month after, we got in our ship, having

a sloop



EVE- a sloop aboard to be put together there :  
 RARD. and this merchant aboard of us was to buy  
 w elephants teeth, and other things that he  
 could get ; and he bought two tons, but  
 could buy no more when the sloop was  
 launch'd.

There came a boat about a week after, which we thought might be ours which we lost. We manned our boat, and rowed to her, and saw some white men in her ; so we pulled aboard her, and found three *Englishmen* in her. They told us there were no more there ; they were sent ashore for trading, as our boat was : at point *St. Mary* the sea broke into their boat, and filled her half full at once ; and presently there broke another sea, and filled her, and put them all a swimming, and the boat staved all to pieces, and one of them was drowned : the weather being so bad, the captain could not send the other boat, because he had but one more ; but hove a small rundlet over-board, with a letter in it ; and it drove ashore, and they took it up, and in it found directions for them to travel to *Deligo* ; and as they went thither, by the way, the *Blacks* took away their cloaths from them, which caused the sun to burn their backs extremely ; and they were forced to eat monkies when they could get them, and potatoes in the night where they could meet with them. At last they came to *Deligo*, where we were, and the *Blacks* were so kind to let us have them.

At that time came aboard six or seven of their captains to see the ship, and eight or ten more of their men. Our merchant ordered our men to put them all in the bilboes, because they would not sell him teeth ; and he sent the sloop for the captain that let us have the five *Englishmen*, and put him in irons also ; so that they were forced to bring down some more before they were released.

We lay there three months in all : from thence we sailed to *St. Lawrence*. By the way we lost our sloop ; but our merchant had ordered those aboard the sloop, in case they should lose us, to stay at *St. Lawrence*, whither we were bound. But when we came to *St. Lawrence*, at a place called *Augustine's bay*, we could hear nothing of the sloop, tho' we stayed about a week for her. Whereupon our merchant left word with the *Blacks*, in case the sloop should come, to follow us to a place called *Talleer*, about fifteen leagues from thence. There we lay about three weeks or a month, and bought sixteen or seventeen *Blacks*, and a great many cattle to salt up, and four or five tun of rice, besides tamerinds, oranges, and some other things.

Hearing nothing of our sloop, we made the best of our way to *Johanna*. A month after we came to *Mayotto*, about seven or eight leagues short of *Johanna*. The next day we came to *Johanna*, about four or five leagues off shore. There came a canoo aboard us with some cocoa-nuts and plantains to sell for clouts. We inquired of them, if our sloop had been there ? They told us, No.

After the *Blacks* had sold all their cocoa-nuts and other things, they were going ashore ; but it being calm and very hot, they came back again, and made their canoo fast aboard of us. The wind afterwards blowing hard off shore, drove us to leeward as far back as *Mayotto* ; but it proving calm in the night, we were like to have been upon *Mayotto* in the morning ; but a gale springing up in the afternoon, we stood for *Johanna* again ; and by the turning of the ship the canoo was sunk and lost. The *Johanna* men said, They did not matter their canoo, so that they could get ashore themselves : we therefore put them ashore in our long-boat.

We strove to get into the harbour for a week or more, with our long-boat and yaul a-head towing ; but as fast as we came up with the black rock, we drove back again : wherefore we sent our yaul to town with six or seven men in her, armed with muskets, and did not see them in four or five days after, our ship being driven off again : but the king of *Johanna* gave them an heifer and other things to eat till the ship returned again.

In four or five days after they came aboard us, and two or three of them said they were not well. Not being able to get in, we anchored on one side, where the *Blacks* told us, there was but one ship had ever anchored there before us. It was duskish when we got in, and we sounded the depth of water : to the best of my remembrance our best bower lay in 36 fathom water, and the small in 48 fathom.

In the morning when we came to look out, our ship was drove a little out, with both anchors hanging at her buoys ; so all hands were called up to heave up our anchors again, and we stood in again with a small breeze, and got in again about an hour after, and there anchored. Then the *Blacks* came aboard in their canoes, with toddy, cocoa-nuts, and other things to sell ; and our supercargo went on shore to buy provisions for the ship's company ; and he bought ten or twelve oxen, and other things. There we filled our water, and the king of the place came aboard three or four days before we sailed.



Our merchant made him some presents; and the king seeing a little *Madagascar* sheep on our deck, gave the merchant four goats for it, because they had none on that island; and he was very much pleased with it. We desired the *Jobanna* men, if our sloop should come in there, to tell them; That we stayed there for them near three weeks, and to make the best of their way to *Bombay*.

Sailing then from *Jobanna* towards *Bombay*, in the night we espied three sail of ships. Our merchant on board had a mind to cut off the hindmost of them; but his mind altering, we steered on our course. About a fortnight after, there was a shoal of dolphins followed us for three weeks: our ship's company caught many of them with hooks and lines and fizzigigs.

A month after we spied a small ship to windward of us, and kept our luff; he edged away a little; so we brought him right a-head of us; then we spread the king's colours, but he would not stay for us. We pressed on all the sail we could make to come up with him, but could not.

About five or six days after we came in with the land, which was brave level land, we steering along shore three or four days, and then came right against *Bombay*, being very calm, and five or six leagues distant from the shore; there came two *Moors* ships between the land and us, with a small gale of wind: our merchant bid the gunner fire a gun-shot, and all athwart his stem, for to make him bring to, to tell us what news; but he would not stay, but kept on his course.

That day, about ten of the clock, sprung up a small gale; it being large, we stood in for *Bombay*. When we got pretty near in with the land, some of our folks that had been there before, shewed us the place to go in. Just as we were in, our merchant ordered the gunner to unshot the guns in order to salute the fort; but as we were coming to an anchor, they hoisted up *Portuguese* colours; whereupon the merchant bid the gunner shot the guns again, because we did not know whether we had wars or peace with that place, which was *Vesjevar*.

When we came to an anchor, Mr. *Salway* our merchant and second mate went ashore, and asked the *Portuguezes*, how far off we were from *Bombay*? They told us, six or eight leagues. The mate in the mean time went up to the governor's house, and got a little in drink; but our supercargo brought him aboard in the boat. The mate's name was Mr. *Baker*. After some words between them,

the merchant put the gunner and mate into irons, because the gunner and he were consorts together, and carried them both to *Bombay* in the boat, and put them into prison.

Sailing out of *Vesjevar*, our pilot run us upon the rocks, and had like to have beaten the ship to pieces; but at last we got her off, with the loss of some of our sheathing, and made the best of our way to *Bombay*: but not getting in quite, we anchored a little off, and sent the boat in, and went on board the *Cesar*; the general being there, our merchant sent him an account of the behaviour of the mate and gunner.

The next day our ship got in; but in her way the pilot run her again upon the rocks in *Bombay*, and was likely to have broke her back; and we lay till the next tide, then got her off, and so anchored in the middle of the road, and there moored our ship, and sent our soldiers, powder and iron ashore. Then the merchant said, He could do what he would with the mate and the gunner; and called a council of war on board the *Ruby*, a flag being out in the mizen shrouds; and some of our men being sent for on board for witnesses, they were tried, and condemned to be whipped from ship to ship, and to receive ten lashes aboard of each ship, and twenty on board ours; and under the fort-wall ten more, and then to be turned out of the ship.

After that was over, we had our ship ashore to clean, and then our men went to the merchant for money to buy cloaths and other things; but he would pay them none.

About a fortnight after, the governor of *Bombay* came aboard of us, with the merchant and the captain of the *Ruby* with him; and the *Ruby* being a smaller ship than ours, the governor made the captain of her the captain of our ship.

About a fortnight after, our merchant told the ship's company, That our voyage was to *Madagascar*. Then I told the merchant, I had a mind to go home to my own country, my master being killed; but he told me, I should not go home till the ship went home.

About three weeks after we sailed from *Bombay*, bound to *Madagascar*. In the way our merchant and captain had a mind to put into *Goa*; and two or three days before we got in, it blew a fresh gale of wind, and so hard, that we towed our long-boat under water. We brought our ship presently to, and hoisted out our pinnace, and rowed after her, and so far from us, that we could not see her; and it being very dark, we expected she had been

EVE-  
RARD.



EVE- been lost; but at seven or eight of the  
 RARD. clock the boat's crew espy'd a light upon  
 our poop; and at nine she came on board,  
 and told the captain they could not see her;  
 and the captain commanded the pinnace to  
 be hois'd up.

Goa. About three or four days after, we came  
 into *Goa* to buy rack: our captain bought  
 a boat's load or two, and order'd four men  
 to row our purser ashore to buy more;  
 which he having done, was coming off;  
 but two of the men of the boat being run  
 away, he was forced to return with two  
 men only.

About a day or two after, the ship be-  
 ing ready to sail, the wind blew right in  
 very hard, so that we could not get out,  
 but were forced to veize our best bower  
 cable to the better end, and ride fore-castle  
 in; and just before night she rid her fore-  
 mast and bowsprit by the board: then it  
 blew harder and harder, which caused us to  
 drop our sheet-anchor, and afterwards we  
 got in the rigging of our fore-mast and  
 bowsprit, and quilled them together. The  
 next morning we got a jury-mast and bow-  
 sprit; our jury foremast was our fore-top-  
 mast, and our bowsprit was our spritsail-  
 yard.

Carwar. But proving more fair, about two days  
 after, we put out of *Goa*, and sailed to  
*Carwar*; and just as we got into *Carwar*,  
 there came aboard us the *London's* boat.  
 They told us there was the *Josiab* in the  
 cove for a main-mast, and it was the best  
 place to get a bowsprit and a fore-mast.  
 Then the captain went ashore to the  
 chief of the factory, to get leave; and  
 he bought two very good pieces to make  
 them: and coming back he ordered the  
 carpenter and his mate to go ashore to  
 fit them, which was done in ten days  
 time.

In towing them aboard, there being a  
 bar to come over, they struck, and filled  
 so, that the men were put to swimming;  
 but, thank God, there was none of them  
 drowned, nor was the boat or oars lost;  
 but the fore-mast and bowsprit they were  
 forced to leave till another time, and to  
 come round about in their shirts to the  
 ship, with the oars on their backs.

About two or three days after, it being  
 a pretty smooth bar, they went again, and  
 brought them over very well, and got  
 them safe aboard, and the next day set  
 them.

About a week after, the ship sailed from  
*Carwar* to *Madagascar*; the merchant a-  
 board sold two or three cases of strong wa-  
 ters, being pint and half bottles, twelve in  
 a case, to the ship's company, and every  
 one had some; but one of the men drunk  
 so much, that he in the night tumbled o-

verboard and was drowned; and two or  
 three days after his cloaths were sold at the  
 mast.

Four days after we fell in with several  
 small islands, and sent our boat ashore; but  
 finding nothing for our turns, they came  
 aboard again; and having a fine breeze of  
 wind, it carried us through all the islands  
 at once.

About ten days after we saw *Madagascar*,  
 (it being the Lord's day, when we were at  
 prayers.)

By night we were about five miles off;  
 so we steer'd along shore for two or three  
 days and nights: and at midnight we had  
 but very little wind; and our ship sagg'd  
 to the shore so near, that we could hear the  
 surf: about an hour after we perceived  
 breakings; then all hands were called up,  
 and one appointed to heave the lead, who  
 found six or seven fathom water. Heaving  
 the third time, it shoal'd apace; and hea-  
 ving quickly again, we found but four fa-  
 thom: the captain therefore commanded  
 the helm hard a-weather. The ship bore  
 round, or else she had been certainly a-  
 shore.

The next day we sent our boat ashore, *Mada-*  
 but could find no inhabitants. There our *gas-*  
*car.* men walking about, espied an old fort;  
 and going on a little further, they found  
 fresh water running round it, distant from  
*Madagascar* about a quarter of a mile. On  
 this small island our carpenter went ashore,  
 and cut timbers for a long-boat that was  
 building on our deck.

The next day our captain, the mate and  
 five *Blacks* went to cut wood; four of them  
 we put on the same island where we  
 bought them outward-bound; and the o-  
 ther was a *Portuguese* which we brought  
 from *Bombay*: and that day they were put  
 on shore they ran away. The next morn-  
 ing we saw a boat, and we hoised up our  
 ensign; they hollowed and fired a musket,  
 and we hollowed at them again, but they  
 would not come on board us: our captain  
 therefore ordered the boat to be manned,  
 and to row after them, and they follow'd  
 them to the town, where our men also  
 went ashore, to see if there were any tra-  
 ding, and spake with the king of the  
 place, who said, If the captain would come  
 on shore where all the *English* ships used  
 to trade, he would trade with him; where-  
 upon the captain sent the king a pair of  
 pistols for a present, and the king re-  
 turned a bullock for a present to the cap-  
 tain.

About two or three days after we  
 had a fair wind to carry us in. We came  
 to an anchor with our small bower in the  
 place where the king said all *English* use  
 to ride; and a while after we hove nearer  
 to



to the shore, and moor'd her with our best bower and small bower.

Here a canoo came to us, having in it a fellow who could speak *Arabick* and *Portuguese*, which our cockswain also could talk; and he told him, That if the captain would come on shore, the king would trade with him for negroes and rice; so our supercargo went ashore with beads, knives, scissars, dollars, and some looking-glasses, and other things, and the natives brought rice, hens, plantains, and bananas to exchange for them. The king also came into the house where we traded, and sent to his house for boil'd potatoes, fowls, and some of their country liquor which they call *Toke*, being made of honey and the leaves of a callavance bush. The callavances are like a small horsebean; and this toke would make the natives drunk; yet it did not make any of us so. Our supercargo drinking some of his own rack, the king tasted a little of it in his hand, because we had drank out of the bottle; and liking of it desired a bottle of it for himself, which he carry'd to his house the next morning, and receiv'd his thanks for it. Three or four days after, he liking of it, desir'd the supercargo to give him another bottle of it; and was so earnest to have it, that he would not be satisfy'd till I was sent in one of his canoos to fetch it from the ship, which I did, and deliver'd it to the supercargo, and he presently gave it to the king, who thank'd him for it; and upon his inquiry for the five *Blacks* that were lost, the king sent eight or nine of his *Blacks* to search for them, who found them, but could not take them, by reason they had got arms to defend themselves; and his men were afraid of them, as he declared: but the week after, they took one, whom, after some days, they let us see; but the fellow would not answer any of our questions, nor would the king let us have him till the rest were taken; and then he said, we should have them all together.

Some days after, the boat's crew were sent with blunderbusses, muskets, pistols, and cartouch-boxes; and landing, walked round the king's house, and the men stay'd whilst the captain was in it, which affrighted all the town, and they would not come near us, leaving only women and children, and the king and five men behind. Then our captain stay'd two hours with the king, and ask'd him when he would trade for negroes? He answer'd, In about a month he would furnish us with as many as we desired. This satisfy'd the captain, who going back, saw two canoos coming from the ship, which

our boat followed to affright them, but they were too nimble for us. This the king was acquainted with, who thereupon came to the supercargo, and asked the reason of it? who answered, It was only to affright them.

Some days after, we hove our ballast over-board, and clear'd our ship, and ballasted her afresh with two or three boat's load of sand.

The Lord's day following, the captain went ashore, and all the ship's company, to throw the sayn; only I and two or three men, and two black boys stay'd behind: then hearing the captain was ashore, they sent a small kid to him for a present. About a quarter of an hour after, our captain and all the ship's company return'd aboard, and were immediately followed by a canoo to tell him, they had some negroes to sell; but he sent back word, he could not come to shore that day: however, the supercargo, with the cockswain, with five men more and myself, went ashore, carrying by the *Blacks* directions, guns, pistols, powder, shot, dollars, knives, scissars, and with us our dog went also. We landed, and carry'd up our chest of goods to a house for trade, and the natives brought to us rice, poultry, plantains, honey and yams to exchange.

Presently after, we hearing a great noise, many flocking about us, we thought the king was coming to us; but it prov'd to be the people of the town, who had risen up against us; ten or twelve of which broke in upon us with their lances, and kill'd five of the boat's crew, and the fall of them struck me down likewise. The supercargo running out of the house to get to the king, was by one of the natives wounded in the belly by a lance, and died immediately. They kill'd also the man that took care of the boat.

The boat's crew kill'd by the natives.

When they took up the dead, they saw I was alive, but did not kill me, as God would have it, in cold blood, but carried me to the other side of the town for half an hour, and then brought me to the town again, and carry'd me to the king's house, which was just by the house where they kill'd the men. Looking out at the king's door, I saw the *Blacks* hauling our dead men down to the water side, with ropes fast about their legs, which they hove upon the rocks in the sea.

The king bid me sit down, and ordered the women to bring me some victuals, which was boil'd rice on a plantain leaf; but my condition fill'd my stomach so, that I could not eat. At night the king's men shew'd me my lodging



EVE- lodging in a small hut amongst the slaves,  
 RARD. where I remain'd till the morning, but  
 was then thrust out.

That morning the ship sail'd, and two or three of the king's men went down with me to see the ship, because she was going away.

That night she lay there, she kept firing her great guns; and one great shot came into the middle of the king's house, and went thro' it.

That day that the ship departed, I saw the *Blacks* returning with some of the bulkhead of the great cabin, and four gallon bottles of *Madeira* wine, taken out of the great cabin, which I fill'd that morning I went ashore. They had also the captain's sword, which they took out of the roundhouse, and the sea-compasses they had taken out of the binacle, and some great pieces of the ensign about their middles.

Just before night all the king's army was gathered together; then the king gave them toke, which made many of them drunk. There were also the four negroes that ran away from our ship, who could speak a little *English*; wherefore I asked them why they kill'd our men? They ask'd them what I said; which they told the king, who answer'd, Because there had been an *English* ship there before, and play'd the rogue with them, and had kill'd some of their men, and taken things off the island by force; and that was it which made them take their revenge on us.

I asked our negroes again, what made our ship drive down upon the rocks? They told me, They had cut one of the cables; but as soon as they had the *Blacks* clear off the ship, they hove off the rocks by their other cable and anchor; and just as they had hove clear off the rocks, they were forced to let go their kedge-anchor, because they could not heave up their other two anchors and cables, but were forced to cut both their cables, and leave them behind them.

Then I asked our negroes, if they had kill'd any on board? They said, Yes, and told me, That all the men of the canoe that went on board in the morning to bid us come on shore, had short lances underneath their arse-clouts; and when they were all upon the quarter-deck, with the captain, the mate, the doctor, the purser, the carpenter, and many of the fore-mast men, the captain having victuals brought him, asked if they would eat, but they refused; and before he had done eating, they drew out their lances from underneath their clouts, and cut his throat from one ear to the other, and kill'd

the mate and the purser with their lances; but the doctor jump'd off the quarter-deck; they follow'd him, but he ran into the gun-room, and shut the door against them, that they could not get in. Some of our men ran up the shrouds, and some into the steerage, and got down the skuttles, and went into the gun-room, so that they got to their arms, and kept them out; but some of the *Blacks* were going to get down, but seeing the *English* were ready with their arms, they would not venture.

One of our men jump'd over-board, and got into the gun-room port; but one boy on the house of office was kill'd: so they kill'd nine or ten. They said they heard guns to go off, but knew not whence the shot came a great while; but they knew afterwards. The natives told our negroes we were very cunning; and they asked what the holes in the ship's side were for? who answer'd they were for fighting at sea, if any ship came to meddle with us.

About four or five days after, the king went to another town about five miles off, in their boats, and he carry'd me with him to shew me to the rest of his men. He stay'd at that town about three days, and the captain of it kill'd a bullock for the king and his men, and boil'd rice to eat with it. He had a great many callabashes of toke for the king and his men to drink; and after they had drank, they had them all exercised. Some had guns, and some hand lances and targets, running about, and shaking their lances one at the other; and drummers standing and beating their drums, and one man with a brass pan; and they run along with the muzzle of their guns down to the ground, stamping and making a noise, and jumping about, bowing under their targets, making offers one at the other.

The next day the king went to another of his towns. He had a great shell in his boat, which one of the boatmen blew just as they saw the town, which gave warning to the town, and as soon as the women saw the king's boat, they all got sticks in their hands; some had pieces of cows tails upon their sticks, and they came down to the water-side dancing, because the king was come; and danced after him till he came to the house where he was to lie, and those that lived in that house came out with white stuff upon a tile, and dipped their finger in it, and put one spot upon the king's forehead, and one upon each cheek, and one on his chin; then they got some victuals for him and his two wives who went with him, and some for all the rest of his men.

The

The captain, mate, and purser kill'd.



The king bid his wife give me some, and she gave me some upon a plantain leaf. The king bid me go along with him; I went with him, first to one town and then to another to shew me to the people; then he carry'd me also first to one house and then to another, and they gave me plantains to eat, and honey; and the women as soon as they saw me would squeak and run away from me, as affrighted, and said I was a spirit: Here likewise the king exercised all the men of the town, as he did the others; from thence he went the next day to his own town again, and there the women got up their sticks and danced for joy that the king was come home well.

About two months after an *Arabian* grab came to buy slaves, and took a house to trade with them, and then I went to the *Arabians* and asked them if they would carry me away with them; but they said they could not; I asked them why they could not? they told me the king would be very angry with them; and besides, it would spoil their trading with them; then I told them I would swim on board that night they sail'd, if they would consent, but they told me they would not carry me away, because of their coming again. They bought eight or ten negroes, and a little rice, and went away to another place to buy more, because they could not get enough there.

About six weeks after this ship failed away, the king and his army went to the other side, and carry'd me along with him, and our dog; and there he mustered up his army; and 'twas near six weeks before he approached his enemies, tho' he and his army marched to a town every day, and took more men out of every town all the way he went; where as soon as the women saw the king and his army coming, they got their sticks and came dancing for joy of his arrival.

As soon as the king was come into the town, he had a mat laid for him on the ground to sit on; and as soon as he was sat down the captain's wife of the town came out with some white stuff upon a stone, and she dipt her finger in it, and put one spot upon the king's forehead, and one upon each cheek, and one upon his chin, and so they did to his four wives that went with him; and when the women had done spotting of them, then the captain of the town, and all his men, came before the king, some with great callabashes full of their country liquor; he bid the captain also to get his men ready to go along with him, which he did in a day's time; and they did the same that was done at the other town; so the king took the captain and his men along with him: Thus he went

from town to town, and the last town that he was at he took provisions enough with him, to serve all his army for that expedition: The dog that our captain gave went with them; who when he saw any hogs would run and bark at them, till the negroes came and kill'd them with their lances; and sometimes he would fetch a young pig and bring it to me.

It was six or seven weeks after they left the king's town, before they arrived at the enemies town: here they got all ready and rushed into it, firing their muskets, and striking with their lances and targets, that the enemy, or town's people, were forc'd to run away, but such as could not run away they took; one of the women they took was the captain's wife of the town, and two or three of the other were some great mens wives of the town, besides other women and children; and they searched the houses, where they found some strip'd pieces of cloth, of their own making, and it was made with grass striped; there they got provision enough for them all, and the next day they proceeded further up the country, where they met with all their army, and there they engaged their enemy; that side I was on took four or five the first day, and kill'd some of them besides; and the other side kill'd some of our men, and would have kill'd more, had they had muskets as we had; so they were forced to do as well as they could with their lances and targets; they fight briskly in their way of fighting: A little before night they left off, and began the next morning betimes.

They fought about a month in this manner, and still our side got the better of it. They took none of our side prisoners, but they kill'd about 20; but our side took about 100 prisoners from the enemy, men, women and children; so when they saw they had taken enough slaves; but such children as were not able to go, they threw them in amongst the rice and burnt them; then getting some rice and other provision for themselves and their slaves, the king and his army return'd home; in which march he was about six or seven days before he got to his town, because the slaves were a little troublesome, especially the women with their young children at their backs, and the men were laden with rice and other provisions for all the army, on their backs, till they got to the first town of their own; and when the town's women heard that the king and his army were a coming, they all got up their sticks, met him about half a quarter of a mile, dancing; the captain's wife of the town went also with them, and when they came up with the king they all bowed, and some

EVE-  
RARD.

kissed



EVE- kissed his toes; and after they had all done  
 RARD. they danced after him till he came quite  
 into the town; and there was a mat laid  
 before the door of the house that the king  
 was to have, and he sat down at the door  
 with all his army about him; and the  
 slaves he had taken sat on one side of him;  
 and then those few men that were left be-  
 hind them, and had not accompany'd them  
 in their expedition, made some of their  
 country liquor and presented it to the  
 king, kissing his great toe; then the cap-  
 tain's wife of the town brought some  
 white stuff upon a flat stone, and put on  
 the king's face in the manner before re-  
 cited; and after that the town's folks  
 brought out, as I could guess, 2 or 300  
 great parcels of rice, made up in plantain  
 leaves, and a great many pots of boil'd  
 fish for them to eat with their rice, in such  
 quantities, that there was enough for them  
 all, and they sat four, and six, and eight  
 together; they also gave me some by my-  
 self, on a plantain leaf.

Thus they did at every town where the  
 king came, till he arriv'd at his own  
 town, where the women and his wives all  
 got their sticks and came down to the wa-  
 ter-side for joy the king was come home,  
 and he brought some pieces of a wild bul-  
 lock with him, that they kill'd for his own  
 eating, and the men that stay'd in the town  
 brought great callabashes of toke and pre-  
 sented it to the king, and kissed his great  
 toes; then the women that belonged to  
 the town brought out a great parcel of  
 rice, made up in plantain leaves, for all  
 the army, which when they had eat, the  
 king order'd the drummers to beat their  
 drums to call the men together, to drink  
 their country liquor. Their drums were  
 made of a piece of an hollow tree, and  
 headed with goats-skins.

As I was returning back with them, I  
 was taken light-headed, so that sometimes  
 I fell down, and all the skin of my back  
 was burnt off as raw as a piece of beef, so  
 that I could scarce travel nor stir myself,  
 but with much difficulty, and extream  
 pain.

When they wanted fire they took two  
 pieces of sticks, and in the piece they  
 rubbed the fire in they cut a little notch,  
 and laid a piece of rag, or a piece of  
 touch-wood under it, then they took the  
 other piece of stick and rubb'd them be-  
 tween their hands together, and what fell  
 from them was fire to kindle any thing  
 with.

Manner of  
 circumci-  
 sion.

About five or six days after there were  
 near 20 children circumcised, and two of  
 them were the king's children, and three  
 or four of them were the captain's children,  
 and the rest were the towns mens children,

and such as had any children to be circum-  
 cised in the king's jurisdiction, the women  
 circumcised them; they had a piece of  
 stick about 9 or 10 inches long, and  
 they cut the piece of skin off on the piece  
 of stick; after which they put it in a little  
 cup with some of their country liquor,  
 and they gave it to their child to drink,  
 and they drank it skin and all: After they  
 had thus circumcised all the children, they  
 took the stick and threw it into the sea.

After that, all the men on the island  
 were exercised, and one of the men took  
 one of the king's children that was cir-  
 cumcised upon his back, and run about  
 dancing with his lance in one hand, and his  
 target in the other, making offers at the  
 people that stood by; and afterwards did  
 the like to the other of the king's chil-  
 dren; and after both these children were  
 so carry'd at the man's back, that same  
 man did the like with the captain's three  
 children; the rest that were so danced  
 about, their own fathers did the like for  
 them; and after they had done all, the  
 king had a bullock, and 2 or 300 parcels  
 of rice boil'd for them to eat with it, and  
 about 20 great callabashes of their own  
 country liquor to drink.

After they had all eat, they came to the  
 king's house, and there they all sat down,  
 and the king sent for the country liquor,  
 and the men got plantain leaves to drink  
 out of, and poured out of the great calla-  
 bashes into the little ones, and there were  
 four or five men to serve it, and the king  
 sat on one side of them, and had one of  
 his wives to serve him; and after they had  
 drank two or three times about, the king  
 bid them all sing, which they did, and  
 beat their drums, and a brass pan, which  
 made a great noise; they also play'd upon  
 a hollowed bamboo, and upon a piece of  
 stick, with a string fastened to it, and a  
 piece of callabash fastened to one end,  
 and they played on it with their fingers;  
 it seemed to be a pretty sort of musick,  
 and the men kept drinking till night,  
 by which time a great many of them  
 were drunk, but the rest went home.

It may not be amiss in this place to relate  
 in what manner the natives of this island  
 perform several sorts of work.

Their bellows are made of a piece of an  
 hallow tree, with a stick in it, and at  
 the lower end of the stick are pieces of  
 rags made fast to it; they pull this stick  
 up and down, as we do with our hand  
 pumps aboard a ship, or elsewhere.

Their main anvil is a great stone, but  
 they make no other things than hatchets,  
 lances and knives.

Their women make their pots of clay,  
 from a pint to four or five gallons: When  
 they

Manner of  
 their ma-  
 king divers  
 manufac-  
 tures.



they have made them, they let them stand in the sun to dry a little; then they take them and lay them on the ground, and cover them up with the stuff they beat off the rice, all over; then they set it on fire, and let it burn for a night and a day, or a day and half, till they think they are baked enough; then they take all the stuff off, and carry them home for their use, as soon as they please.

For making their country cloth they take two forked sticks, they stake two at one end and two at the other, as far distant as they think fit to make the length of their cloth; then taking a short piece and laying across at each end, they take the thread that they have, and turn round the two end pieces; after they have taken their turns then they take every other thread up: They have a piece of stick with their thread wrapped round it, then they put it thro' every other thread; and this is the way they make their cloth.

Their thread is made of strippings of grass, which, according to its length, they make into hanks, and hang it up; then they have a piece of hollow tree in each hand, and so comb it out, but they first dry it in the sun, whereby they make it fine and fit for their use.

They make a dye for their cloth, with the bark of a tree which they peel off for that purpose, and in which they boil their cloth when made.

About two or three days after the king asked me, whether I could make powder? I told him No: Again he asked me, if I could make shot? I answered Yes: Then the king bid some of his men to fetch some lead, and some clay to make the moulds; also I spake to some of the men to fetch a piece of one of their earthen pots to melt the lead in, so they brought all the things I wanted. When I made the moulds, I took a piece of clay and put the shot about half way in, then I put another piece upon that, and with that I covered the shot, and then I took a little piece of stick, and put the piece till I had made the shot, and then I opened it and took the shot out: I put a little grease in, that the hot lead should not split the mould, and underneath where the crack was, I put a little soft clay, because the lead should not run out; and I made the king about three or four hundred shot; and the while I was making of them the king gave me some victuals, and some of their best drink, and was very well pleased with the shot.

Then the king asked me, if I knew flint-stones? I told him Yes; then the king bid me go with one of his men to look for some about the island, but I could find none; and a month after that the king

took no more notice of me as he did before, but turn'd me out of his house, and would not let me come into it any more. Then I was forced to seek out for my own provision, to prevent being starved, and it pleased God I got some such victuals as the natives eat, which were yams and potatoes, which I digged out of the earth with a piece of sharp stone, having neither knife nor any other tool for that purpose, by which God did support me, (blessed be his name!) the which I did roast upon coals, by a fire kindled as before related; besides, I got plantains, bananas, oranges and pine-apples, with other sort of fruit; and sometimes when I wanted something to eat with my yams and potatoes, then I went down to the water-side, with a small stick about five or six foot long, with a sharp point to it, hardened in the fire, for to stick some fish to eat, and sometimes made small dams at high water, to keep them in at low water; by which way I got many of them, and sometimes I went to catch crabs, which are of a great bigness, with a stick about three foot long, and I used to go up to my knees to catch them, and when I saw them, I used to put one end of the stick into the ground, right over the two great claws, then I would bring the other end down to the ground, so that I kept the crab fast, and then I put my foot upon the stick, till I took hold of both the great claws, which I pull'd off, to prevent their biting of me; and in rainy weather I always went down to the water-side to see if I could find any turtle, and sometimes I saw one, and sometimes two or three coming ashore; and if they were small ones I would keep them to eat, and the great ones I always let go, because I could not carry them to the place where I lay; I also sometimes got some of their eggs, which were very good meat.

When I killed my turtles, I took a sharp rock stone, for want of a knife, and with it punch'd it round the belly, and so broke it open, and by such hard shifts I got out the meat; then I took as much as I could eat, and laid it upon coals, which I kindled for that purpose, and the rest I hanged up on some tree for another time. The callowpatch and callowpea were my dishes to eat out off, and I used to keep yams and potatoes by me to serve me five or six days; and when they were all gone, then I went again to get more yams and potatoes, and I was to dig as deep as my arm's length for the yams, and about ten inches deep for the potatoes; and when my fish and turtle was gone, then I was forced to look out for some more, and I always kept good store by me.



EVE- As I lay upon the ground, the negroes  
 RARD. sometimes would come and throw couhage  
 upon me, my lodging being under a tree quite naked upon the hard ground, where I always slept and lay for two years and nine months; and sometimes in the year it would rain for three months together; and it would hardly hold up at all, if it did it would be but about an hour or so; yet I lay under the tree for all that still. I always kept a fire on each side of me, to keep me warm, because I was naked as ever I was born, lying under the water which came down upon me, for I could not help it, having no other covering but the branches and leaves of the tree; and sometimes in the night I would creep under the outside of their cottages, but I was forced to be gone to my own place again before they were up, for fear they should do me harm.

When I wanted water I went almost a mile for it, and I had nothing to bring a little water to set by me to drink when I was adry, but was always forced to go so far for more as I wanted it. It was also necessary for me to see there were no *Blacks* near the water, for fear they should do me a mischief; and when I did drink at the well I was forced to lie down upon my belly to drink. In two years after I was there I had the country distemper; the first breaking out of it was small pimples, very thick about my whole body, and in a week's time they grew to be great sores; one of them was as big as a crown-piece that was upon my leg, and the rest were very bad; and that great one on my leg eat in so far that I could see the bone, and I had nothing to put on them to cure them, only by going into the salt water sometimes, which made them smart exceedingly; and when I came out of the water the flies got upon me and tormented me very sorely, so that I could not be quiet for them all the day long.

About two months after I had the distemper, I got some honey, with the honey-comb, which I found in a rock by the sea-side; and happily meeting with a piece of their earthen pots, I melted the honey and wax in it, which salve I laid upon my sores, which did them a little good.

A little after I had some more breakings out on my face and hands, which itched so that I could not tell what to do; sometimes again I went down to the water-side, and washed them, which caused my sores to smart extremely; a short space after I was taken light-headed, that I could not stand, but thanks be to God in two or three days time I was pretty well again of that distemper; but the other distemper kept on me still; but if I had been light-

headed two or three days longer I had been starved to death; but, thanks be to God, I had victuals enough, yet I could not get clear of the distemper.

About half a year after there came an *Arabian* grab to buy negroes: when they came ashore I desired them to carry me away with them; they asked me who I belong'd to? I told them an *English* ship, that came about three years since: then they asked, how I came to be left behind? I told them all the particulars as I have already related; then the *Arabs* asked me what we had done to them? I told them nothing: then I asked them again, if they would carry me away with them, when they went away? the chief merchant of the *Arab* vessel said, he could not carry me away without the king's leave, because it would spoil their trade; but the merchant told me he would try to get me clear, and as long as the *Arabian* vessel lay there the merchant bid me come to his house, and he would always give me some victuals and drink, such as they eat and drank themselves. He would also sometimes give me a handful of candy'd dates; also they gave me stuff to cure my sores, which was a blue stone.

About six weeks after the merchant sent one of his men for me to come to his house: When I came he bid me sit down, and gave me a new palampore to wrap about me, to keep me warm, and told me he had bought me of the king for 20 dollars, Bought by an Arab. and that the king would not have sold me, only he thought I should have dyed by the way: He told me also he would carry me to my own country people again.

All the while I was with them I had victuals and drink enough to go to when I would, and they let me have what I would of their goods to buy eatables with, and sometimes I bought plantains, bananas, pine-apples, or sugar-canes, of the country *Blacks*; sometimes these country people would ask me to give them beads, which I always refused; upon which they called me all the names they could think on, and I answered them again in their own language; then they would threaten me, but I told them I cared not for them now.

About three weeks after the *Arabs* bought me, there were some of the other-side *Blacks* came to see the king, and the day they came over in their canoes, they got drunk, and lay firing their muskets; and in one of them was a shot which passed through the *Arabians* house, and shot one of them in the arm. Hereupon one of the *Arabians* went immediately to the water-side, and called all their men from on board, but three or four, and bid them bring



bring their muskets, swords, and targets; the merchant gave me also one of the muskets, and bid me come along with them: and we went all before the king to know what was the reason they fired their muskets through the house, which shot and wounded our men; the king told the *Arabians* it was a drunken man, who thought there had been no shot in the musket, and desired the *Arabs* not to be angry, because it was one of the men that belonged to the other side, in another king's dominion. These were tawny colour'd, and he gave the *Arabs* two slaves to be friends again, so then the *Arabs* traded with them again as they did before, and bought 120 men, women and children slaves.

The ship lay there about ten weeks: When they had got all their negroes, with the rest of their necessaries on board, we sailed from *Madagascar* to *Commoro*. We were about a month in our passage, and it was an open vessel, with only one mast; the places for the slaves to lie on were made with long spars across, and so they lay together, and I with them; and we were all forced to sit each one in his own place, because there was no room to stir: where we sat, there we slept.

When the *Arabs* put the negroes ashore at *Commoro*, they could not stand, because their limbs were benumb'd by their ill posture of sitting in the vessel, and this was also my own case; but getting pretty well, I went to the house which they had hired for themselves and their slaves to abide in.

About a fortnight after they hauled their vessel ashore and mended her, and paved all her bottom with the lammer, which is their country pitch. She lay ashore about a fortnight, during which time the *Arabian* merchant let me have the keys to take what things I wanted, to buy me toddy, that is, drink that comes out of a cocoa nut tree, oranges, lemons, cocoa nuts, fish, plantains, bananas, &c. Here they bought twelve slaves.

One morning also a *Black* told me there was a piece of an *English* ship newly come ashore; I went to see it, and found it was some great ship's mast, but burnt in several places; there came ashore also many pieces or carved work, and some casks, which were drove ashore on the other side of the island; the natives said also they had heard some guns about sixteen days before we came.

As soon as the ship was ready, the *Arabs* got all their slaves, and other things on board, and sailed for *Patta*, a place inhabited by people of their own religion. We were six weeks before we got there, and had very bad weather for such an open vessel as ours was; which, if she had shipped

any seas, (having no deck to keep the water out of her hold), would have been in great danger: but it pleased God we got well to *Patta*, whither we were bound, and lay off shore about three leagues from the town, where many *Arabs* came on board in boats, and welcomed us in.

EVE-  
RARD.  
Carried to  
Patta.

The next day after we came, the governor of the place sent two great boats to fetch our negroes ashore, and I passed in the first, and went with one of the *Arabs* before the governor, who caused his wife to fetch me some dates, and bid me sit down and eat them, telling me also that she had mutton and rice a boiling for me and all the negroes, which when boiled she brought me, with a spoon to eat it: It was very fat mutton.

When I had done I went down stairs to the governor again, who asked me if my belly was full, but I understood him not, till one of his men that spake *Portuguese*, which I understood a little also, told me what he said; I answered yes, and thanked him; thereupon he bid me sit, and gave me a red cap and a turbant to wear, which he himself put on me; he gave me also a pair of their country shoes; they have but one sole, no upper leather, but at the top a hole made to put my great toe in, and at the heel a strap to come over my ankle to keep my shoe fast on my foot; he caused also a taylor to make me a coat and breeches, which I had the next day, and wore them whilst I washed my other clothes I had put off.

Soon after a *Portuguese* ship, not acquainted with the place, ran ashore; the *Arabs* having wars with them, mann'd some of their great boats with arms and ammunition, and went aboard of the ship; and in two or three hours took her, where they found about 300 slaves, besides the ship's crew, so that the *Arabs* of the town were all up in arms, for fear they would rise up against them: when they had them ashore they put them in prison; then the men from the inland parts of the country came down with their bows and arrows: they were a tawny sort of men, with long black hair, and traded with the *Arabs* for their cloth, for which they gave elephants teeth, rice, and a sort of small round corn, and several other things.

Here I had the tooth-ach, and the *Arabs* took a piece of paper and writ upon it, and bid me put it to my pained tooth, which I did, and it ceased aching for two years.

Here we lay about two months, then the governor bid me go aboard of a small grab laden with elephants teeth, and about 100 slaves, bound for *Muscat*, telling me there I should meet with *Englishmen*. We met with very bad blowing weather



EVERARD. weather for such an open vessel as that was, which took in seas over her stern, and ran into her hold, having no deck. When the weather was bad, we could not boil our rice or other victuals, but eat all raw. By the way one of our tanks of water was leaked out, and we were put to half a pint of water a-day, which was given us about three o'clock in the afternoon. Thus we continued till we arrived at *Muscat*, which was for above a month.

*Muscat.*

When we got to *Muscat*, at the mouth of the harbour, we were becalmed, being about a mile and a half off, towing a-head with our boat. The governor seeing we could not get in, sent us one of his great boats to help to tow us in, by reason of a great current; in which we spent about four hours: and when we were ashore, there were a great many *Arabs* and *Banyans* looking on us; and one of the *Banyan* boys ran up to the house where the *English* dwelt, and told them, there was a little *Englishman* come ashore with the *Blacks*; then there came down three *Englishmen* and met me, and took hold of me; and the man that looked to the *Blacks* asked them what they wanted with me? So they made a stand, and asked me if I was an *English* boy? and of what ship? I told them I did belong to the *Bauden*. They shewed me a stick, and asked me if I knew it? Then they desired the man that looked to the *Blacks*, to let me go home with them. He bid me go.

Relieved  
by some  
*English-*  
men.

When I came to their home, they boiled mutton and porridge full of onions. After I had filled my belly, they carried me to their house top, and made a great bowl of punch; but I being weak, the punch was too strong for my head. After we had drank the punch, they took me with them into the market, and bought me a good red cap, with a sort of fur round it, and made me leave off my old cap. We went home to bed, and I had a very good coat, sheets, and quilt, which was a great alteration to the lodging I had in *Madagascar* upon the hard ground for three years together.

Soon after this, the *Englishmen*, one of whose names is Mr. King, went with me before the governor, who bid them ask me how I was used aboard; but I could not speak to them again in *English*, having forgot my native tongue; but I answered in the *Madagascar* language, that I was used very civilly. So the *Englishmen* present asked the governor to let me live with them as long as they stayed there, which was granted.

By that time I was there about six or seven days, my *English* tongue began to come to me pretty well; then I could speak to them, and inform them, as I did, of all that had happened to me. Hereupon they told me, That they did belong to the *Bauden* about three weeks before, but had left her, and sailed with the *Arabs*. Two of them were made gunners of the country ships, the other was surgeon of all the great ships that went out, and the ship sailed also that he belonged to: likewise he fitted small boxes of medicines for all the other ships. Also there was one of the *Royal James* and *Mary's* men that left her, was made a gunner.

They told me, the *Bauden* sailed from that place about a week before I came in, in which were divers of the men that came in her from *England*.

I remained with these *English* about a fortnight. They bought me silk, and one piece of chints to make me neck-cloths, and gave me also a new pair of breeches, and a piece of alligar to make me two shirts.

The next morning after, I went with my countrymen to the governor to know what he gave for me. He told them, 20 dollars. They thereupon proffered to give the same money for me again. He told them, he could do nothing until he heard from the king, to whom he had sent about the *English* being there to redeem me. The king refused to let them have me, but said he would send me to *Surat* to the *English* there.

About a month after I came to *Muscat*, there came another *Englishman*. He had been master of a country vessel that was cast away on the *Arabian* shore. It was a very leaky ship; when at sea it was swifted together with cables to keep her from sinking; and the men were always bayling of her with buckets, and it was as much as they could do to keep her free.

This man understanding my circumstances, gave me shirts and breeches, and endeavoured to get me clear of the *Arabs*; but they told him, They would send me to the *English* again. He asked me afterward, if he should write to the agent of *Persia* for me? which, on my desiring, he did, and sent it, and had an answer to it by a *Dutch Banyan*, whom he gave also bond to redeem me from the governor; he having first acquainted the king, said the king would have no more than what he gave for me, which was 20 dollars. This the *Banyan* paid, and 20 more to my



my countrymen for clothes and diet, which they took.

They bought me some bread, cheese, rice, salt-beef, and two gallons of liquor almost as strong as brandy; and they bought me a very good quilt and pillow, and two earthen pots to boil my victuals. They gave me a little sugar, and a dollar and half in money for to buy me something, because the boat was to touch at some places before we got there. They provided a place in one of their boats; and just before they had orders to get ready to put to sea, because the ships were going to *Surat*, the *Arabs* would not let the boats go; for the *Arabs* and the *Portugueses* had wars with one another; but the boats went to the same place where the *Portugueses* had a great town full of inhabitants, and a fort with five guns in it. The name of the place was called *Conge*. The *Arabs* being afraid, would not let the boats go in before it was day; and when the *Englishmen* were in with their ships, then they bid me go aboard of the boat that I was to go over in. I went aboard, and lay aboard till she sailed; only I went ashore in the day-time to buy me some fresh victuals, and cucumbers, and other green trade.

About three or four days after the ships sailed away, the masters of the boats had orders to sail, which they did; and in the afternoon we sail'd from *Muscat*, bound for *Persia*. We stop'd by the way at two or three places, and there they filled water, because they carry'd but one jar, and that did not hold above 25 gallons; likewise we bought salt fish and dates for our eating.

About a day or two before we came into *Persia*, we went between the main and an island; and just as we were thro', one of the *Arabs* took two handfuls of dates, and heaved one of his handfuls at the island, and the other at the main; and then hollowed, and was glad they got well thro'.

As soon as they got a little further, the tide run very strong, and sometimes the water run round; and it made round so fast, that the oars she had in her could not keep her head to the tide; and as fast as they got her head to the tide, the water ran round about, and carry'd the boat round about for all their oars, and they could not anchor because of the depth of water. At last we had a stout gale of wind, then we went right away before it; yet for all that, we could hardly keep her head to it; and if she took a yaw any way, she would run round about, and it would be a great while before we could bring her head about,

and after all, had like to have driven *EVERARD* amongst the islands; but thank God, at last we got a good way off, and stood over for *Persia*, and the wind run us over to the *Persian* shore in six hours time. Arrives at *Persia*.

However, we lay by all night with our boat till morning, then we got nearer in to the shore; and about four or five miles off shore we espy'd two or three fishing-boats; so our boat having a small boat, went to them to buy some fish. I asked the fisher-man what ship that was that lay in to the shore? They told me it was a *Dutchman*.

About three or four of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor about half a mile off shore, and the boat lay over against our factory; and as soon as the boat was well come to an anchor, they landed, and I went along with them. What things I had I carried to the custom-house to let them see them; where a *Banyan* belonging to the *English*, seeing me, went and told the agent, who thereupon sent for me, and I went to him, where I met two *English* boys, who bid me stay till the agent came down. When he came, he asked about my travels and gave me a bottle of wine and some water, and drank to me, and at his desire I gave him an account of my travels and hardships. Then he asked me if I had a mind to go for *England*, or to stay with him? I told him, I desir'd to go home, which he told me I should in the next ship.

During my stay here, I rode with another boy about three miles to a place called *Banyan-tree*. We had a man to run before us and attend us. When we returned, I told the agent I liked the country very well; whereupon he bid the young man to give me the keys of the wine, oil, butter, sugar, and many other things that were in the rooms; so I wanted for nothing.

Soon after came in an *English* ship called the *Diana*. The captain's name was *Masters*, who was very sick; whereupon the agent invited him ashore, and got two rooms for his entertainment.

Two or three days after, the captain was brought ashore, continuing very sick; and the wind being very high, the surf of the water made him dropping wet; and not long after he died, and was buried, and the officers and my self attended on horses, and the fore-mast men on assen-goes; then a small brass gun on shore was fired to give notice the burial was a going. They fired aboard all the ship's guns, giving a minute's distance between each firing.

A whirl-pool.



EVE-  
RARD.Goes on  
board a  
ship for  
England.

After that the chief mate was made captain, and I stay'd ashore about two months. After which, one morning, the new captain told me, I must go aboard with him; whereupon I acquainted the agent, who told me, I was to go with that ship for *England*. So I went aboard, and was taken care of by him. About a fortnight after, I went ashore with some of the officers, and at the factory I met with the two young men that were writers. The agent hearing me talking with them, he called me, and told me, He would have me go to *Bussero* to see how I liked, which accordingly I did, and was employed, as the other seamen, in the common service and duties of the rest of the men.

Two months after I was aboard, there came in the *Kemthorn* from *Surat*, loaden with *Armenians* goods, bound for *Bussero*. When she came into the road, we struck our *St. George's* flag, because the *Kemthorn* had the king's penant flying; and the captain of the *Kemthorn* went on shore, and told the agent, That his ship was leaky, and not fit to go to *Bussero*, and too big, and her bowsprit was broke off by the head; so our captain spared him a piece of timber to fish and mend their bowsprit; but the *Kemthorn* being so leaky, the agent ordered our captain to load our ship out of her, and another country vessel of our bigness, that was there, with an *English* captain aboard of her, and the chief mate and gunner; but all the rest were *Lascars*, being the fore-mast men. So we took in as much goods as loaded us both, which was done in four or five days, and then received orders to sail for *Bussero*.

By the way, in the night, the *Rebecca's* boat came aboard us, being at an anchor in *Cong* road. It blew very hard, with great thundering and lightning; and there fell a great clap of thunder aboard of the *Rebecca*, which split their fore-mast into several pieces, and kill'd one man in the cook-room, and did another man some harm, and struck most of the men down, and some were in the main-top; but a little while after, they came to themselves again.

We heard the thundering two or three days before we came near them; and a day or two after, their boat went away, and we got into *Cong*. Likewise we heard firing of guns in *Cong* road; but the morning before we made *Cong* the wind blew so hard, that we were forced to reef our top-sails, but got in that same day, and fired several guns; and the *Rebecca* fired again to salute us.

The following night, or the night after, we espy'd a ship a great distance at sea.

As she made nearer in we saw her penant, and made her to be the *Kemthorn*; and a little before night they sent their yawl ashore, but the ship could not get in that night. The next morning we got all things ready to sail by break of day; and so did the other ship that was with us, that had the part of the *Kemthorn's* goods, and we were both under sail all day; and if we had stayed two or three hours the *Kemthorn* would have stop'd us, and have caused us to have delivered our goods there; but having our anchors up, and a fresh gale, we made all the sail we could, and we got out of sight in three or four hours time.

We sailed all along the shore; and about a week after we sailed out of *Cong*, we got in with some islands; not knowing what the people were, the captain sent the boat ashore to buy some provisions, and the boat brought ten or twelve goats, and some fowls; but we did not anchor there, but sent our boat ashore the second time, having but little wind.

We had afterward a little breeze of wind, and some small time after, we espy'd four or five ships, which we took to be *Portuguese*; and it was very calm without, but we had sometimes a small breeze of wind off shore, but it would come and be gone whilst one could tell twenty or thirty; so we got our guns ready, and our small arms, with all other things requisite for a fight; but they came no nearer us. At last we had a wind which carried us away from them, and we kept our course, and never saw them afterwards.

About three weeks or a month after we lost sight of the ships, we came to an island inhabited by *Arabs*; and the captain sent the long-boat ashore, a little before the ship came to an anchor, full of casks to fill water. The name of the island is *Corask*; but there was but little water to *Corask*; be got there.

We took in a pilot to pilot us over a shoal place that was before *Bussero* river, and likewise up the river; there being so little water, that we touched for three or four miles together, which caused the mud to rise after us very thick, and she lay a-ground one tide almost dry; but floating again with the tide, we got between two islands, one of which was called *Gangus*, but the other's name I know not; but they lay at the river's mouth, one on the starboard side, the other on the larboard side, and we must go in between them, for it is not above a quarter of a mile from one island to the other.

When we came into the river, we beheld a great many cows and buffaloes, and a great many sheep which were down  
by



by the water-side, and we worked up the river tide by tide. And one time the boat's crew went ashore when the tide was against us, the ship being at anchor, and brought aboard bags full of dates, and might have had as many more if they would have gathered them.

The next tide of flood, we weighed and tided it up, being about twenty or thirty miles before we got to the town; and when we were up, there came one of their country boats, with two or three *Armenians* in her, being some that had part of the ship's loading, and the *Armenians* that were aboard were their partners, and owned all the two ships loading between them.

The *Armenians* that came aboard told their partners, That there were wars between the *Turks* and the wild *Arabs*, and desired the captain to carry the goods back again; but the captain would not, unless they would give as much for carrying them back, as they did for bringing them thither; but they were not willing to give so much; so we went further up the next tide; and about ten miles before we got to the town, there lay a little island in the middle of the river; and having but little wind, and the tide running strong, it drove us upon it broad-side to the tide upon the tide of flood, and it being very soft ground, the ship was forced on a great way.

We carried out an anchor to heave her off; but the tide ran so strong, that we could not get the anchor out in the place where we designed. Then we carried a tow-line to haul the anchor out by, but all would not do; so that when it came to be ebb water, the ship lay fast, and we could not heave her off, because the tide had so much hold of her broad-side. This obliged us to keep the anchors and cables taught, doubting the tide would heave the ship further on.

We lay there three or four tides; at last the spring-tides coming on, we heaved her off, but it was by mere strain and strength by the cables and anchors. During the time we lay aground, and the water was gone from the ship, some of the ship's company went ashore, and were not higher than their middles, and it was soft muddy ground.

Being thus got off, the next tide of flood, we got up to the town of *Busfero*, and came to an anchor over against the town, and moored our ship the first night. Afterwards two *Dutch* factors who lived there, came on board, and the captain and they had some discourse, and drank healths with firing of guns. They asked the captain if he would take in some of their goods? but he told them he could not: then they invited him ashore; and he

went one morning to the *Dutch* factory, and they made a great feast for him, and the boat's crew had it after they had done; and we had good wine and brandy with our victuals.

The *Turks* made great offers to our men to engage them as gunners; and we having two *Dutchmen* aboard, they got ashore one day, and went to the *Turks*, who made them gunners to fire their great guns, and paid them daily wages, and the chief of the place gave them silk coats with hanging sleeves. The chief of the place here borrowed nine patereroes of our captain, and likewise some more of the *Moors* ship that was in our company from *Persia*.

Whilst we were there came in a *Moor's* ship of about 1000 tons, and 60 guns, call'd the *Mussenbee*. She also lent them some guns, and our captain let them have three *Dutchmen* out of our ship to fire them, who afterwards were very unwilling to come aboard again, being well paid, and faring very well: at last, coming aboard for their cloaths, the captain would have stop'd them, but all three jump'd over-board, and one was drowned.

Our captain sent the bashaw a present; and the bashaw, in return, presented him with a red coat lined with a very fine fur, and silver buttons. The captain was very desirous to put the *Armenians* goods ashore; but they desired him not, until they could see if they could make peace with the *Arabs*; whereupon he told them, He would stay a day or two longer for that purpose; but seeing then there was no peace made, he told them, he would send the long-boat ashore laden with their goods, and if they would not look after them they might let them alone. Hereupon they gave him a consideration for further patience.

While we were here, the bashaw desired the captain to pass further up the river, and to fire at them ashore, who were his enemies; accordingly we went aboard a mile further up, and we fired several great guns and small shot at them. They fired again at us with their small shot; some of which fell short, others flew over us, and some hit our ship's side.

We lay there till next day, and then went back to the town; and having anchored there, our captain, for our going, gave the men five dollars apiece for what they had done.

Two *Dutchmen*, who run away from a *Dutch* ship to us, going ashore, ran to the *Turks* and helped them against the *Arabs*, and the *Turks* gave them good wages, and each of them a silk coat with hanging sleeves. They also got much money, and were paid most in gold.

After:



EVE-  
RARD. Afterwards the *Armenians* sent boats aboard for their goods, and we were seven or eight days unloading our ship; which being finished, the two *Dutchmen* came aboard again, and brought with them the patereroes and pouch-barrel, that had been borrowed of us; and being seemingly very willing to stay aboard, the captain kept them there; but they had not been aboard above a week, but one night when it was their watch, they endeavoured to swim ashore; and we heard about a day or two after, one of them was drowned, but the other got well off, but never came aboard of us again.

The loading we took in there was dates. Our captain had a house ashore at the place to put his things in; and one night about eight or nine of the clock, a great alarm being given that the *Arabs* were gotten into the city, the captain ordered the boat to be manned, and every one was armed with a musket, a cutlass, and a cartouch-box, and the cockswain had two pistols; and then we put off, and with great difficulty got ashore, it being three miles up the creek, which was very narrow, and crowded so with the country boats, that we could hardly get by; and we heard great noise of firing of guns of each side the creek, but knew not whether of friends or enemies.

At last we got to the place where the captain's house was, and the men were commanded to fetch the captain's goods to the boat, and brought off a great many bags of money of the *Armenians*, that were in a manner open, but yet, I believe, not one farthing value was lessened by the boat's crew; for the *Armenians* told the money when they came aboard, and put it into great bags that would hold two or three thousand pounds apiece; for it was as much as four or five men could well carry, a great deal of it being in dollars, a great deal in mummoods, and a great deal of it in small bars of gold, which must be all together of a very great value.

After this the *Arabs* made peace with the *Turks*, which cost the latter a great many thousand pounds. And after we had got our loading aboard, the greatest part of which was dates, and all the rest of our things, and received on board one of that country horses, which the bashaw sent as a present to the chief at *Surat*, we sailed from *Bussero* town, leaving the other ship there taking in her loading; and as we were working out of the river, we espy'd a great many buffaloes ashore; whereupon some of the crew got the captain's leave to go ashore with their pieces, and killed two of them, and brought them aboard in quarters, with the skin on; and

the captain had the best pieces salted up, and the rest was eat at no allowance. They wounded one or two more, but they ran away.

The tide of ebb having done running, we came to an anchor; and the pilot's father living almost against where the ship lay, he asked the captain leave to go ashore, telling him he would come off again before the tide of ebb. He had four of our *Lascars* to row him ashore in our small boat; and after some time the boat returned with only one of the *Lascars* in her, and told us, That the people ashore kept and beat them, because we killed two of their buffaloes, and would not part with them till the captain had paid for the buffaloes.

Hereupon the captain sent the boat ashore with *Englishmen* in her with small arms, and a *Moor* we had aboard; but we could not find the people a great while. At last our men saw them, and the *Moor* asked them, What made them detain our men? They told us, That they kept them because we killed two of their buffaloes, and wounded two more, and that we should pay 300 mummoods, which is 300 and 8 pence, before they would let them go; which the captain was forced to comply with, and then they sent us our men; but the pilot would not come aboard again for fear something should be done to him; so we were forced to lie there till the next morning, and then came three or four boats of *Arabs* by, and we manned our boat and went aboard of them, and got one of them to consent to be our pilot to carry us out; but we were forced to lie there for five or six days, the wind blowing hard right into the river.

At last we had a fair wind, and got clear of the river's mouth; but the ship ran aground upon the fathoms that lay just without the river's mouth, which caused us to get an anchor out, and a hawser in the boat to heave the ship off again; and we sounded about to find the deepest water, which was three fathoms; so we brought the hawser to the capstane, and heaved her off into three fathom water; and as soon as we had heaved up our anchor again, the pilot carried us over the fathoms very well.

Then we set sail, and touched at an island called *Corack*, in order to put that pilot ashore, and to take in another to carry us to a place called *Percey*; by the way, lying off *Congee*, to put two or three men ashore we had aboard of our ship; then we made the best of our way to *Gamberoon* road, and sail'd in between the main and an island call'd *Kishmis*; and whilst we stayed there we took in some water.



A day or two before we got into *Gambaroon* road, one of the *Armenians* died aboard, and the others got leave of the captain for some of our men to carry him ashore in our boat, and to dig a grave and bury him; which we did, and what they gave us came to about sixteen pence apiece.

Gamba-  
roon.

As soon as the boat returned aboard, we had a small gale of wind fair for us; and before night we got into *Gambaroon* road in *Persia*; but a little before we came to an anchor our captain gave command for the boat to be mann'd to carry him ashore, but refused to let me be one of those who rowed him: whereupon I wrote to the two young men who were ashore, with whom, when I was there before, I had contracted a strict friendship, and they were so kind as to send me a good red cap, and two pair of breeches, one of them silk.

I suppose the captain had heard I had a mind to make an agreement with the agent, and believed I would leave him; for he wanted men, and would have shipped as many *Dutchmen* as he could get; for we failed with eleven *Lascars* at that time, whom we were not to carry out of the country, not being able to get any *Dutchmen* at *Persia*.

We lay here but four days, being bound for *Surat*; and in our passage thither we saw a grab very near us on the larboard bow; so calling all hands up, we made what haste we could to be clear of her, and fired a gun at her, laden with shot, which flew over her, and being but a little breeze, she crept from us; and a little after, we fired another gun, and then they heaved out their colours, which, I think, were white.

About six or seven weeks after, we were pretty near the land; it was very thick and hazy weather; but espying a ship about three leagues to leeward of us, we bore down to her right before the wind. Some of our men made her to be the *Ruby*, and others said, It was the *Emerald*, still bearing down, thinking it was one of these ships. We being so sure, we got nothing ready, she having jack, ensign and pennant: and as we were bearing under her stern, there was a man upon her poop, and our gunner was upon our poop. They hal'd us, and said, They had letters for us; so they asked us to send our boat aboard; but our captain told them, If they had any business with us, they might send their boat aboard; but we kept bearing away till we had made ready for a fight, because we were very much pester'd with the *Armenians* goods and clothes in the steerage

and great cabin; and after we were all clear, we steered on our course, and stood both one way. The *Armenians* that were aboard of us, were but ragged fellows, but were resolved to fight; and she had a tire of guns fore and aft, seemingly to be brass. She had likewise waftcloths spread, and the head of her fore-topmast leaned very much backward; so standing one way a little while, I think, we went about and fired a gun to leeward, and they fired another to leeward, and stood into the shore.

A day or two after, we saw the land, and fell to leeward of *Surat* near forty leagues; and when we were pretty near in, we saw *Bombay*. Our captain carried the ship in there, and we lay off the sunken rock, and took in some water, and learned what news we could.

Bombay.

There was at that time a captain's widow that lived there, and her *Black* slave; our captain being acquainted with her, she brought some of her things aboard, having a mind to go for *England*, and our captain made his addresses to her.

We lay at *Bombay* above two days before we failed for *Surat*, but were forced to come to an anchor, the wind and tide being against us; and it was just without *Bombay*. Before night it blew harder, so that we broke our cable; then we let go another anchor. We lay there till the morning; but before it was light the wind dulled, and by that time it was light it was stark calm; then we went with our long-boat to the buoy that belonged to our broken cable, to weigh the anchor by the buoy-rope; but when the anchor was a quarter up, the buoy-rope broke, and run down amain: then they let the long-boat's grappling go, because the long-boat should not drive away from the anchor; and the men that were in the long-boat called to the ship to send the pinnace and the creeper to creep for the cable and anchor; and in two or three creeps we had hold of the cable, and heaved them both up, and carried them aboard, and next tide we failed, but were forced to come to an anchor every tide when the wind was not fair; nor could we stem the tide to make the best of our way to *Surat*, but were eight or ten days in passing thither.

When we came to an anchor at *Surat's* river's mouth, we found there the *Kemthorn*, captain *Kemthorn* commander, taking in goods for *England*, having the best part of her loading in. There lay another small ship called the *Jonas*.

A day or two after, we came to an anchor, and our captain married the captain's widow



EVE- widow whom we brought from *Bombay*,  
 RARD. and we fired our guns two or three times  
 round, and so did the *Kemiborn* and the  
*Jonas*.

About two or three days after, the captain of the *Josiah* came aboard to carry us into *Swallow-hole*; and when we came there, a man came down to the water-side, and called to the ship to bid the boat come ashore; which being done, the man that called to us, who was a *Moor*, and talked indifferent *English*, told us, We must go up to the factory. There was a hackery came down to the boat, drawn by two oxen; with whose driver we agreed to carry us in it for a mammoed, which is a groat, to the factory.

When we came to the factory, we told them our ship's name, and what our loading was; then the factors sent some refreshments to the boat's crew, and to invite the captain ashore.

About four or five days after we came in, we began to unload our ship, and finish'd that work in eight or nine days. Then the captain and his wife went and lay ashore, and we heaved our ship ashore to clean her; then we broom'd her, and procur'd the *Indian* builder to view her to see if she was fit to load goods for *England*; and he looked quite round the ship, but could find nothing amiss, till coming to her stern, he found fault with the pintle and gudgeon, saying, They were too short. Our carpenter told him, They were so short at first; but they would have willingly cast the ship to have her abide in the country to trade.

In four or five days after, we got the ship off, and our captain hired about ten or twelve country carpenters and calkers to work upon her when she was afloat; neither did he take in any goods till she was calked all over. The calkers were *Gentuse* and *Bannians*; and every time they went to victuals, or to do any necessary occasions, we were obliged to carry them ashore, or else they would lose their cast; and if they lost their cast, the rest of their country folks would not love them, nor keep them company; for they say, They go to the devil if they lose their cast.

As soon as the ship was calked, we had an order to take in goods for *England*; but the factors told us, They were afraid to venture for fear of the *Mallabars* taking of them, and requested the captain to let six of our ship's company go as a guard, every one armed with a musket and a cartouch-box. They return'd next morning by break of day, in the shallop loaden with several sorts of goods; and we first took in about 40 bales of cowries, which

are what children in *England* call *Black-moors-teeth*, because they were the heaviest goods. Next we took in bales of pallampores, chinces and callicoes, and were about ten or twelve days before we were loaden.

After we were loaden, and had got in our provisions and water, we were visited by some of the captains and factors, who came on board us to be merry; and in the height of their jollitry, our chief mate telling them of my hardships, they each of them drank a glass of wine of my filling, and put a rupee into the glass, and the last drinking to me, I got by that means 15 rupees, containing 2 s. 3 d. each.

About a week or ten days after we sailed out of *Swallow-hole*, and came to an anchor at *Surat* river's mouth; but being bound to *Bombay* to take in pepper, the *Josiah* and the *Benjamin* came from *Surat* river's mouth with us, and we had a fair wind all the way to *Bombay*, and we were about three days sailing thither.

When we came there we saluted the fort, which they returned. We lay right against an island, called the *Woman's island*, and being pretty dark we did not venture in till the next morning, when we went in and lay within a quarter of a mile of the fort. Arrival at  
Bombay.

In a few days after came in two ships, called the *Ruby* and the *Emerald*, from a place called *Callicut*, loaden with pepper, which had an order to let us have as much as we could take in; they weighed it and sent it aboard in bags, but we shot it loose into our ship's hold, amongst the bale goods, having filled her fore and aft with bale goods, which we heaved in so close with hand-screws that we could not stow one more. Then we calked up our hatches close; but we lost our passage, which made us to be a winter ship.

A while after there came in the *Bauden*, the ship which I went out in. The gunner being acquainted with our captain, came aboard of us; and I asked him if there was not one *Lewis James* aboard of the *Bauden*? he told me yes; I desired him to remember my love to him; and soon after the *Bauden's* boat coming ashore just as our boat was going off, he called to me and asked me if I would not come ashore again presently, telling me what house he should be at; and I found him there accordingly, and we greatly rejoiced to see one another. He treated me very kindly, and there being an outcry of cloaths at the fort, belonging to a factor that died there, he bought four silk coats and gave me, and would have given me other things, if I had wanted them; but I would not be too troublesome. He afterwards took me to the punch-



punch-house and treated me with a very good dinner; and at his invitation I went afterwards to see him aboard, and was treated very handsomely by him.

Here we shipt several men, at 50 s. and 3 l. a month wages, and a doctor's mate hir'd himself, finding we had no occasion for him in that quality, as a foremast man for 30 s. per month; but was quite useless to us, knowing nothing of a ship's business, or even of a boat's.

When we failed out of *Bombay* we kept very near the shore for that day; and the day after we fired a few guns to give notice for two of the *Ruby's* men, who had agreed to come aboard us, in our service; but seeing no boat, nor any thing like it, we kept on our course to the place we were bound to, and in three or four days after we made the land, and we took that for a place called *Carwar*; and about seven weeks after we made the island of *Moorushes*, where we winter'd: It was very high land, and the water was so clear we could see the ground sixteen fathom deep; and presently after we came to an anchor, we heard some body hale our ship, right over against where we lay; so manning the boat we went ashore, but could see no body, and tho' we hollowed, received no answer; then we rowed up into the bay, and there stood a flag-staff, and not finding any body we pulled aboard again.

Island of  
Moor-  
ushes.

The captain afterwards sent us again on shore into the bay where we were bound, and we rowed a large mile from the ship, and went ashore, and presently after there came down to us two men, who were those that haled us at the other place, and told us, that they belonged to the *Shrewsbury*, but she was lost, and they were cast away upon a sand about eighty or one hundred leagues from that island, but all the men saved their lives in their long-boat and pinnace, and they made for that island, where they had been eighteen months; and that our ship was the first in all that time that had touched there.

These two men, one of which was the boatswain of the *Shrewsbury*, went to the other side of the bay with our captain, and caught a goat or two presently, which they brought down to the boat, and then we went all aboard to the ship.

The next day we got into the bay, called *Northwest Bay*, where we moor'd our ship, and took all our cables, sails, casks, and lumber that was in her, and cleared as much as we could, to careen her, that the carpenter might find her leaks; and the carpenter of the *Shrewsbury* and his mate assisted our carpenter in the work.

It being the custom of this place for the governor to send two huntsmen to hunt

for the ships that come in here, he sent us two accordingly, who hunted for us two or three days, and took some goats and a wild hog or two, and brought them on board, demanding half a dollar for a goat, and a whole dollar for a hog; upon which some of the *Shrewsbury's* men on board of us, told the captain they would go a hunting for us for nothing; so he pay'd the *Dutchmen* for what they had caught, and discharged them, which they thought very hardly of, but they could not help themselves; and the *Shrewsbury* men went a hunting for us, and brought aboard of us 14 or 16 goats at a time, and a wild hog or two, and now and then a fat deer.

EVE-  
RARD.

When we had done almost all the work which belong'd to our ship, and got most of the things from the shore, the captain commanded the cockswain to make ready the pinnace in the morning betimes, for he was minded to go a small voyage, and I was one of the boat's crew, and the captain carried his wife with him, and we rowed to a place called *Black River*, where we stayed two or three days, and haul'd the pinnace on the shore dry, because the water should not carry her off; and then we went all up to the house where the captain and his wife were, and were plentifully treated for three or four days. The day before we went, the men where the captain and his wife lay, killed an ox for us to carry on board, and the captain left his wife there, and went on board with us, where we salted our beef, and made what haste we could to get our water, but were able to fetch but one boat of water in a day, it being at least seven or eight miles off, to a place called *Carpenters Bay*.

Black Ri-  
ver.

We then got our cables, sails, and lumber aboard, and were supply'd with two oxen, which we salted, and a great hog, of which we made bacon; and being all ready to sail, having lain at this place near three months, the captain went down to *Black River*, to fetch his wife on board, in the pinnace, and returned in three or four days; and in about a week or fortnight after, we set sail for the cape of *Good Hope*, having a fair wind, which carried us clear off the land before morning.

It continued fair about a week or two, with our long-boat towing astern of us all the way; but then the wind began to blow harder and harder, veering forward, which forced us to get our tacks on board, and having the *Shrewsbury's* men on board we became short of victuals, as well as water; besides our ship was very leaky, which caused us all to be at the pump, to free her, two and two every hour, and begun to have very bad weather, with our long-boat

boat



EVE- boat and a black fellow towing astern in  
 RARD. her all the while, whom we changed by  
 turns with another *Black* for their relief; and  
 one time we had a very fair fresh gale of  
 wind, which caused our ship to run six or  
 seven knots, making very quick way, which  
 made the long-boat run up under the ship's  
 stern, which caused the gucs-rope to be  
 foul of the long-boat's keel, and the long-  
 boat's broadside to, which made the black  
 fellow to cry out most sadly, and we did not  
 hear him a pretty while, but when we did,  
 we made all the haste we could to stop the  
 ship's way, but before we could bring the  
 ship to, the long-boat cleared herself, and  
 we sailed on our way.

About a week after we had hard blowing  
 weather, and sometimes we were under a  
 foresail, and sometimes under a forefail  
 reef, and other times under a spritsail reef,  
 and sometimes under our missen ballast,  
 and sometimes we could not carry any sail  
 at all, and the wind blew very hard for  
 ten or eleven days, and the decks were so  
 full of water when the ship was a pumping  
 that we could not stand dry-shod; and the  
 seas broke in at the rudder-coat, which  
 caused all the things in the gun-room almost  
 to swim, so there was hardly a dry cabin  
 in the ship to lie in; the seas likewise broke  
 all her head away but the lion, and we  
 were forced to shoar that, else it had been  
 gone also; and there being no towing the  
 long-boat any longer, the captain ordered  
 hands aft for to haul it up, so the black fel-  
 low was bid to heave the water out clean,  
 and come aboard, and the captain com-  
 manded the boat to be veered astern again,  
 without any body in her; but in the morn-  
 ing when we looked astern we found her full  
 of water, but the wind being not half so  
 high as it was in the night, the watch was  
 ordered to haul her up, which they did,  
 for to cut the boat-rope and gucs-rope,  
 and so turn'd her adrift.

About a fortnight after we got in sight  
 of the table land, where we were to go,  
 and had such bad weather, that we thought  
 we should have beaten away the lion off our  
 ship's head, with the tree thereof, having  
 lost all the rails of it before.

About four days after we had sight of  
 land, it being the cape of *Good Hope*; and  
 just as we were coming about the point, be-  
 fore we enter'd the harbour, a gun or two  
 were fired from a house on the top of a hill,  
 to give the town notice that there was a ship  
 coming in; we answered them to leeward  
 with another, as a signal of friendship.  
 As soon as we came to an anchor, there  
 came aboard a *Dutch* ship's boat, to know  
 from whence we came, and what ship we  
 were? Then we asked them what news in  
*England*, and what *Dutch* ships were there,

and whither bound? They answered our  
 questions, as we did theirs, and told us  
 likewise that there was, besides merchant  
 men, a *French* man of war of 50 guns,  
 which they took from the *French*, and that  
 she wore the *Dutch* flag, and rid admiral.  
 Then we asked, what *English* were there  
 left? they told us, the *Charles* the second,  
 the *Modena*, and the *Sampson*, with one  
 or two more, whose names I have for-  
 got; all which sailed out from the cape  
 about a fortnight before we came in.  
 They also told us that the orange was cast  
 away there, by a hurricane, being loaden  
 from the *East-Indies*, for *England*, with  
 muslins and many other commodities, be-  
 sides great quantities of canes; and that  
 there was a homeward bound *Dutch East-*  
*India* ship cast away at the same time, of  
 about 800 tons; and that the captain of  
 the *Orange*, mate and purser, were on  
 shore.

Next morning by break of day, we  
 fired some guns, and the fort saluted us  
 again, as also the admiral; and the day  
 after the captain went ashore in the pinnace,  
 to visit the governor, but he was gone up  
 into the country; then he went to the house  
 where the captain of the *Orange* lived, and  
 the mate and purser were there likewise,  
 and they discoursed about the trade of the  
 country.

The next day when the boat went ashore, Hotten-  
 I went one of the boat's crew, and saw the tots.  
 natives of the country, called *Hottentots*.  
 They wore about their necks sheeps guts,  
 with the dung in them, as they are taken  
 out of the sheep; and the same about their  
 legs, from their ankles to their knees, so  
 that they stink like carrion, yet they would  
 eat them in that filthy condition. They  
 could be smelt a great way before one came  
 near them.

Here we had three of the boat's crew  
 run away from us, who were all *Shrews-*  
*bury's* men, that we shipt at *Moorushes*;  
 and I suppose they deserted us because we  
 were scanty of victuals.

Within two or three days after we were  
 in, our captain, and the captain of the  
*Orange*, went up into the country to the  
 governor of the place, to get some ne-  
 cessaries for the ship's use, which he did,  
 being half a barrel of pitch, and a pump  
 can of tar, and two or three coils of ropes;  
 and the captain of the admiral granted us  
 his long-boat to moor our ship, and to  
 fetch our water for us, for which kindness  
 our captain allowed them victuals, and  
 gave them a case-bottle of arrack to drink,  
 and so they had for every boat of water  
 they brought aboard; and our captain  
 gave the *Dutch* admiral a piece of *East-*  
*India* silk, flowered with gold, for his  
 kind-



kindness, and invited him aboard, where we welcomed him with firing of guns, at his coming on board and departure, having been treated very handsomely by our captain, whom he invited in return on board his ship, and treated him also with great civility.

We lay at the cape about six weeks to repair our ship, for we careen'd her on both sides, and caulk'd her under water, and gave her, as they call'd it, a pair of boot-hose tops; we likewise had the head of the ship mended, and the lion shoar'd faster. The provisions we got there were mutton and soft bread.

St. Helena.

Then we sail'd for *St. Helena*, where we arrived in 18 days, after we had sailed from the cape; and when we came right over against the fort, we let our anchor down, and saluted it, which the fort returned; and our captain sent the boat ashore, which returned with some of the islanders in her to see what we had to sell; and the governor soon after coming down to the water-side to meet our captain, as well he and his wife, as the captain and purser of the *Orange*, went ashore; and our captain bought there a great quantity of gallyvances for a sea store, and took a house on shore for his better accommodation.

Whilst we were there, we tarr'd our ship, masts, yards, and rigging, and opened our hatches to see if our goods were damaged: We hoisted up about thirty bales, and found some of them very wet, which we carried ashore, and washed; and then we made more room in the hold to put down several bales of cloth, which we brought from the cape, belonging to the *Orange*, that they saved; and then the damaged cloth was all brought on board again, and put down into the hold, except two bales, which were left ashore, because the island was in want of them. Then we proceeded to get some oxen on board, which we kill'd and salted, and fresh water, and wood; the latter we fetched from some small islands adjacent, which were so full of birds, that they seemed to cover the place, and there they laid their eggs in such plenty, that every other day, a boat belonging to the island went to fetch some of them for the governor's table, and they would bring a thousand or two at a time; some of which he gave to his neighbours, and some, while we were there, he sent aboard to the captain, and to our men. Some of these eggs were full of black spots, and eat very much like hen eggs.

Sun Fish.

One morning the boat belonging to the town coming aboard, when we were striking at a fish, call'd a *Sun Fish*, with a harping iron, which we could not strike out of the ship; one of our men went

into the boat with the harping iron, and the *Sun Fish* coming just under the boat's bow; the man struck the harping iron into her back, but could not hold her; and upon his missing her a second time, one of the *Black* fellows, that belonged to the towns boat's crew, took the harping iron, and as the *Sun Fish* came just under the boat's bow, he struck the harping iron in her with all his force, and jump't out of the boat as soon as the harping iron was out of his hand, having struck it through her, and swam to the boat again, and got into her: The *Sun Fish* towed the boat about the road a pretty while, but at last steering close to our ship, we hove a rope to the men in the boat, which they caught hold of, and fastened to the boat; then we haul'd the boat to the ship's side, and with our tackle hoisted the *Sun Fish* in, and it was as much as 15 or 20 men could well do: We then opened her, and took the liver out to make oil, and cast the rest over board.

EVE-  
RARD.

It is very troublesome to get water at this place, because the surf runs so very high, that we were forced to lie with our boat about two stones throw from the shore, and with a long rope, reaching from the boat to the shore, one end of which we fastened to the cask ashore, we in the boat hauled the cask to us. The like we did with the cattle, which when we had got to the boat, we made one fast on each side, with their heads above water, and so towed them to the ship's side, when we hoisted them in with our tackle, and placed them upon deck till we killed them.

Our captain having bought a cask of flower of the gunner, and every thing we wanted being aboard, we left *St. Helena*, where we had been just six weeks, and set sail for *Barbadoes*. In our way we touched at an island called *Ascension*, which shews itself like a burnt cinder. Here we stopt to take in some turtles, as most *English* ships do that come that way.

Ascension  
island.

When we had anchored, our captain went ashore in the pinnace, to see if there was a letter left in a bottle in a hole in a rock near the landing-place, which every ship that comes to that place, leaves there, the island being uninhabited: We took the bottle out of the hole, and found thereby, that the *Kemthorne* was the last ship that was there.

About a stone's throw from this place, our men found about 100 weight of turtle, newly kill'd; and they saw some wood by the place, where a fire had been made: Having carried the turtle aboard, our men supposing, by the dead turtles, that some *Frenchmen* might be on the island,

and



EVE- and that their ship might lie on the other  
 RARD. side of it, ten of them got leave to go ashore,  
 well arm'd, to try to find them; and accordingly they took a survey from the top of a hill, where they found a cross, and named it *Cross-hill*; so looking, but seeing nothing like a ship or man, they return'd on board again.

Afterwards six or eight hands were put ashore to turn turtle, which was brought aboard at twice; and then the captain sent the boat ashore with a letter in a bottle, to be put in the same place where the other was taken out; and having remained here about 30 hours, we got up our anchor, and made the best of our way for *Barbadoes*.

This island of *Ascension* affords no fresh water but rain water, and that will not lie there long. It is very full of sea fowl; and it was remarkable, that if any body went ashore with a red cap on, they would be ready almost to peck it off his head.

We were about six weeks before we got sight of *Barbadoes*, and forced to stand off and on for about two days before we could get about the *Devil's Point*, where are breakers a great way off; but then we sail'd away larger with the wind upon our quarter, and at last right before the wind; then we saw a ship coming towards us, which hal'd us, and asked us from whence we came? We told them from *India*: So they came along our side, and we asked them what men of war were there? They told us there was a fleet of men of war, and Sir *Francis Wheeler* was commodore in the *Resolution*, wearing a jack flag at the mizen topmast head: Then we made all the sail we could, so that within two hours we saw the ships in the road, and the admiral lay the off side of the fleet.

There were then five or six men of wars boats made out towards us, we being some few leagues distant from the road, in order to press our men when we came to an anchor. We saluted *Needham's* fort as we sail'd by, with nine or eleven guns, and lowered our topsails; and were answered with as many; then we fired again for thanks; and as soon as we came into the road we saluted the admiral, who answered us again, and we fired again for thanks also.

As soon as we were at an anchor, our captain obtained of the officers of the *Dunkirk*, to lend us their long-boat, and some of their men to moor our ship. They did not press any of our men: Our captain made friendship with Sir *Francis Wheeler*, who was bound with the fleet to *Martinico*, a *French* island.

About a fortnight after we weighed our anchors and warped our ship nearer into the bay, where we rid far better; for with-

out it was rocky ground which would cut our cables. About 14 days after the *Dorothy* from the *East-Indies*, came in for a convoy, as we did.

About a fortnight after, having got our ship into the bay, one morning about one or two o'clock, when our men were fast asleep, there came aboard well arm'd, a man of war's boat's crew, with a lanthorn and candle lighted, and making a noise by taking some men in the steerage, it awaked the rest that lay in other places, whereby they got away and hid themselves; and for my part I hid myself in the hen-coop, which being pretty full of oakum, they miss'd me. However, they carry'd off eight or ten of our men, and our captain being then sick and like to die, in the morning as soon as it was light, his wife went aboard of Sir *Francis Wheeler* to acquaint him with what had passed, and got an order for their being sent back to us again, which was accordingly done.

About a fortnight or three weeks after, to the best of my remembrance, the fleet, consisting of about 18 or 20 sail of men of war, set sail for *Martinico*, among which were two third rates, viz. the *Resolution* and the *Dunkirk*; many fourth rates, the *Experiment* galley, and *Pembroke*, besides fire-ships and two bomb-ketches. They carried off many men from the island of *Barbadoes*, and being arrived at *Martinico*, they landed their men, and beat the *French* out of their trenches, and burnt many of their plantations, and made them fly into their fort, but could not take the island; so they came off again and went for *New England*, but most of the merchant ships came back to *Barbadoes* together with the men they carried off.

The *Diamond* frigate soon after came into *Barbadoes* road, being detach'd by Sir *Francis Wheeler*, as we supposed, because she had the ordering the men of war there, and the *Tiger* being appointed admiral, and the *Diamond* for our convoy, being about thirty sail of us in all; we all prepared to sail for *England*. We had lain at *Barbadoes* about three months, in all which time we had buried but two men, whereas the *Dorothy* in ten weeks buried 14 or 15.

The morning we sail'd, the *Diamond* fired a gun, as a warning for all the ships that were ready, to sail; and as soon as she was under sail they fired another, to give us notice to follow her; but we being far into the bay, and having but little wind, our ship would not ware, but at last drove ashore, and beat something hard, which made us apprehend that she might have received some considerable damage; and being



being told that there was a gentleman on shore that had negroes who could dive under the ship, and see if there was a damage done to the bottom of the ship; the negroes were sent for on board, and as soon as they came they stript themselves, and dived under the ship, and came up again, and told us there was no defect; so having got the ship off, we made what haste we could after the fleet.

The *Diamond* convoyed us about five or six days sail from *Barbadoes*, and then the captain went on board of the *Faulkenburgh*, and gave orders for that ship to wear the pennant at topmast, being the largest ship in the fleet, and the *Diamond* returned back again to *Barbadoes*; after which it was consulted by some to go north about *Ireland* and *Scotland*, for our better security, from the danger of the *French*; but capt. Bartram in the *Faulkenburgh*, was for steering the channel course; notwithstanding which, we in the *Diana*, as also the *Dorothy*, who carrying the pennant, we looked upon her as our admiral, a hagboat of fifteen guns, and a small pink with four guns, sailed north about, and so left the rest, and had fair weather for four or five days, after which the wind freshened upon us, so that we were forced to reef our top-sails; but a little time after our fore-sail and main-sail were sufficient, and at last only with our fore-sail, or any sail at all; but as soon as the wind slackened we made more sail. This wind held us about ten days, in which time our captain, in the pinnace, visited the other ships that kept us company, and in the mean time some of our folks espied land, but being very hazy they were not sure; but the day after we made the land very plain to leeward of us, but could not make what land it was, being several islands; but in a day or two after we made one of them to be *Shetland*. Soon after we discovered making up to us five sail of ships, which gave us the alarm, and we made every thing ready to give them a warm reception, if they should prove to be enemies; but when they came up with us, they proved to be *Dutch* privateers; and they sent their boat aboard us, as they had done aboard the *Dorothy*, and acquainted us that the *King's Fisher* man of war was cruizing about an island to the northward of us, in order to look out for us; and we being very short of bread, our captain went aboard of the *Dutch* admiral to buy some. They kept us company two days, and then left us.

There were two or three of the *Shetland* boats came aboard of us, while we were upon that coast, and brought some codfish and eggs, fowls, gloves and stockings; and our ship's company bought all they brought

aboard, and the poor creatures were for old cloaths, or new cloaths, for they told us, that the *French* had plundered them of their cloaths and cattle, so that they were almost naked, being compelled to make them shoes of the hide of an ox, with holes to lace them on.

Then a strong gale springing up we were forced to reef our top-sails, and made our way for *Newcastle*, if possible to meet with a convoy there, but after two or three days sailing, being informed by a boat that came off to us, that we were twenty miles to leeward of *Newcastle*, we made the best of our way for *Yarmouth*; and the next day, or the day after, we espied a sail, and having a large wind she was up with us presently; and when she was pretty near us, we discerned she had a pennant flying, and *English* colours. They seeing us to be an *English* ship, hal'd us, and asked us from whence we came? we told them from the *East-Indies*. We asked them their ship's name? they told us the *Centurion*, being a fourth rate man of war, lately come from the *Canaries*: the captain of her said he would convoy us into *Yarmouth* road.

About two days after we met with the *Soldada Prize*, another man of war, whose captain coming aboard us, and being friendly entertained by our captain, offered also to see us into *Yarmouth* road, but we seeing a fisherman standing along shore, made a sign for him to come aboard, which he did, and our captain finding he was bound into *Yarmouth* road, procured him to undertake to pilot us in through the gunfleet; but the wind being against us, we were forced to turn it through, but the two men of war, the *Dorothy*, and the hagboat, went round about to get into the road, but the pink that was with us tailed upon a sand, and there lay fast, but we kept on our way as long as the tide lasted, and then came to an anchor; and the next tide, or the tide after, got into the road, and I think we saluted the town, but we were in one or two days before the men of war and the *Dorothy*.

Then our captain commanded the pinnace to be manned, and he himself went ashore to get some fresh provisions, which he sent down to the boat, to be carried on board.

About three or four days after we were there, the *Sweepstapes* man of war's boat came on board of us a pressing, and finding all our men asleep but the watch, the lieutenant was for carrying them all away, but our chief mate desired the lieutenant to walk aft upon the quarter-deck, to stay a little, for he would call the captain, which he did; and the captain came to the lieutenant, but the lieutenant told the captain he



EVE- he had an order to press our men; then  
 RARD. our captain desired the lieutenant to stay a  
 little, and to lend him his pinnace, and  
 four or five of his hands, to go aboard  
 of the man of war to get our men clear,  
 which was granted him; so our captain  
 took as many of his own men as were  
 enough to man the pinnace, and went a-  
 board of the man of war, and told the  
 captain of her how it was with him, and  
 presented him with a piece of silk, and  
 some other small things; and to the lieu-  
 tenant a few cornelian rings, with two or  
 three pair of agates for knives, whereupon  
 the lieutenant went aboard again, and took  
 not one man away.

We stayed there till we had had a pilot,  
 and the wind blew very hard, so that we  
 were forced to let go our sheet-anchor, and  
 it continued so four or five days; after

which having fairer weather, the pilot  
 gave orders to weigh our anchors, and to  
 make for the river of *Thames*; but the  
 wind being against us we were forced to  
 turn it tide by tide, with the colliers that  
 were in our company; and we were three  
 or four days from *Yarmouth* to the *Buoy in  
 the Nore*, where another man of war lay  
 to press, but our pilot said he would weigh  
 in the night and run by her; but his mind  
 altered, I suppose being afraid to venture,  
 because the ship was of a great charge.  
 But in two or three tides more, with a fair  
 wind, we happily came to an anchor at  
*Blackwall*, where I met with my father,  
 to the great joy of us both. And thus I  
 conclude, with humble acknowledgments  
 to Almighty God for his wonderful pre-  
 servation of me thro' so many hardships  
 and dangers.





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THE  
MOSQUETO INDIAN  
AND HIS  
GOLDEN RIVER;

Being a familiar DESCRIPTION of the  
*MOSQUETO* Kingdom in *America*:

WITH  
A True RELATION of the strange *Customs*, Ways of  
*Living*, *Divinations*, *Religion*, *Drinking-bouts*, *Wars*, *Mar-*  
*riages*, *Buryings*, &c. of those Heathenish People; toge-  
ther with an ACCOUNT of the *Product* of the Country.

Written [in or about the Year 1699.] by *M. W.*

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-*  
*Ball* in *Pater-noster Row*.



MOSQUITO INDIAN

GOLDEN RIVER

DESIGNED

MOSQUITO KINGDOM in America

WITH

A True Relation of

the Discovery, Situation, and

Extent of the Kingdom

of the Mosquito Indians

in the Province of

By

Wm. M. Smith



## *A Familiar DESCRIPTION of the Mosquito Kingdom in America, with a Re- lation of the strange Customs, Religion, Wars, &c. of those heathenish People.*

**T**WO years and an half since, three *French* men of war, a ketch, and another small vessel, came near to the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, on the north side of the bay of *Mexico*, in 29, or thereabouts N. latitude.

Two *Spanish* small ships of the *Barlevento*, hearing of their coming, were got in before them, and rais'd a small fort with 150 soldiers, &c.

They sent word out to the *French*, That they had orders to oppose their coming in, with an offer to supply them with all necessaries gratis, if that they would depart the coast.

The *French* commander (as captain *Young*, one of that company, told me when on the shoals of *Florida*) answered them, That his master's orders were, to come in and settle there, which he would do. But finding his ships drew too much water for the bar of sand that lay across the river's mouth, and that it was impossible to get them over, he stood away 30 leagues to the southward, and anchored there in a very convenient bay, landed his men, and rais'd a fort; which when the *Spaniards* perceived, they made away for *La Vera Cruz*, and the soldiers they left in the fort deserted, thro' fear, to the *French*.

By that time the *French* had been two months settled, 600 *Indian* natives of the *French* plantations in *Canada*, joined with them. They came all the way from *Canada* by water, thro' the midland parts of north *America*, by the back of *New England*, *New York*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina*, thro' great lakes that empty themselves at once thro' the great rivers of *Canada* and *Mississippi* into the sea at so vast a distance.

This discovery has been aimed at by the *French* king many years since, when he sent *M. De la Salle* thither; who missing the river, was murder'd by his own men.

This settlement of the *French* may in time be a very great advantage to them, and a means of rooting the *English* out of

the *Terra firma* of *America*, if due precautions are not taken.

The *Spaniards* have three great plate mines, from whence a brook runs down into the river of *Mississippi*, not far above its mouth; from whence arose the antient fiction of the *English* seamen in *America*, of the silver bridge, &c.

The designs and workings of the *French* at the *Sambloes*, part of *Darien*, countenanced by *M. De Casse* governor of *Petty Guavers*, before the late peace, or the *Scottish* settlement in *Terreto* bay and *Golden* island, may not be unworthy of regard. In 1699, 200 *French* went down to *Bogo Tauro*, to leeward of *Porto Bello*, to captain *Jonas*, and are now scattered, some at *Boccho Taureau*, some at *Sambloes*, some as near *Boccho Drago* as they dare go for fear of those natives there (who, ever since captain *Drake* was in those parts, will not have commerce with any *European*); but we shall leave these reflexions to the consideration of those who are more concerned to look into these matters, and proceed to our intended subject.

The *Mosquito* country or kingdom lies along on the easternmost shore of *Honduras*, on the isthmus of south *America*, or *Peruana*. The length thereof, from north to south along the sea-shore, is about 285 miles, not in a strait line, but lies much after this manner; from *Cape Cameron* (which is the most northerly part) to *Cape Grace a Dios*, is 40 leagues S. E. by E. from the last mentioned cape to *Sandy bay*, eighteen leagues S. from thence to a great river called the *Brangmans* eighteen leagues S. by W. and S. S. W. and from thence continues nineteen leagues further to the S. W. and by S. where another nation of wild *Indians* claim their country to begin, who are continually enemies to the *Mosquito Indians*; which last are as brutishly negligent in their ways of living as the other, yet, in regard that they have had some small commerce



merce with the *English*, they esteem themselves to be a very notable sort of people, affecting much to be call'd *Mosquito-men*, and distinguishing their neighbours by the names of wild *Indians* and *Alboawinneys*. But before I shall divert the reader with the very strange manners and customs of either, I will lead him thro' every creek and corner of the inhabitable parts of their country, that he may take as plain a view thereof, as if himself had made a trip thither on purpose.

From about three leagues to the westward of *Cape Cameron*, is a ridge of very high mountains to the S. W. and S. more than eighty leagues, towards a *Spanish* inland town called *Segovia*; which town one captain *Wright* an *Englishman*, many years past, plundered in his passage from the *South-seas*, as I have been informed by some of his company, who ever since have lived among the *Mosquito Indians*. These mountains are not inhabited, except by wild beasts, and are suspected to have gold mines in them, by the thin golden particles or spangles which the rivulets, in several places, wash down from them, as shall be more fully spoken of when I come to the great river of *Cape Grace a Dios*, which runs down on the south-side of these mountains.

Along to the westward of *Cape Cameron*, the shore is in most places bold, and the land mountainous close down to the sea-side, until you come to *Truxilla* bay, where the *Spaniards* have a settlement which yields great store of sarsaparilla, and other drugs, cocoa-nuts, bees-wax, &c. There the *Jamaica* sloops, and likewise *French* and *Dutch* do privately trade, being in their ready way to the bay of *Honduras*.

In the inland parts, between the mountains near *Truxilla* and the head of a river call'd *Potucke* (which runs down from the said ridge of mountains, thro' the *Mosquito* country into the sea between *Cape Cameron* and that of *Grace a Dios*, the mouth whereof is known to the *English* by the name of *Brewes Bougue*, or *Boccho*) two different nations of *Indians* inhabit on the sides of the rivulets which fall from the said mountains, who live on the wild game of the country, and are deadly enemies to the *Mosquito-men*. They have no trade or acquaintance with any *Europeans*, except a small company of them who live near the head of *Potucke*, who, more thro' fear than goodwill, have some commerce with a small party of *Spaniards* who live at the head of that river; two of which are friars that were sent thither from *Guatemala* for the conversion of those people to christianity,

and to christen their children; but, by those very *Indians* complaints, it seems these religious men put so excessive a price on their spiritual labours, that thereby they drain from the *Indians* all the profitable products of the country, as moneloes, silkgrafs, wild-honey, wax and cocoa-nuts, besides the great servitude they impose on these people, who are naturally averse to all labour, tho' never so profitable, except hunting, fishing, &c.

It was upon this score, that the *Mosquito-men*, about 60 years past, murdered above 50 *Spaniards*, amongst whom were several friars who lived amongst them, some near *Cape Grace a Dios*, other some at *Guanafound*, which is four leagues to the south of it, and the rest by the *Brangmans* before spoken of.

From the *Cape of Cameron* to that of *Grace a Dios* the *Mosquito-men* inhabit along the sea-shore, pretty close to the sea-side, or on the sides of some lakes or lagunes hard by: and for more exact information, I will set down the names of all such as are distinguished by any, together with the numbers of their tribes or families throughout all the country, as near as I can. The first of them from this north cape, is one who speaks a little *English*, and calls himself *Captain Mr. William*, has about thirty in his family, who live on a lagune about eight leagues to windward of the said cape; and about such a distance further to the S. eastward live about fifty more, the most of which are *Mulattoes*, between *Indian* and *negroes*.

At *Brewes Bougue*, and between that and *Cape Grace a Dios*, close to the sea-shore, are many small scattered families of *Mulattoes*, and some *Indians*, especially about *Black River*, which lies not above four leagues from the last cape, on whose banks above an hundred of these people inhabit, and many more on the side of a great lagune lying near, and running into this river by a very obscure way, by which they go with boats on the water under the trees. The chief captains of those *Indians* there, are called *Le Rouch*, *Bremmin*, *Old Brewer*, and *Gaugh*; which last has the first place in these peoples esteem, being, as they term him, a *Succhea*, or is rather a conjuring quack-doctor. But of that sect more hereafter, I intending now to hold out thro' the coast from the N. to the southermost part of the country; and after that to make a trip up the great river of *Wanks*, or the *Golden River*, so called from the bright shining yellow spangles that gild the shore on each side, and wash down intermix'd with the waters thereof; and then visit the people at



at home in their houses, and tell of their manners, drinking bouts, conjurations, &c.

The cape of *Grace a Dios* lies in 15° and 10' N. lat. which is near the middle of their coast, is made by a little island full of trees, which has likewise another little isle called *Sandy-key* on the south-side of it, parted from it about musket-shot. This makes the easternmost point of land on the *Mosquito* coast.

These islands are within musket-shot of the shore on either side, lying across the mouth of that great river of *Wanks*, or, *The Golden River*, so much of late years talked of in *Europe*, where *English* and *French* have lost their labours in their fruitless search of gold in and about that river; of which shining matter I will presently give the exactest account that I can, having seen them all the way for above three hundred thirty miles up that river from its mouth or entrance.

At this cape no *Indians* constantly reside, but in dry seasons great numbers of them flock down to *Sandy-key*, and there live perhaps a month or two on fish; in the catching of which necessity has taught them an exquisite dexterity, they using only a small lance or harpoon, which they throw twenty or thirty yards from them at a single fish, which they cannot see, through the thickness of the water, saving only a little curling wave, which they call the fish's wake, and by that they guess how deep he swims under water, it may be two or three feet; in which exercise they very seldom miss their game.

This great river empties itself into the sea by two channels: the one, which is on the north side of the island, not above pistol-shot over, by reason of a bar of sand which the daily easterly wind, called the sea-breeze, throws up against it, hath not generally above four or five feet water over it; and that other on the southward of *Sandy-key* is above twice as wide, as it hath about twice its depth of water over its bar.

Four leagues to the southward of this cape is the mouth of a great lagoon or lake, running up into the country ten leagues to the S. W. and further to the westward. The outlet to the sea is somewhat narrow, yet navigable for small ships, and would be a very convenient harbour, if a settlement should at any time be made in that country by any *Europeans*. This lake the *Indians* call *Guana-sound*. All this part of the coast, from the last cape to *Sandy-bay*, being eighteen leagues to the southward, is not inhabited, by reason of the abundance of flies called,

in other parts of *America*, *Mosquitoes*, from this country, where they do so much abound.

A small number of *Frenchmen* some years since seated themselves on the banks of this lagoon, but were soon driven from thence by those troublesome insects, and through the want of provisions.

On the north end of *Sandy-bay* dwells another *Indian* family under Capt. *Jacob*, on the bank of a river called *Boccho-Stinko*, which runs into the sea from another great lagoon which lies along N. and S. above thirteen leagues, the shore lying like a walk of a mile or two wide between this lagoon and the sea.

On the middle of this bay lives one *Pickaree*, an *Indian* captain, and his family, of great esteem amongst his neighbours for his courage, and success in their wars against the other wild *Indians*, which they call *Al-boarwinneys*. This fellow keeps the lookout to seaward, lest the *Spaniards* or pirates should surprize them; but the last, I believe, are welcome enough to these *Indians*.

About three leagues from the sea-side, right against the middle of *Sandy-bay*, on the inside of the lagoon, is the chief town of these people, consisting of about twelve straggling houses, and inhabited by four hundred people in all, or thereabouts; 'tis situate on the side of a vast barren plain, which they call the *Savanna*; of which *Savanna* I shall give a further description when I come to the great river of *Wanks*, which bounds the northernmost part thereof. The most famous of this town are captains *Frank*, *Kitt*, *Morgan*, *Antonio*, *Labrin*, &c. which few have lately been named by some *English* and *French* privateers whom necessity has driven on this coast, and have been relieved by these natives, who otherwise never were distinguished by any names, not so much as in their own tongue.

Three leagues further westward on the *Savanna*, by the side of a very pleasant river, though small, which runs into the lagoon called in *English* *The King's River*, is the palace of the old king *Jeremy*, which, indeed, is but an old thatch'd house, like the rest, open on all sides, supported on sticks about sixteen feet asunder, the eaves about four feet from the ground, though the roof is pretty high to the ridge, cover'd with leaves, and, for want of good husbandry in the laying them, keeps drier in fair weather.

His court or family consists chiefly of himself, his two old sickly wives, his son and three daughters; two of which are very handsome, setting aside their nutmeg complexion, and their unbecoming gait.

The



The prince is a lusty strong-made fellow, of about thirty, hath two wives, one concubine, and three children (himself esteem'd a *Succebea*) besides about fifty more men, women and children; to which are added a few wild *Indian* slaves.

This old king, as they call him, esteems himself as a subject to the king of *England*, and can speak some *English*, which he learned at *Jamaica*, when the duke of *Albemarle* was governor there, to whom he went to pay a visit, and afforded much diversion to the duke. He says, that his father *Old-man*, king of the *Mosquetomen*, was carried over to *England* soon after the conquest of *Jamaica*, and there received from his brother king a crown and commission, which the present *Old Jeremy* still keeps safely by him, which is but a laced hat, and a ridiculous piece of writing, purporting, *That he should kindly use and relieve such straggling Englishmen as should chance to come that way, with plantains, fish and turtle.* And, indeed, they are extremely courteous to all *Englishmen*, esteeming themselves to be such, although some *Jamaica-men* have very much abused them.

This *Mosquito* king seems to be about sixty years old, is of a dark brown complexion, with somewhat of yellow, a little round-shouldered, which something shortens his stature from six feet. He has a large rough visage, very long, his eyes large and staring, furrowed deep in the cheeks, and round his very wide mouth. His black hair hangs long down upon his shoulders, his aspect somewhat terrible, and with a harsh voice like a bear. His limbs are very large and of a strong make, and his skin very rough and scabby. When he walks he turns inward his toes, as most *Indians* do. Strangers always find him very good-natured, and officious to serve them, as I myself have experimented, when, having passed a great straight, I arrived at his house.

About forty leagues to the southward of this place, along the shore, is another call'd *Dorca*, where about fifty more *Indians* inhabit, the chief whereof is called *Annaby*; and about five leagues further, two or three families, who live on the banks of a river called *Houfey*, and two or three more families inhabit between that and the *Brangmans* river; near which three *Englishmen* have many years lived, with about twelve families of *Indians* in their neighbourhood on the *Savanna*.

These *Englishmen* live together as partners. The ancientest is a *Bristol* man, of a hundred and three years of age by his own reckoning, is called *Old Nicholas*. About sixty-two years since he killed a man at *St.*

*Christopher's*, and to save his neck, put to sea in a small canoo, content to drive where the winds should guide him, and chanced to fall in with this coast, which is above 300 leagues from *St. Kitt's*: here he was kindly received by the *Indians*, and remain'd with them ever since, and is still able, in that hot country, to walk out twenty or thirty miles a hunting, and bring home a deer on his back, as well as many men of twenty years of age, which argues much the healthfulness of that country, and commends the plainness of their food.

The other two, *Thomas Arkes* and *John Thomas*, were of Capt. *Wright's* crew, who, with an hundred and fifty *French* and *English* *Buckancers*, about twenty-four years since sack'd *Segovia* (a *Spanish* inland city) in travelling from the *South-Sea* side over land to *Wanks* river. They chose rather to live here, than return home and venture to take a trial for piracy, and have now forty wild *Indian* slaves and harlots to attend them, leading there a slothful heathenish course of life ever since.

To the southward and westward of them live not above twenty more families of *Mosquito-men* in all; and they live in continual danger and fear of their neighbours the *Alboawinneys*, who, in dry times, come down to the sea-side to make salt, which they do after this manner. They make a great fire close to the sea-side, which when it has well burned the sticks asunder, they take them singly, and dip the brand in the sea, snatching it out again, not too soon, nor too late; for, by the first, the drops of salt-water which remain boiling on the coal, would be quite consumed through too much heat, the coal not being sufficiently quench'd, and, by the latter mismanagement, would be quite extinguished, and want heat to turn those drops of water into corns of salt, which, as fast as made, they slightly wipe off with their hand into a leaf; then put that brand's end into the fire again, and take out the fresh ones successively, that in half an hour's time a man makes about a pound of grey salt.

A little to the southward of these *Indians*, is another called *Carpenters River*, whereon the *Spaniards* have great plantations of cocoa-nuts, which the *Mosquito-men* often rob them of, by surprizing them in the night, and killing such of the *Spaniards* as oppose them, and many times carry away many of their *Indians*, of which they kill the men, but the women and boys they reserve to trade with to the *Jamaica-men*, who take off their hands all their cocoa-nuts, mone-loes, turtle-shell, ambergreese, plate, slaves, and what else they get by such rapines, which with them is a fair war.

Capt.



Capt. *Coxsen*, who formerly travelled over land to the *South Seas* with Capt. *Sharp* and their crews, through the country of *Darien*, to rob the *Spaniards*, under a pretended commission from *Diego* the king of *Darien*, whom I have known very well to be a poor naked ignorant fellow, that knows not the meaning of letters, but had given to him a black stick with a silver head, which he calls a *Spanish* commission; it being the custom of the *Spaniards* to send such a staff to those whom they would have bear rule over the rest, as a badge of their authority, without further power. This *Coxsen* hath for many years past encouraged these *Indians* to such practices, who otherwise are of a very peaceable disposition; he having long traded with them in a sloop of his own, until 1698, when he died here among them.

Two other *Jamaica* sloops have for some years past traded with these people; and sometimes a pirate comes on the coast, who are reckoned honest men enough by these people, unless pursued by the government, and then they will deliver him up, as they lately did captain *Banister* to captain *Sprag*, who came thither after him in a frigate.

But lest I should too much digress from my first purpose and frame of this account, I will return to the great river of *Cape Grace a Dios*, or the great *Golden River*, of late talked of in *England*, of which some discoveries have lately been endeavoured, with great charge, to no purpose: which river the *Indians* call *Wanks*; (having already displayed the sea-coast from N. to S.) I shall shew you up this river into the inward parts of their country, and then divert you with the true account of their manners and product of their land.

The entrance or mouth of this great river is about an hundred and fifty fathoms wide, and about three or four deep; and so the river continues with very little gradual difference, inclining narrower near an hundred leagues up into the country, and then grows narrower and shallow in some places where its course is obstructed by great rocks. It has its rise from some mountains on the *South Sea* side, and from thence runs through a great level plain into the *Mosquito* country, accounted in length six hundred miles at least, though not three hundred in a straight line.

Two leagues up within the mouth of this river, close by the water-side, on the larboard side going up, is the sea-port of these *Indians*, where one captain *Kit*, a *Mullatto*, rules the coast, having several *Indians* with him, who here look out for the security of the river against surprize.

On the other side, over against him, on a damp savanna, lives one *Garret*, a *Guinea Negro*, (who escaped thither from a *Guinea* ship that was lost sixty years since) with several *Mullattoes*, and people of another mixed breed with him, all reverencing *Kit* as their chief.

From this place the banks of the river are uninhabited until you come up twenty leagues higher, to the house of one *Patrick* a *Mullatto*, brother to *Kit*. This last house lies westerly from the former place, and the river is extremely crooked, there being no less than thirty points or turnings, and as many bights from hence to the river's mouth.

The land, from the sea-shore unto *Patrick's* house, on both sides the river, is over-grown with large trees, and many smaller shrubs, wild prickly canes and briers many miles wide, insomuch that these woods would be altogether impassable, did not travellers carry long knives or moscheets with them, wherewith, in many places, to cut them away, as I have often done in the *Indians* company when on hunting for pickaree. Sloughs and bogs are not wanting here, so that the best way of travelling is to go almost naked, to prevent the impediment of canes and bushes hanging you by the cloaths as you pass. In the wet and rainy seasons these lands are subject to constant inundations; during which times the beasts retire to the higher lands, and too many of them are overtaken by the floods, and perish.

All this way up from the river's mouth on the sandy banks of the river (especially in the eddies under the points of the turnings) lie infinite numbers of small shining particles, seeming to be of metal, (which, from their glittering shew and thin substance, I call spangles) appearing to the eye like clean gold in its finest lustre and highest colour, when they lie in the water, but taken out, grow paler. They are so very thin and light, that they are carried to and fro, and intermix'd in the water so thick in all parts of this river, that a dish-full of water cannot be taken up but many of these spangles shall be in it, which soon sink to the bottom if you suffer the water to stand still; but the river seldom or never wanting motion, they are perpetually agitated therein.

Two leagues from the house of *Patrick*, the woods being passed, begins the great *Savanna*, or barren plain (bearing a few straggling wild tar and pine trees) which plain lies away to the southward all along the coast, at a pretty distance from the sea-side, in some places very near; is of



a very great extent to the westward, reaching, as the *Indians* say, to the *South Sea* side, being somewhat above an hundred and fifty leagues in a straight line; is generally not habitable, unless on the very borders thereof, near some great river sides. The soil is so barren, and parched with the sun, that no plantation of fruits or corn can be made thereon.

Yet a mix'd breed of tigers, leopards, &c. and some lions haunt and breed on these plains, who prey on deer that graze on the edges thereof. The grass here is very full of scorpions, and some few lizards, no other creature besides frequenting these barren wastes, except a large fowl like a parrot, (as big almost as a goose in his feathers) which in the evenings comes to roost on these pine-trees, thereby to avoid falling into the hands of the apes, who in the night-time catch some of those birds that stay behind in the woods by the river sides, where they usually feed all day.

On the first mentioned side or beginning of the *Savanna* is a little *Indian* town of seven houses, of *Patrick's* neighbourhood, or rather family, being all a-kin, and under his direction. There are amongst them about fifty-two men able to bear arms, some being *Indians*, some dark *Mullattoes*. The chief of them are old *Glover*, *Patrick's* father, his brother *Peter* a *Succhea*, *Febrin*, *Rowland*, *Greenvill*, who in a conceit were named by privateers accidentally meeting with them, of whom they always require a name of each man. They think one man cannot well give names to two *Indians*. In dry times they all desert the *Savanna*, and go to *Patrick's* house on the river side. This last place they call *Ackwbi Wanks*, that is, *Lower Wanks*.

About eighteen or twenty leagues higher up this river to the south-westward, is another place called *Upper Wanks*, where the same great *Savanna* comes very near the south side of the river. This last is the residence of the king's brother, who living so obscurely and high up in the country, never met with any to give him a name. He has but eight men, besides women and children; one of which first is called *Ben*. He lately before our coming thither lost his wife, who was an *Al-boawinney* slave, and at that time he made use of his sister, she being as it were a widow.

This is the westernmost party of *Indians* up the river, except one more of about the same number, without names, who sometimes live a little higher up; but commonly lower down towards *Patrick's*.

They, like the rest, travel to and fro after the wild game of the country.

The reason why I have set down particularly the names of all these people that are lately distinguished by any, with their numbers, houses, &c. which seems to be more tedious than pertinent, is, that I think it may be of great use to such whose occasions, on any account, may lead them into this country, thereby to scrape the better acquaintance, and gain the assistance of these people; by this way a pretty safe and private access may easily be gained to the *South Sea* side, through this river. Before the peace was made on that side the tropick with the *Spaniards*, several *English* and *French* privateers came this way, after they had done the *Spaniards* much damage, two of which I have been in company with there.

About forty-five leagues higher up this great river of *Wanks*, lying south-westerly from the king's brother's house, is a pretty large branch or rivulet running into the south side of it, and which has its rise in the fore-mentioned great *Savanna*, the banks whereof are inhabited by another party of *Indians* who are flat-headed; many of which I have seen, to their no little amazement at an *European* complexion. They are of the same colour with the other *Indians*, and, like the rest, go naked: the difference is only in their heads, which, in their infancy as soon as born, are pressed flat between a stone and a small block of wood made for that purpose.

These people are extremely terrified at the firing of a gun, out of which, they say, an evil spirit issues.

They wear about their necks a few shells and teeth of their captives, on a string like a necklace, and some few beads which they buy of the *Mosquito-men*, with whom they have commerce at certain times of the year, in which they civilly intreat one another, meeting in equal numbers on some small island in the great river between both their homes; but when their fair or mart is over, they hold it allowable to rob and murder each other as much as they can, which they do by surprize, and private incursions into each other's country, and again keep touch at the season appointed for a civil commerce.

The great river continues, all this way up, almost as wide and deep as below, excepting that in some few places it is pestered with rocks which lie shallow, and make some small falls.

The like golden spangles are all this way very plentiful, increasing still the higher up,



up, and appear somewhat larger, which shews, that they break by the way. They lie in all the eddies by the river-sides, under the points of the turnings, in pretty long heaps together; which looks as if the sand was covered over with plates of beaten gold most curiously burnished, and set off to the most advantage, which, in *August* and *September* 1699 past, I daily saw.

The land on both sides this river hereabout, grows somewhat drier than below; but it is covered with thick woods on both sides for some miles, and on the north side is full of muddy plashe, swamps and morasses, so that none inhabit near the river on that side.

About 20 leagues higher up this river, above the last creek or branch inhabited by the flat-headed *Indians*, are the great falls, lying up S. Westerly and by S. There many rocks standing in and on both sides of the river, cause the stream which runs down between, over and under some of them, to be very troublesome and dangerous to passengers in boats, there being no hopes for a man to save himself by swimming if a canoo should overset here in the rainy seasons (which are very frequent thereabouts) because of the violent falls of the streams, making eddies, boilers, whirlpools, and such like. The rocks pester up the river in the place of its greatest descent, about two leagues together, and in some places are more dangerous than in others. The multitude of these cataracts, like letting water down a pair of stairs, renders the individual to be but small, and of a short fall, which has tempted some travellers to their destruction in adventuring to pass them in their boats.

At these falls the river is somewhat narrower than in any place below; the land, on both sides, very rocky, and yet full of trees.

To the N. W. and the westward of this place, are very high mountains, raised far above the ordinary flight of the clouds, as the island of *Madeira* is. The top of the nearest seems to be five or six leagues off, in a strait line, rising all the way from these falls; beyond which, when the sky is not clouded, appears another, which one may guess to be ten or a dozen leagues off.

On the flat ground above these falls, the woods grow thin on the sides of the river which runs into the afore-mentioned *Savanna*. The banks there are inhabited by a populous nation of *Indians* which the *Mosquito-men* call *Alboarwinneys* and *Oldwawes*; the first name they give to all their *Indian* enemies. These people are continually, in dry seasons, invaded by the *Mosquito-men*, who take away their young

wives and children for slaves, either killing or putting to flight the men and old women. They many times pay the *Mosquito-men* in their own coin, neither of them ever fighting fairly in the day-time in an open field like *Europeans*, but steal upon one the other in the night-time, which is the way of all *American Indians* that I have been amongst.

I have heard many of these *Oldwawes* slaves, to the *Mosquito-men*, confess, That, when their countrymen took any of their enemies, they would never give quarter to any except young women, who serve them for wives, of which each keeps as many as he can maintain (like the *Mosquito-men*); that the men and children whom they take, they tie, and throw upon a barbicue, as they call it, (which is a rack of stakes doing the office of a grid-iron) and make a good fire underneath, which, with the help of the sun over-head at noon, soon dresses their bodies fit for their teeth; which food they esteem best of any, and say, it is sweetest, which revenge may contribute somewhat to. But before this cookery, whilst the prisoner lives, they draw out his finger and toe nails, and knock out his teeth with stones; which teeth and nails they wear about their necks on a string like a necklace: and this they esteem as an honourable mark and token of their valour.

On the N. E. side of the great mountains last spoken of, about ten leagues from the great falls of *Wanks* river, is the head of *Potucke* river, on the banks of which some few *Spaniards* have a settlement, as I have said before. I have heard, that some few of these spangles have driven down that river, as if the mines were in those great mountains, to which that river is a drain.

What further account I can give of the length of this great river of *Wanks* (having been no higher than the falls myself) I had from the *Indians*, and the mouths of some *English* privateering people still lurking in those parts to escape from justice, who were with captain *Wright* and captain *Lane* when he first returned from robbing the *Spaniards* on the *South-Sea* side, over the land, directed by *Indian* pilots which they had taken from the *Spaniards*. They, in their way to this river, came to the *Spanish* town *Segovia*, which they plundered; and from it, in one day's travel to the eastward, they came to a little creek or rivulet, down which they came in canoes about 50 miles, thro' barren plains, into the great river of *Wanks*, about 50 leagues above its great falls; coming adventurously over which, two of their foremost canoes were broken against the rocks,



rocks, and 15 of their men bruised to death against the rocks, or drowned; the rest of the company saved themselves by climbing over the rocks; and letting their canoos along with withs, ropes and silk-grass, passed the falls.

Doctor.

One *Indian* slave whom captain *Wright* took from *Segovia*, lives at this time with the *Mosquito* king's brother at upper *Wanks*, and has gained a great esteem among those people, by pretending himself to be a *Sucbea*, which, he told me, he did first do to better his condition when captain *Wright* left him a slave to these heathens. This fellow calls himself a christian, and can say his *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* very distinctly, which he learned of the *Spaniards*, tho' he knows not the meaning thereof; and can likewise name many saints, which, among other feigned words, he uses to sing as charms over sick people.

The doctor's way of handling the patient is after this manner: Some friend of the sick person comes to the *Sucbea*, and tells him, That such an one cannot eat well, and he fears he is in danger of going to sleep, that is, to die, and asks the doctor's opinion, whether he will or not? who always answers prophetically, that he will, or will not die, before he goes to see the patient. At night when the sun is down, he visits his patient; and sitting down, like a taylor, on the ground, takes him across his lap, with his legs drawn in close, covers himself and his patient all over with a piece of bark like a cloak, and sings strange unintelligible tunes or songs over the diseased, until the doctor is quite out of breath; so that if the patient be never the better for it, the doctor takes a great deal of pains successively every night, until the sick recover or die. If the patient be feverish, he sucks the serum of his blood, thro' his skin, with his mouth, and makes him eat green turtle; which sort of meat is their best physick.

They generally provoke their sick (which are very scarce) to eat continually, and much more than they do when they are well, which they esteem to be the most forcible way to withstand a dissolution.

This last-mentioned *Indian* doctor said, That, beyond these mountains, to the westward, there was another, much more high, and picked at the top, which was seldom discernable, and that only in very fair weather, and at a great distance from the foot of it; but he was of the opinion, that these glittering spangles did not come from these, or any of the mountains before spoken of, but from another ridge

of mountains lying more southerly, and, on the south side, inhabited by wild *Indians*, some of which have had some commerce with the *Spaniards*, though none of the latter ever inhabited with them, from whence the great river of *Wanks* has its rise, and runs through great savannas to the falls, or else from a small river which falls down from near *Segovia* into this great one, where, at *Wanks*, the same captain *Wright* and one captain *Lane* gathered up some quantities, and carried them away with them to *Jamaica*, or elsewhere, to be tried.

But this opinion of the *Indian* I perceived to be feigned on purpose to prevent any further progress in the discovery, he being in company as a pilot to captain *Long*, and weary of the fatigues of the journey, as well as afraid to pass the dangerous falls, and the ambuscades of the *Alboawinneys* and *Oldwarwes*, their country next adjoining to the same. He well perceived that the *English* arms would be but of little defence to him when the rains had damaged the powder.

But, contrary to this *Indian*, the most probable, if not certain, seat or bed of these golden particles, must needs be in some of the mountains nearest the north-sea side, running from the said great falls towards *Cape Cameron*; because several little brooks about the last cape, carry the same down that way in very small quantities, and likewise some more are washed down the river of *Potucke*, which also helps to drain the same ridge of mountains, and which hath its chiefest spring not far from the falls of *Wanks* river, into which, a little above the said falls, in all likelihood, the same spangles issue from the mountains in very great abundance beyond all computation, and are generally reckoned to be the surf or scales of the wall of *Royal Mines*, and not unlikely (by its symptoms) of the greatest gold-mine ever heard of, though out of this scaly matter itself the refiners cannot find the meaning, it having been tried in *Jamaica*, and now lately in *London*.

From these falls down to the river's mouth are about 230 turnings or reaches, about 321 miles down to its mouth, lying mostly S. W. and by W. and N. E. and by E. though in a strait line, not 50 leagues asunder.

Having thus pass'd through all the *Mos-* Their  
*quito* country, and somewhat further, 'tis houses.  
high time to visit them at their houses, in which they are not very curious, tho' many of their buildings are somewhat lofty, like an *English* thatch'd barn, but open all round, having no walls, only, at a good distance asunder,



afunder, some short poles which support the roof, which is covered with leaves and the tops of cane, flags laid on sticks or poles lying rafter-wise, and tied together with withs. They are commonly very leaky in rainy weather, and want continual repairs.

The rains are here extremely cold, especially in the night-time, and the air as much too hot up in the country in the dry weather, saving on the plains and the sea-shore, where the constant breezes moderate the same, and make it very pleasant.

The plain dictates of natural or moral honesty, are the law of these people amongst themselves, without having any courts of judicature, or office of justice. They live peaceably together in several families, yet accounting all *Indians* of one tongue to be the same people and friends, and are in quality all equal, neither king nor captains of families bearing any more command than the meanest, unless it be at such times when they make any expeditions against the *Alboarwinneys*; at that time they submit to the conduct, and obey the orders of their king and captains; yet on no account do they pay any taxes, rents, or do any sort of services, but have all the country in common (excepting their dwelling-house and small plantations.) They must all hunt and fish alike, or starve, unless sick.

They generally go quite naked, both men and women, excepting that they both wear about their waists a thing like a sash, they call a *Purproy*, made of cotton, which the women spin, and weave by hand; or else the bark of a tree which they call a *Tono*, which wears like a piece of cloth.

They are all of a dark yellow or brown complexion, having long black lank hair, excepting the *Mullattoes*, whose black hair curls; and their bodies are nearer to the colour of negroes, from whose mixture with the *Indians* they first sprung, occasioned fifty years since by a *Guiney* merchant ship which was driven to leeward, having lost her way, and perished on this coast.

These *Indians* are most of them of a middling stature, of a just and strong connexion of their members, with good symmetry. Amongst them all I could not perceive the least deformity or crookedness in any of their limbs, face, or body, nor ever heard of any; nay, have heard them wonder to see an *European* who was bandy-legg'd, asking, If he was not an *Alboarwinney Englishman*, and artificially made so in his infancy, as the

flat-headed *Indians* do by their childrens heads.

These people lead a very idle life, not taking any pains, except in hunting, and going to fish in their doreas or boats made out of a whole piece of wood, and in keeping the same in repair.

It is in the morning that they go out to fish or hunt, and what they get they bring home to their wives to dress for them; which victuals may serve them perhaps for two days, with some fruits; during which time the men have no more work to do, but to swing in their hammocks, unless some extraordinary matters of state intervene, as great drinking bouts, or consultations with their *Succheas* about invading the *Alboarwinneys*, or robbing the *Spaniards*, or on the notice of being invaded by either of them, and such like.

Their drinking bouts, which is a ceremony of the greatest importance amongst them, is performed much after this manner.

He who has the greatest influence over the rest, or is the first author of any project to be set on foot, either to invade their neighbouring *Indians*, or rob the *Spaniards*, or for any such like purposes, hath the honour always of giving the treat at his own house, to which he invites old king *Jeremy*, and, it may be, 100 more of his neighbours, but, above all, the *Succheas*, of which the king's son is accounted one.

The host with his household takes care two or three days before-hand, to provide himself with a good stock of fruits, wherewith to make drinks, as plantains, bananas, hone-berries, pine-apples, coconuts, and some wild-honey; which good stuff he stows in bins in his house, made up with fresh leaves for the purpose, against his guests coming; and after that, 'tis the duty of the women to make up the liquors, and serve them out, during the entertainment, to all the guests as fast as they call: the same that serves for drink, being mingled up a little thicker, does as well for meat.

Their plantain drink they call *Mushelaw*, and make it after this manner. They either roast or boil ripe plantains or bananas, or both together (both which are very delicious fruit in this country, tho' not so good in the *English* islands) and with their fingers mash it together in a shell almost full of water, which has sometimes strength enough to fuddle them.

Their hone-berries they grind or bruise in a hollow piece of wood like a mortar, and put the same into a shell of water, taking



taking out the stones and husk with their fingers. This liquor is esteemed to be very wholesome and fatning, and hath a very grateful taste in the heat of the day, and is the very same sort of berry from whence comes the palm-oil which the apothecaries in *London* use.

Their pine-apples (by *Europeans* accounted the most delicious fruit in the world) they first roast on the embers, then pound them in a wooden mortar, mixing therewith some fair water, which they put together into great gourd-shells of five or six gallons apiece, for want of other casks, wherein it will ferment and work like new ale. After three or four days it becomes clear and fit to drink, and tastes almost like new *Canary*, or hath rather a variety of rich tastes and odours together, no more to be described than that of the fruit itself. As soon as it is drank it leaves somewhat of a cool edge on the palate. 'Tis very strong, and commonly too potent for these *Indians* to deal largely with; wherefore they drink it the more sparingly, that they may hold out the longer in a good modest drunken trim.

Their cocoa-nuts or *Indian* corn they grind between two stones, and then mix it up with water just before they drink it, and mix with the former some plantains or wild honey to sweeten it.

In the morning betimes, before the drinking bout begins, the men dress themselves as fine as they can after their own mode, tying some cotton-threads, with feathers, round the small of their legs, their wrists, and above the calf, like garters, and their tonoes and purproys in very good order about their waists like sashes; some of them having *Spanish* dollars and royals of plate beat out very thin and flat, hanging at their breasts on strings that go round their necks (which is all the use they have of money) and a shin-bone pipe dressed up with feathers, hanging down their back. Their bodies are painted all over black with the burnt coal of pine-wood, or at least their faces, and afterwards sleek'd over with the turpentine of the same tree. They wear a brass plate or shell hanging at their chin on a hook made of tortoise-shell, which goes thro' their under-lip, having, it may be, a bone or piece of cane across like a yoke, thro' their nose, in which they all have holes for that purpose, and a shell or something else hanging at each ear.

The women wear a piece of bark round their waists, which covers down half-way their thighs, and paint their faces, hair, and bodies red with otter-berries,

and do, all the time of the drinking bouts, prepare the drinks, and wait on the men, without interrupting or talking to them.

The guests use no salutation or greeting at the first meeting, tho' they have not seen one another in a twelvemonth before, but come directly into the house, sit down on the ground or on some grass or canes laid for the purpose, and call for some liquor, and after drinking, speak to one another, and then continue tipling and bragging of former exploits, until the liquor begins an elevation to a desire of further action; which when agreed on, the *Succheas* are advised with, and every one intermixes his discourse with foolish songs (containing no manner of sense or meaning in their own tongues or any other) of their own making, whereby they pretend to call up *Wallasoe*, as they call the devil, amongst them; who, notwithstanding their endeavours, makes them wait two days at least before his feigned appearance, which themselves say, is seldom at last to any except to the *Succheas*, whom he kisses, tho' they sit all the time in the midst of the throng.

For my part, I apprehend it to be a mere cheat; for, being present at a great drinking bout at *Patrick's* in *Wanks* river in *September* 1699, the *Succheas* told me, That *Wallasoe* was come to them, and in their arms; and tho' I sat next to them in the midst of the people, I could see no such thing, but saw the same quacks talking madly to themselves, and singing themselves violently into such an agony, that they foamed at the mouth, whilst the people round about them sat staring on them with great signs of admiration, all singing with them, and looking as if they expected some mighty events, but no sign of their *Wallasoe* could I see, further than in the deluding of these poor wretches.

When these doctors are quite wearied, and, as they say, *Wallasoe* is gone, they leave off singing, and refresh with more tipples; then deliver the oracle to the impatient herd, who stand on thorns until they hear what success they shall have in their undertaking; nay, they must know how many days they shall be out, and every thing that shall befall them; and from the *Succheas* prediction they either pursue or decline their intended expeditions, voyages, &c.

I have known them to foretel several accidents to admiration, which should be the least looked for, and at other times mistake, tho' they have always an excuse; and why may not these doctors do the trick as well as the learned tubman in

*Mocr.*



*Moorfields*, or the rest of that notable gang? since they may have as good a stock of confidence, and the lucky knack of conjecturing and speaking betwixt truth and lyes.

Religion.

They, most of them, believe the immortality of the soul, that, when they sleep or die, their spirit goes to another place or world; but they say they do not know what sort of a place they shall find of it, but believe they shall be always amongst the *English* there, and not the *Spaniards* nor *Alboarwinneys*; for they think each must have a separate country in the other world as well as in this, lest they should fall out and quarrel. They make themselves no gods, nor consequently have no superstitious rites or ceremonies at all, but laugh at the *Spaniards* idolatry, which some among them have seen, and not at all understanding any thing of religion, render it to the rest the much more ridiculous and absurd.

They have a notion of the sun's assistance to them in their passage to the other world, and believe, that he goes thither every night to see those that have died already, not comprehending the form of the earth.

They seem very willing to believe any matters of religion, and thank you for telling them, unless that they will not believe there can be any hell or future place of punishment, unless they should fall into the hands of *Spaniards*; for they apprehend whom we call God almighty to be the great king of the next world, and positively affirm, that he will not punish a poor *Indian* for nothing (as they use to say) for that they can do him no harm. If a man should affirm the contrary to them, they ask you the question, For what he should do so? without listening to any further answer, looking on you as a fool or madman, or one that designs purposely to mock them.

When they die, they are buried in their houses, and the very spot they lay over when alive, and have their hatchet, harpoon-lances, with muskellaw and other necessities buried with them: but if the defunct leaves behind him a gun, some friend preserves that from the earth, that would soon damnify the powder, and so render it unserviceable in that strange journey. His boat or dorea they cut in pieces, and lay over his grave with all the rest of his household goods, if he hath any more. If the deceased leave behind him no children, brothers, or parents, the cousins or other his relations cut up and destroy his plantations, lest any living should, as they esteem it, rob the dead.

If a man dies, and leaves behind him a wife, or two daughters that are grown up and not disposed of, as it were in marriage, these creatures, to shew their affection to

their departed husband or parent, must cry and howl three days together without eating (unless by stealth in the night) and at the end thereof, they tell the rest of the family, That now they have no body to hunt and fish for them whereby to keep them alive, and that they love the deceased so well, that they will go into the woods, and there hang themselves, and so go to him again. It may be they commonly hope that some men in the family will stop and restrain them by offering to take them for wives, which often is done, and the offer gladly catch'd at; but if not, the disconsolate women surely enough run into the woods, and are seen no more unless it be hanging on a tree. Such a passage happened when I was there, by one who was wife to *Peter* the *Succhea*, upon the news of her father's being dead, her husband not being in the way at the same time to comfort or restrain her; and this is more than is expected from the married women there, or such as are agreed to live together.

They are not very hasty in their ways of marriage to tie an indissoluble knot, but make a sufficient trial before-hand, so that neither side be cheated. The man has time enough to prove the woman's affection to him, and she to find out how well he can maintain her and her children, if any; for when first a young man meets with a mistress that he likes, and gets her in the humour, which is done without any more courtship than the bare telling his mind, he takes her home to be his bedfellow (without asking her parents consent) for a year or two, and perhaps hath children by her; then finding her to be very good, that is, obedient, and handy in dressing his victuals and getting children, which they all covet to have; lest any other should get her away from him, which sometimes is with her consent, he, to secure her, goes to her father or other relation, and makes some small present to him of what he hath; which if it procure the consent, a small drinking bout is made by the suitor and the girl's parents, and the marriage thereby irrevocably consummated. After this ceremony they do not use on any account, neither does this wife so married ever repine or find fault if her husband takes another wife or mistress, both which is very frequently done, so long as he provides for them both.

That which looks like adultery amongst them, they are seldom guilty of I believe, every one having enough: if a man absents himself some long time from his wife, any one who feeds and maintains her in her husband's absence, may make use of her, without being blamed on any side.

The inner parts of the *Mosquito* country, are very barren, as hath been said before,



but in the woods near the river sides, and by the great lagunes are many sorts of fruits, wild beasts and fowls, in plenty, sufficient for the natives (which bring up nothing tame, unless in some few places a hog or two, and some poultry, for their delight, and not to eat); with which I will now treat the readers curiosity; and first, with their fruits.

Fruit.

Plantains, and bananas, (which are a smaller sort of plantain,) they have plentifully, in small plantations, in obscure parts of the woods, near the river sides, at a good distance from their dwelling-houses, to which plantations they retire, and are not so easily found out by an enemy, as at their houses. This sort of fruit is so well known to *Europeans*, that it needs not be further described.

Pine apples too (which are well known) they have enough of, and mammo, which last is a very sweet fruit; and upon a journey serves them for food as well as plantains; it's something bigger than a man's fist, having a great stone in the middle; grows on middling low trees like apples.

Saffadilla trees, which bear berries as big as floes, of a yellowish colour, which are very pleasant to the taste and wholesome, of extraordinary virtue, and a good commodity to be brought into *Europe*, are very frequent in their woods; as are likewise a sort of a pleasing plum tree, which grows very large, and is of a most delicious odour, which sometimes a man may smell at half a mile's distance from the tree and more. The wild hogs watch the dropping of the fruit, which is very fattening to them. In this country here is no fall of the leaf, all plants and trees spring forth, bloom, bear, decay, and perish successively at all seasons of the year alike, excepting that in the cold rainy seasons, the fruits do not ripen so fast.

Locust trees grow pretty big and plentifully, by the river-sides, hanging over, and many times into the water; the fruit hangs down like short pods of garden-beans, which you open, and find in the inside, three or four black seeds, as big as hazelnuts, covered over with a white sort of slime, which you suck from off the stone, and then throw it away. This white stuff melts in a man's mouth, is sweet as honey: a little of this meat thorowly satisfies craving hunger for a considerable time, and is esteemed very wholesome and cordial.

They have likewise a fruit, growing on small trees guarded all over with long prickles, like needles; which fruit hang in clusters, or bunches, like grapes, but are as big as walnuts, of a black and bluish colour, having each a great stone in the middle. The *English* call them perk and

dowboys, or dumpling-trees, from the taste, which much resembles them.

Great *Indian* wheat, or mais, they plant a little of to make drink with; and likewise some cocoa trees, which flourish here exceedingly well, but their laziness will not permit them to plant much of the last, because they can steal it ready gather'd from the *Spaniards*, who have large plantations thereof at *Carpenter's* river, not many leagues from them.

Sugar-canes I have seen growing in old king *Jeremy's* plantation, much larger than I ever saw in *Jamaica*, but the *Indians* not knowing how to make sugar or rum, neglect them.

Cabbage-trees of a great height, and a sort of permeto-trees, they have plenty of; the tops of both which being boiled, are very good green meat, especially the latter, which tastes like to asparagus well butter'd.

They have woods which dye a very good purple and yellow, and without doubt their lagunes would furnish logwood enough and camwood, if any would labour to cut it.

Pappaw trees which bear a sweet fruit, almost like a musk-melon in shape and taste, and wild pod pepper trees, are very plentiful.

Cocoa-nut trees, cocoa-plums, and large grapes, growing on great trees; with large stones in them, not like wine-grapes, (tho' a pleasant fruit) grow up and down near the water-sides.

Monelo trees, whose fruit hangs down like french-beans, and are a very rich perfume when dried, and the best for chocolate, grow very plentiful on the banks of *Black River*, in this country, and some quantities in *Wanks*; where there is likewise much silk-grass, which herb bears some resemblance with the *Semper Vivum*, but exceeds their leaf in length to two yards.

Sweet potatoes, yams, which are somewhat like turnips, and sweet cassader they plant enough of. The root of the last is to the eye like that which is planted in the *English* Colonies, the juice whereof is a most deadly poison, of which the *English* make their common bread, after having well dried and squeezed it, but this is very wholesome and innocent, eaten any ways.

All the flesh that these people eat (which they boil in earthen pots, or barbicue, that is, broil between the sun and fire) they get by hunting, and have plenty enough for themselves; though a small number of strangers to stay some time with them, would soon make a scarcity.

They have a small sort of fallow deer, like our *English*, with shorter horns, which haunt the inner sides of the woods, close to the *Savanna*, which are often pursu'd by lions of two sorts, the first black and large, the



the latter red and small, neither of which will seize on a man; and by leopards and tigers also, of two sorts, the larger of which very much terrify the *Indians*, who commonly go many together, for fear of them, and at last make their escape while he kills some one of their dogs; they report him to be of an irresistible strength and fury, and say, that he many times carries away a mountain cow, which is rather bigger than himself, from the woods about 40 miles into the *Savanna*, before he eats them.

This creature when he is on the hunt makes a continual grumbling, to be heard a great way, so that they commonly reach some river, or place of security, before he comes up with them, though he ranges very swiftly, and has a quick scent.

The mountain cow, which the natives call *Tilbu*, is of the bigness of an *English* calf of a year old, having a snout like an elephant, and not horned; they hide all day in muddy places, to escape the tigers, and in the night swim across the river to get food; they are very good meat, but scarce or hard to find.

Baboons, and long-tailed apes; of the former they have not very many, but of the latter great multitudes, which they look on to be very good meat; it tastes and looks somewhat like mutton.

Warree and pickaree abound in great herds, and are two sorts of *Indian* wild hogs, having both their navels on their backs; the first sort is twice as large as the latter, and better meat, the pickaree eating somewhat rank: When a beast of prey meets with them, they draw up immediately in a body together in a circle, with their heads outermost, armed with very sharp tusks.

*Indian* coney and musquashes they have enough of, and great mountain cats; which last eat like their venison, or rather better, are extremely plump and fleshy in their hinder parts, and again as lean before.

Foxes are plentiful there, which, like otters, prey on fish, and are themselves good white meat.

Crocodiles and alligators, which creatures are amphibious, are numerous in that country, lurking as well in the woods as in the water; they are so much alike that they seem to be one and the same species, tho' it is commonly said that the alligator's two foremost teeth are longer than those of the crocodile, and that his musk stones are somewhat the sweeter; and that he is likewise the better meat; but I could not perceive the difference, tho' I have eaten and gather'd the musk of both.

These creatures are not so fierce in these countries, as is commonly reported of them, for men, women, and children, do daily swim and wash themselves in the rivers that

swarm with them, yet if a dead body was thrown in, they would presently devour it.

Another creature, which the *English* call a guana, they have plentifully enough, which is likewise amphibious; it burrows in the sand, climbs up trees, and dives in the water; is like a thick snake, with four legs, and to each five long claws like fingers at the ends; the body is of various bright colours, scald like a snake; it hath all down the back and long tail a ridge of long flat bristles; it is almost as big in the body as a cat, and is reckoned to be very good meat; it tastes like a young rabbit, but is somewhat slimy under the skin: is held to be very good against the consumption.

Some parts of this country are pretty well stock'd with fowls; the river of *Wanks* is frequented with a large sort of ducks, like those of *Muscovy*, and in the times of the north winds with great flocks of a smaller kind, which at that time resort likewise to the lagunes.

A large fowl they have (whether eagle or vulture I could not distinguish) which is a great terror to the apes; for as soon as they perceive her descending they leave the high trees and betake themselves to the ground and bushes, and so become the prey of beasts sometimes, which otherwise could not come at them.

Parrots and macaws, which are the larger sort, and most gloriously painted, are the most common birds in the country, with small parroquets, which fly in flocks like sparrows. They all taste musky.

A pretty large sort of fowl haunt their plantain walks, which the natives call quawmoes, and the *English* corasaoes: they are a small sort of *Indian* turkey, with a pretty crown on their heads; they are a very welcome game to a hungry traveller, who may shoot all that he meets with, one after another: They are so tame they will hardly fly away in some places; they keep sometimes ten or a dozen together; they are excellent meat, as likewise a lesser sort of fowl using the same places, like *Guiney* hens.

Wood pigeons that light on high trees and rocks; and a sort of fat doves creeping commonly on the ground, are plentiful enough; and on the sea-side are many pelicans and flamingoes, the latter, shaped between a heron and a goose, feeds on the conchoes, and may be seen a great way, looking at a distance like a flame of fire.

The woods are stocked with variety of other fowls, most curiously painted, which are good for food, but wanting names would be too tedious to describe.

The rivers, lagunes, and above all the sea-wastes are plentifully stock'd with fish of many sorts.

In



In the fresh water rivers they have a sort of tortoise, called cushwaw, is good meat, and found in few parts of *America* besides; and on the coast abundance of large sea-tortoises of three sorts, viz. the hawksbill, loggerhead, and green turtle, which last is the best meat; the first has the best shell; the other for his oil, or fat; but these being well known to the *English* need no further description.

Tarpooms and snukes are thick on the sea-wastes and rivers; the first is a curious large fish, almost like a salmon, the latter more like a carp, with a long bill or mouth, and both very good to be eaten.

They have great shoals of mullets, silver-fish, cat-fish, cavallies, sharks, nurfes, snappers, growpers, some seal, stingrays, whiprays, and sea-devils; which last three sorts are somewhat in shape like thorn-backs, though many times bigger.

Their best fish is manatee, or sea-cow, which shall bring up the rear: most travellers in those parts that I have met with call it the best fish, if not flesh, in the world; they are sometimes found straggling in the lagunes in this country, but are not suffered to increase, thro' the greediness of the *Indian*, who spares no pains when he hath a prospect of getting any.

This fish is, in shape and colour, somewhat like a seal, but is not so full of hair;

it has the visage of a cow without horns; it hath two fins before, serving instead of feet, on which in the evenings they crawl ashore to eat grass; its bones are not like those of other great fish, but like those in the body of an ox. The meat thereof is very white, and of a pleasant taste, and so cleansing to the body, that it's commonly said to cure such as feed on it some time, of all foul distempers in the blood, as an old pox, scurvy, and their relations; and that many ship's companies have often experimented the virtues of it, to the recovery of their healths.

These fish are very large, some I have seen of five or six hundred pound, and have heard of those of a thousand in clear flesh, besides bones. They yield the sporter no small diversion at the taking of them; for after having a dart or harpoon struck into their side, with a long line and buoy fastened to it, they hold some time in play, and won't leave the shoals, by which means they receive more lances and arrows from the *Indian*, before they will be taken; many times they overset a boat in struggling.

Dolphins, flying-fish, porpoises, bone-toes, seals, bottlenoses, and such like, keep a good distance from the shore, and are as frequent in other parts as on this coast, wherefore we will quite leave it.





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A  
**DISCOVERY**  
 OF  
 Two Forreigne **SECTS**  
 IN THE  
*EAST-INDIES,*  
*VIZ.*  
 The **SECT** of the *BANIAN S,*  
 The ANCIENT NATIVES of *INDIA,*  
 AND  
 The **SECT** of the *PERSEES,*  
 The ANCIENT INHABITANTS of *PERSIA:*  
 Together with the  
**RELIGION and MANNERS** of each **SECT.**  
 In **TWO PARTS.**

By *HENRY LORD,*  
 Sometime Resident in *EAST-INDIA,* and Preacher to  
 the Honourable Company of Merchants trading thither.

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT ; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-*  
*noster Row.*



# DISCOVER

THE HISTORY OF

THE

ENGLISH

AND

THE HISTORY OF

THE

THE HISTORY OF

THE HISTORY OF

THE HISTORY OF



# A DISCOVERY<sup>LORD.</sup> OF THE BANIAN RELIGION.

## The INTRODUCTION.

**H**AVING by God's providence (who swayeth vs as it pleaseth him to our feuerall places of being) gained a charge of souls in the aduenture of the honourable company of merchants trading to the *East-Indies*: it happened that I was transferred from my charge aboard the shippe, to reside in their prime factorie in *Guzzarat*, in a place called *Surrat*, with the president ouer their affaires in that place, Mr. *Thomas Kerridge*; where, according to the busie obseruance of trauailers, inquiring what noueltie the place might produce, a people presented themselues to mine eyes, cloathed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garbe, as I may say, maydenly and well nigh effeminate; of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glosed and bashfull familiarity, whose vse in the companies affaires occasioned their presence there.

Truth to say, mine eyes, vnacquainted with such objects, tooke vp their wonder and gazed; and this admiration, the badge of a fresh trauailer, bred in mee the importunity of a questioner. I asked what manner of people those were, so strangely notable, and notably strange? Reply was made, They were *Banians*, a people forraigne to the knowledge of the Christian world; their religion, rites and customs sparingly treated of by any, and they no lesse reserued in the publication of them: but some opinions they deriued from the philosopher *Pythagoras*, touching trans-animation of soules. It was thought the nouelty would make the discovery thereof grateful and acceptable to some of our countrymen: that some of my predecessors had bene scrupulous to bring this religion to light; but whether deterred with the fictions and chymeraes,

wherewith *Banian* writings abound, that might make it vnworthy of acceptation, or the shynesse of the *Bramanes*, who will scarce admit a stranger conuersation, the worke was left to him that would make a path through these impediments.

The president, Mr. *Thomas Kerridge*, was vrgent with me to redeeme their omisions, and to see if I could worke somewhat out of this forsaken subiect. The truth was, I was willing to earnest his loue to mee by this iniunction, who, to give this vndertaking the better promotion, interested himselfe in the worke, by mediating my acquaintance with the *Bramanes*, whose eminence of place was an attractiue to draw on this discovery and manifestation.

I that thought my obseruance would bee well tooke, if I could present my countrymen with any thing new from these forraigne parts, begun my worke, and essayed to fetch materials for the same out of their manuscripts, and by renewed accessse, with the helpe of interpreters, made my collections out of a booke of theirs called the *Shafter*, which is to them as their bible, containing the grounds of their religion in a written word.

If any therefore bee affected to peruse or reuise the religion, rites, and customs of the said *Banians*, leauing out for the most part such prodigious fictions as seeme independent on sense and reason, here they shall meete with the best essence and ground of this sect, digested into such a forme as shall best cleare the knowledge thereof, and such, as I presume, neuer had a like discovery by any yet in the presse. So handfesting the readers with as good hopes as may bee expected from a subiect of this nature, I referre them to the prooffe of the following chapters.

C H A P.



LORD.

## CHAP. I.

*Of God, the creation of the world, the creation of the first man and woman, and the progeny from them descending, as it is by the Banians delivered.*

God.

THE great God (say the Banians) being alone, bethought himselfe how hee might make his excellency and power manifest to others; for his great vertue had beene obscured and hid, if it had not beene communicated to his creatures. What meanes might then bee better to giue euidence of both these, than the creation of a world, and creatures therein?

Creation of the world.

For this cause the Almighty consulted with himselfe about the making of this great worke, which men call the world or universe; and as the ancients (say they) haue deliuered, the Lord made foure elements as the ground-worke of this mighty frame, to wit, Earth, Aire, Fire and Water; which foure elements were at first all mingled together in a confusion, but the Almighty separated them in manner following.

First, it is delivered, that, by some great cane or like instrument, hee blew vpon the waters, which arose into a bubble of a round forme like an egge, which spreading it selfe further and further, made the firmament so cleare and transparent, which now compasseth the world about.

Earth.

After this, there remaining the earth, as the sediment of the waters, and some liquid substance with the same; the Lord made of both these together, a thing round like a ball, which hee called the lower world, the more solid part whereof became the earth, the more liquid the seas; both which making one globe, he, by a great noyse or humming sound, placed them in the midst of the firmament, which became æqui-distant from it on euery side.

Sun and moon.

Then he created a sunne and moone in the firmament, to distinguish the times and seasons; and thus these foure elements that were at first mixt together, became separate and assigned to their seuerall places; the air to his place, the earth to his, the water to his place, and the fire to his place.

These elements thus disposed, each of them discharged his seuerall parts; the aire filled up whatsoever was emptie, the fire began to nourish with his heate, the earth brought forth his liuing creatures, and the sea his. And the Lord conueyed to these a feminall vertue, that they

might be fruitfull in their seuerall operations, and thus the great world was created.

This world, as it had his beginning from foure elements, so it was measured by foure maine points of the compasse, *East, West, North* and *South*; and was to be continued for foure ages, and to be peopled by foure *Casts* or sorts of men, which were married to four women appointed for them, of which wee shall speake as order may give occasion.

God having thus made the world, and the creatures thereto belonging, then God created man, as a creature more worthy than the rest, and one that might be most capable of the workes of God. The earth then did, at God's voyce and command, render this creature from his bowels, his head first appearing, and after that his body, with all the parts and members of the same, into whom God conueyed life, which as soone as he had receiued, witnessed it selfe; for, colour began to shew it selfe red in his lippes, his eye liddes began to disclose the two lights of nature, the parts of his body bewrayed their motion, and his vnderstanding being informed, hee acknowledged his maker, and gaue him worship.

That this creature might not be alone, who was made by nature sociable, God seconded him with a companion, which was woman, to whom not so much the outward shape, as the likenesse of the mind and disposition seemed agreeing: and the first man's name was *Pourous*, and the woman's name was *Parcoutee*, and they liued conioyned together as man and wife, feeding on the fruites of the earth, without the destruction of any liuing creature.

These two liuing in this coniunction, had foure sonnes; the first was called *Brammon*, the second *Cuttery*, the third *Shuddery*, the fourth *Wyse*. These foure brethren were of natures distinct each from the other, the foure elements claiming in each of them a different predominance: for *Brammon* was of an earthly constitution, and therefore melancholly; and *Cuttery* was of a fiery constitution, and therefore of a martiall spirit. *Shuddery* was of a flegmaticke constitution, and therefore of a peaceable or conversable



fable disposition; *Wyse* was of an ayery temper, and therefore full of contriue-ments and inuentions.

*Brammon.* And because *Brammon* was of a melancholly constitution, and ingenious, God endued him with knowledge, and appointed him to impart his precepts and lawes vnto the people, his graue and serious look best fitting him for such a purpose; for which cause hee gaue him a booke, containing the forme of diuine worshippe and religion.

*Cuttery.* And because *Cuttery* was of a martiall temper, God gaue him power to sway kingdomes with the scepter, and to bring men into order, that the weale-publicke might thriue by vnited indeauours for the common goode; as an embleme of which the Almighty put a sword into his hand, the instrument of victory and domination.

*Shuddery.* And because *Shuddery* was of a nature mild and conuerseable, it was thought meete, that he should be a merchant, to enrich the common-wealth by trafficke, that so euery place might abound with all things, by the vse of shipping and nauigation. As a monitor to put him in minde of which course of life, he had a paire of ballances put into his hand, and a bagge of waights hung at his girdle, instruments most accomodate to his profession.

*Wyse.* Lastly, because *Wyse* was of an ayery temper, whose conceipts vse to bee more subtile and apprehensue, he was indued with admirable inuentions, and was able by his first thoughts, to forme any thing that belonged to the mechanicke or handy-

crafts man: for which purpose hee had a *LORD.* bagge of tooles or instruments, consisting of such variety, as were necessary to effectuate the workes of his fancy or conceipt.

Thus you have the first man and woman, and the progeny from them descending, according to *Banians* tradition; and a world to be raised of so few, the persons (as they thinke) could not be better fitted to the same, the whole world being well considered, consisting of, and subsisting by such foure kindes of men.

The world being in this mayden puritie, that the generations of men might not be deriued from a polluted beginning of mankind, the Almighty gaue not *Pou-rous* and *Parcoutee* any daughters, least some of these foure sonnes, preferring the needes of propagation before piety and religion, should haue deflowered their sisters, and have blemished the world with impurity: but prouiding better for the holinesse and sanctity of our ancestors, that the work of generation might be agreeable to the worke of creation, God made foure women for these foure men, and placed them at the foure windes, *Four wo- men crea- ted.* one at the east, another at the west, a third at the north, and a fourth at the south; that thus being diuided, there might be a better meanes for the spreading of their generations over the face of the earth, with which foure women, how the foure sonnes of the first man met, shall be vnderstood in the sequeale of the seuerall stories in the chapters following.

## CHAP. II.

*Of Brammon the eldest sonne of Pourous, his trauaile towards the east; he meeteth with the woman appointed for him; the passages that happened in their accoast, their marriage, and peopling of the east.*

**T**HIS eldest sonne of the first man, called *Brammon*, grewe in stature, and had the preheminance of his birth, both in place, and in respect aboue the rest of his brethren; as also in regard of his neere relations to God in religious services, was highly honoured of his brethren, and was an instructor vnto them; and the Almighty communicated himselfe to him in presence and vision. He gaue himselfe therefore much to reading, and conuersed with the booke that God gaue him, containing the platforme of diuine worshippe.

Being therefore growne to man's age, and (as it should appeare by circumstances) man being created in the midst of

the earth, in some pleasant place, where the sunne at high noone depriued substances of their shadowes, (for it was fit that man should be produced out of such a place as might be the nauell of the world) God who would now disperse the brethren from the center, as it were, to the circumference, for propagation, commanded *Brammon* to take his booke in his hand, wherein was written the diuine law, and to direct his journey towards the rising of the sunne in the east.

As soone as that glorious light of heauen had discovered his splendor from the toppes of the mountaines, he tooke his iourney that way (for the east being the most noble part of the world, it was likely



LORD. likely that had the preheminence in plantation) vntill he arriued at a goodly mountaine, before the proud face whereof lay prostrate a valley, through which there passed a brooke, in the descent of which there appeared a woman satisfying her thirst from the streames of the riuer; and they were both naked, innocence not being then ashamed to publish her retyrements and privacies; nor hauing faulted so much with those immodest parts, as to neede a shrowd to veile them from the sight. This woman was of haire blacke, of complexion yealowish or saffrony, as on whose face the sunne had too freely cast his beames, the remembrance of whose heate was too surely conserued in her countenance. She was indifferently sized, whose pitch could neither challenge the name of lownesse or high stature; modest were her aspect, and her eyes *indices* of so melancholly sobernesse, and composed lookes, as if she seemed to be sampled for him that met her.

Brammon  
meets with  
his wife  
Savatree.

But her eyes vnaccustomed to view such an object as was before her, hauing never seene a creature of proportion like her selfe, betwixt wonder and shame shee was vncertaine whether she should flye, or please her sight with such a vision. But *Brammon*, no lesse abashed at such intrusion, which by retyring he could not well shunne, with a downe-cast countenance suppressed with shame, they both abroad one another's presence, with tongue-tied silence; whose backwardnesse gaue encouragement to the woman to question the cause of his coming thither; who answered, That by the command of him who had made the world, him, her, and

all creatures visible, together with the light that gaue them the comfort of their meeting, he was sent thither. The woman to whom God had giuen that vnderstanding, to be capable of the propernesse of his speech, and inquiring further into this accident, said, That there was an agreement in their likenesse and composition, that declared they had one Maker; that it may be, he that had made them, and had his ends in their disposall, had thus brought them together, that some neerer bond might make them inseparable from each other's society; and casting her eye vpon the booke that *Brammon* bare in his hand, asked what it was? who acquainting her with the contents thereof, was desired to sit down, and communicate the religious counsels of the same unto her, whereunto hee condescended; and being both perswaded that God had a hand in this their meeting, they tooke counsell together from this booke, to bind themselues together in the inuiolable bond of marriage, and with the courtesies interceding betwixt man and wife, were lodged in one another's bosom; for joy whereof the sunne put on his nuptiall lustre, and looked brighter than ordinary, causing the season to shine on them with golden joy; and the silver moone welcomed the evening of their repose, whilst musicke from heauen (as if God's purpose in them had been determinate) sent forth a pleasing sound, such as vseth to fleete from the loud trumpet, together with the noyse of the triumphant drumme. Thus proouing the effects of generation together, they had fruitfull issue, and so peopled the east, and the woman's name was *Sauatree*.

They peo-  
ple the  
east.

### CHAP. III.

*Of Cuttery the second sonne of Pourous, his trauaile, and the meeting hee had with the woman appointed for him; their conflict, appeasement, coniunction, and the peopling of the west by them.*

SUCCESSIVELY the second brother *Cuttery* was by the Almighty assigned to the west, about the charge of making men; so taking the sword in his hand, that God had given him, the instrument, on whose edge lay the hopes of a kingdome, rowling vp his courage, which hitherto wanted occasion of exercise, from the heart and bosom of the earth, in which his youth had conuersed, he turned his backe on the rising sunne every morning, whose swifter course ouertooke him, and every day in his decline presented himselfe in his setting glory before him. As he thus trauailed towards the

west, he chafed with himselfe as he passed along, that no aduenture presented itselfe that might prouoke him to giue a probate of his courage, wishing that an army of men, or a troope of wild beasts, would oppose him, that he might strew the surface of the earth with dead carkeyes, and give the fowles of heaven flesh to feede on. And not knowing to what purpose God had directed him to bend his course that way, as onely sensible of his own heroick stomacke, hee said, To what end hath God infused such magnanimity into my breast, if it shal want a subject whereon to worke my glory



glory and renowne? shall I lose the end of my creation? God forbid.

Cuttery  
meets with  
his wife  
Toddica  
tree.

Thus carried on with the hopes of some adventure, hee intended that whatsoever should first cope with him, should have the sense of his fury; when being come to a mountaine, whose height might make things farre visible to the eye, he might perceiue a creature of goodly personage, like himselfe, stalking forward with a martiall steppe, no lesse slowe then maiesticke in pace; which two approaching, as desirous to make experiment of each other's fortitude vpon their meeting together, it appeared to bee a woman, whose tresses in a comely fertility hung downe by her shoulders, which, by motion of the ayre, turned into a carelesse disorder; euery blast that made an alteration in the same, gaue a new grace to her excellent person, and made her presence more full of maiesty. In her right hand shee bare a *Chuckery*, which is an instrument of a round forme, and sharp-edged in the superficies thereof, so accomodate for offence, that by a hole in the midst thereof, being whirled about the finger, and slung off, in the quicknesse of his motion, it is able to deliver or conuey death to a farre remote enemy. Courage displayed his banner in her countenance, and maiesticke fury sparkled in her eyes, bearing witness how much she thirsted after conquest; and the woman's name was *Toddica tree*.

Their conflict.

In the first encounter shee made her *Chuckery* beare the message of her displeasure, giuing entertainment with the instrument of battell, which was such as *Cuttery* expected; and no kinder behauiour did hee intend to proffer, as preferring the harsh effects of violence, before the mollifying power of beauty: With this hard greeting did they passe the first day, giuing wounds on each side, she with her *Chuckery*, hee with his sword; both being much spent in the conflict, and often breathing when extremitie of exercise had languished their powers, they renewed their battell by fresh aggression and onset, till darknesse did prohibit the vse of armes, leauing the first day as an indifferent arbiter of the battell, neither of them able to boast of aduantage.

The light of the next day inuiting them to a new experiment of valour, they accost one another, renewing the remembrance of their injuries with second attempts of violence: The day well neere spent in fight, *Cuttery* gaining some aduantage, with his sword hewed her *Chuckery* in two pieces; but fauourable darknesse looking with a partiall eye on the battell, and patronizing the disaduantaged, shaded the woman with her broken instru-

ment from the pursuer; by the benefit of LORD. which intermission shee conuerted her broken *Chuckery* into a bowe, having provided arrowes, to requite the force of the aduersary by this new stratageme, who was now bigge with the hopes of her ouerthrow.

The light being the best herauld they had, to call them to battell, a third time they met, hopefull to conclude this strange duello or single combat, which vied on her side by her new-invented instrument, and on his by the thought of former aduantage gained, made the assault more vehement; making therefore her enemy the butte into whom she meante to transfixe her pointed shafts, shee freshly encountered him. But hee perceiuing her aduantage, whose power was to wound farre off, and his iniuries were most forceable in little distance, exposing himselfe to greater perill, that he might be owner of a better aduantage, drew neerer, and in a cloze, exchanging the losse of weapons for hand violence, they thus proved their forces together, wearinesse hauing abated their vigours so equally, that neither of them was so strong to overcome, nor so weake to yeeld, the ballance of victory so iustly poysed betweene them, as inclined with partiality to neither, it was fit the tongue should conclude that warre that the power of the hand was no longer able to prosecute.

Hereupon in this doubtfull strife, *Cuttery* having seized her by the tresses of her haire to bring her to bondage; and exercise hauing put a fresh and liuely colour in her cheekes, such as in *Cuttery's* eyes made her rather seeme louely, then one to be iniured, hee said, Oh thou wonder of liuing creatures for strength and beauty! why should fury mannage so strange a contention between vs. two? If I should in this combate haue slain thee, I should haue curst this right hand, for bearing an instrument to ruine so goodly a proportion; and if thou hadst slaine me, thou shouldst but haue laboured with anguish of soule for thine owne discontent and discomfort, who knowest not what pleasure thou mayst reape by my society. Why should one excellent creature seeke the ruine of another? Will there not be one the lesse? And thy being will bee nothing augmented by my disannulment. Did God to this end conferre boldnesse on vs to make it the cause of one another's perdition, who are both worthy of preservation? Surely courage in thee shall bee nothing impaired by my friendshippe and ayde, but vnited vertues make most powerfull assaults, and are best muniments against iniurie. Besides, the world, now  
an



LORD. an infant, and of short standing, ought rather by all meanes to haue her issue multiplyed, then impayred or diminished. Especially self-loue bindes us to study our owne preferuations; to which since vnity did best conferre, hee would not follow the humour of his high spirit to seeke glory so wickedly and unworthily, if hee might purchase that peace hee sought by any reasonable concession.

The woman, attentue to the motion, prosecuted with so faire a carriage, after some pause of silence, and deiection of countenance, that gaue consent to bashfulnesse, replied, That though the markes of his violence were before her eyes, whose anguish were sufficient to maintaine the fuell of further passion, yet in that hee which had felt tryall of like rage, had first broke off violence, shee gaue so good an eare to the motion as the short time

of desisting might permit; affirming, that shee was so farre content to suspend such passages, as hee, continuing that peaceable treaty, should make his company acceptable, otherwise to renew the same violence as shee found just occasion of prouocation.

Thus, with plighted hands, the forme of their new-made amity, they became of intestine enemies, reconciled and amorous friends, till prompt and intelligible nature, apprehensive of her owne ends, through some longer conversation together, made them prove the difference of Their their sexe, from whom plentifull genera-marriage. tions were descended, indued with the fortitude of such as are truely warlike. And thus the west came to be peopled from They peo. these two, from whose enmities loue ple the wrought so perfect and vnexpected agree-west. ment.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Of Shuddery the third sonne of Pourous, his Trauaile; he findeth a Myne of diamonds, meeteth the woman appointed for him; they become conioyned together, and by their issue the north is peopled.*

THE third sonne *Shuddery*, which was the merchant man, according to his time and age, was sent to the *North*, who taking his ballance and waights with him, the instruments by whose iustice hee was to buy and sell, tended thither whither the Almighty had directed him. Hauing passed on some part of his way (as busie nature loues to be in imployment) hee desired hee might meete with some affaire or businesse suiting with his traffiking disposition.

And being come to a goodly mountaine called *Stachalla*, there fell immoderate and excessiue raines, hee sheltring himselfe in some hollow place of the mountaine till the foule weather was past; vpon which there followed a clearnesse of the skies; but such a deluge succeeded vpon the fall of those waters, that his journey was prohibited; for the rivers, not able to containe the streames, that had in rowling currents from the tops of the steepe mountaines deuolued into their channels belowe, began to make breaches in their bankes; and returning their burthen into the lower grounds, had turned the valley of *Stachalla* into a broad riuer vnpassable. *Shuddery* therefore rested in the hollowe of this mountaine till the weather might bee more propitious to his trauaile intended; when in some days the faire weather had made the thirsty earth to drinke vp part of the waters, the sunne

to dry vp the other part, and some were left to inherit the lower grounds, so that the way being free for him ouer the valley, hee passed on; but in the bottome of the valley he found certaine pearle shels that had their pretious treasure within; which diuiding to bee made capable of their contents, hee found in them that which contented his eyes with their shining, and promised in their beauties some thing worth the prizing and preferuation (though hee was as yet altogether ignorant of their worth and value:) so folding them vp, hee renewed his trauaile, till hee came to a mountaine on the other side of the valley, where the mountaine, hee, and dark night, met all together.

But as if the pearles had but borne the *Shuddery* message to him of a greater fortune, a finds a rocke of diamonds. rocke or myne of diamonds discovered of diamonds. it selfe to his sight, which the late washing of the waues had beene as a midwife to bring to light, as if it had beene vnfit so great riches should be treasured vp in darknesse, in the armes of so coarse an element; which myne taking aduantage by the darknesse of the heauens, the better to set off his sparkling lustre, seemed to inuite *Shuddery* to come and take knowledge of its admirable shining; who, supposing it to be fire, began to mooue the loose sparkles of the same, but perceiving their glory nothing to decrease by



by their motion, grew enkindled with a great desire to proue the strangeness of the accident, by the touching of his finger; but the darknesse and his vnacquaintance with the thing, rather begetting admiration then right information of his knowledge (since it had the light of fire, but wanted the heate) hee was content with a patient aboode to awaite the dayes light, to give him better instruction concerning these mysteries; which no sooner appeared, but these diamonds concealed their glory, affording onely a waterish-coloured beauty to the eye. The disannulment of this lustre amazed him as much as the presentation thereof made him admire; but desirous to haue this excellency made knowne to mankind, that seemed so wonderfull to himselfe, hee carried so great a quantity of the diamonds with him, as might be no impediment to him in the bearing, taking a remarkable obseruation of the place, that hee might thereunto repayre vpon better prooffe of the diamonds excellence and worth.

Meets  
with his  
wife Vifa-  
gundah.

Thus *Shuddery* continuing his progresse forward, at last arriued where the woman to which hee was sent was wandering by the side of a woode, close adioyning whereunto was an euen plaine, through which hee made his path; of whom when his eyes had gained sight, and that shee presented a person formed like himselfe, he diuerted from his way towards her, to gaine more perfect knowledge of her; she no lesse filled with wonder and desire in the view of him, yet sometimes possessed with feare, sometimes with ioy, sometimes with shame, in the variety of passions, purposing many things, but really prosecuting nothing. *Shuddery* at length accosted her, whose approach shee receiued doubtfully, as if shee sought a meanes of evasion into the woode; at which he said, Oh thou worthy creature! most like vnto my selfe, fly me not, who hast cause to loue me, be-

cause I resemble thee; shunne not the con- LORD.  
uersation of him, that followeth thee not to  
giue thee displeasure, but that hee might  
enioy thy society; things that haue re-  
semblance in shape should imbrace comfort-  
ship.

The woman then, whose name was *Vifagundah*, perceiuing by the slownesse of his pace, that he rather seemed to bee a suer to her, then a pursuer of her, by the retardation of her flight witnessing her contentment to stay if shee might presume of her safety, thus replied to his words, That if shee could as much presume of his good vsage, as shee was contented to behold him, shee would grant his request; who giving her assurance thereof, they entertained conference with each other, shee moouing the question how it might be that they two could bee capable of one another's language, hauing neuer before seene each other. Hee made answer, That that God that had made them like in bodies, had also made them like in languages, that they might receive the comfort of one another's speeches, and be acquainted with one another's thoughts, without which, conuersation should lose the greatest part of his comfort.

So receiving stronger gages of each other's loue, they continued together, hee not vnmindfull to impart the fortunes of his trauailes in finding of pearles and diamonds, wherewith he adorned her, till they in future times became a customary ornament, as also acquainting her with the worke of the creation, together with his parents and brethren, they proued the comforts of the conioyned state; from whom a generation descended, that became merchantmen, and followed *Shuddery's* profession, who, with some of his sonnes, did afterwards trauaile to the myne of diamonds by him discovered, and stored themselues with them, which euer since haue beene merchandize of deere estimation; and thus the north

They peo-  
ple the  
north.

## C H A P. V.

*Of Wyse the fourth sonne of Pourous, his Trauailes ouer seven seas, his architecture; hee meeteth with the woman appointed: His reuelations touching religion, consummation of loue with the woman, and their peopling of the south.*

THEN *Wyse*, the youngest of the foure brethren, went to the north, hauing instruments necessary with him to effectuate any thing that his well conceived inuention could find out: therefore whatsoeuer was conuenient for man's vse, hee had a braine to thinke and contriue, that so the needes of the world might be serued by the deuises of his ingenious

fancy or concept. Thus hee became the original of the handycrafts; for hee knew how to reare the buildings of townes, cities or castles; to set, plant, and till the ground; how to make all things needfull for the vse of man; which various disposition of his to meditate things for man's conuenience, gave him the name of *Viskermab*, which is as much as the  
4 M handfman,



LORD. handsman, because hee could do any thing  
to be done by the hand.

Wyfe tra- Being indued with a genius fit for plan-  
vels over tations, hee (directed by God) trauailed  
seven seas. towards the south, where hee met with  
seven seas, all which hee passed ouer,  
framing a vessell for his conuoy, and  
leaving in euery place testimonies of his  
ingenuity: and passing over the last called  
*Pasburbatee*, hee came to the land called  
*Derpe*; there by the sea-side hee built  
him a faire house of such timber as grew  
by the place, hauing engines of art to  
reare vp timber. Thus hauing made a  
comely habitation, with roomes lightsome,  
and broad tarrasses or roofes aloft, for  
pleasure and prospect delightfull; where  
hee might sometimes please his eyes with  
the rowling sea, which, with renewed af-  
faults, sinote against the bankes of the  
shoare; and directing his sight the other  
way, might behold the pleasant woods and  
fieldes; hee thus for a time solaced himselfe  
after tedious trauaile.

Meets  
with his  
wife Jeju-  
nagundah.

But not long had hee tooke such com-  
fort as his solitary condition could afford  
him, but the woman appointed for him  
wandering through the woods to the sea-  
side, and passing along the shoare there-  
of, set her eyes vpon this new edifice;  
and hauing neuer beheld any before, the  
rarity of it drew her neerer to satisfie her  
admiration with the view of the same;  
on whom *Wyfe* chancing to cast his eye  
as shee thus came to looke on his habita-  
tion, he descended to take a fuller con-  
templation of her beauty, whose feature  
deserued his better notice; for shee was  
of a body amiably white, and her tresses  
were scattered with powdered saunders,  
and other odours, the scent of which the  
blasts of the winde dispersed in such man-  
ner, that hee became partaker of them by  
his approach, which enkindled his senses  
with new desires to be neerer her, who  
at such distance gaue him a smell of so  
great sweetnesse; whose approach stricke  
her into a blush, but her shame giuing  
place, shee moued the question to him,  
How hee came to that place where shee  
onely had liued, to interrupt her in her  
free walkes and wanderings? He made  
answer, That God the Maker of light,  
that makes all objects visible, had sent him  
thither to admire her excellency, which  
was so rare, that it was not fit it should  
be shaded in a place so solitary, but had  
reserued it as a blessing for his eyes to  
view and admire; and because it was pittie  
desolation and lonelinessse should be a waster  
and obscurer of such louelynesse, hee had,  
with hazard of his life, aduentured ouer  
seuen seas, to be blest with the enioyment  
thereof, a labour and trauaile worthy of

so rich a recompence, and a worthy re-  
compence and satisfaction for such a labour;  
intreated her therefore to accept of such a  
blessing as God had prouided for her by  
his society.

But shee that could not be brought to  
thinke of a course of life different from  
her former, told him, That in his absence  
shee found no neede of his presence, nei-  
ther did shee at that present stand inclined  
to accept of his motion, that therefore hee  
would leaue her to the liberty of her owne  
free dispose. Hee, loath to lose the hap-  
pinesse of his eyes, importuned her to view  
the roomes of his building, as if hee  
meant to wooe her with the faire workes  
of his handes: but shee, taking his impor-  
tunity in euill part, told him, That if hee  
desired her not to shunne the place, hee  
would dismissee her freely. So turning from  
him with some displeasure, because shee  
was by him vnwillingly detained, shee  
fled from him with coye distaste, hee al-  
most expiring with the sadnesse of her de-  
parture, whose presence hee could not pur-  
chase, and his pleasure therein, without her  
anger.

Shee having robbed his eyes of that sight,  
that they would neuer willingly haue lost,  
hee committed himselfe to the racke of  
pensiuue meditations, broke the quiet slum-  
bers of repose, thinking darknesse vnfa-  
uourable to him that suspended and pro-  
rogued the chearfull day from his ap-  
pearance, in which hee might renew his  
visitations of her. So trauerfing the woods  
to and fro, hee at last came into a val-  
ley, where he found her cropping the  
flowers, and gratifying her senses with  
their seuerall odours; on whom intruding  
ere shee well perceiued, hee said, Oh,  
sweeter than all flowers or scents that the  
field can boast of, whose louelinesse hath  
drawne me to make proffer of new kind-  
nesse! fly me not who hast had a former  
tryall of my behauiour towards thee. So  
bearing with his presence, he tooke occa-  
sion to make knowne to her the creation  
of the world, and the parents from whence  
he was descended, the dispersing of his  
brethren into the seuerall parts of the  
world, the hardinesse and hazard of his  
voyages, the qualities with which hee was  
indued, and the seuerall monuments of  
his art which hee had left in the places  
where hee had beene. Further, hee con-  
ceiued that the power aboue had not  
prompted him, with the icopardy of a  
thousand liues, to cut a path through  
seuen rugged seas in a floating habitation,  
but euen to that end that the bitternesse of  
all those euils might be sweetned by his  
enjoyment of her.

Shee,



Shee, desirous to breake off this speech, as ungrateful to her ears, turned backe this discourse, desiring him to take his contentments elsewhere then in quest of her; that if shee could prevaile with him in any Request, it should be in this, to leaue her, and neuer after to disturbe her with such motions. So both departed, shee in disdain, he in sadnesse and sorrow for such dismissal; giuing him only this as a doubtfull comfort at their parting, that if shee found her selfe inclined to his society, shee knew where to finde him, and to manifest to him such Alteration.

Vpon this, hauing left the place that contained his blisse, with oppressed thoughts, hee was no sooner got into a priuate place that might seem as counsell-keeper to his passions, but he humbled himself under the greene trees, and said, Oh! thou to whom belongs the acknowledgment of my being, I have, by thy guidance, forsaken the society of my parents, whom I know not whether I shall euer behold againe, as also the fellowship of my brethren; I have coped with as many hazzards as can make trauail bitter and discomfortable: I haue left company to come into solitude; nay, which is worse, to behold one that might giue me the wished comforts of society, by her refusall to adde degrees to my sorrow. Oh make not voide the end of my being! giue not such an euill recompence to my

aduentures; bury not all these qualities thou LORD. hast put in this essence, by this one disaster. Witnesse, oh you heauens, vnder whose azured roose I now am, the sorrow I suffer; and witnesse, oh ye greene trees, that, if ye were sensible of my complaint, would spend yourselves in gummy teares, what agony perplexeth mee. And if the Maker of creatures overlooke his workes, let him now appeare, and redress the miseries of his seruant.

With that a still and quiet ayre breathed through the leaves of the trees, and a voyce issued thereupon, and said, What requirest thou, oh thou sonne of *Pourous*? And *Wyse* made answer, That hee onely desired that the Woman with whom he had met, might afford him the comforts of society in the copulations of marriage; which request was granted on these iniunctions, that hee should erect pagods for God's worshippe, and adore images vnder green trees, because God had vnder them manifested himselfe by vision to him.

So *Ieiunagundah* (for so was the woman called) feeling the motions of affection to renewe in her, at the next meeting gaue such Expressions of love to *Wyse*, as fully accomplished his demand: so conuersing together they made good the nuptiall ends, in a fruitful generation. So the south, as They people the south. the other parts of the world, became inhabited.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the meeting together of the four brethren at the place of their birth, their diuisions and dissentions, the great euils amongst their generations, bringing a flood which destroyeth them, and so the first Age of the world concludeth.*

EVERY thing by naturall motion passeth to his owne place; so the brethren hauing peopled the world in these foure parts, turne their course to the place where they first breathed their vitall ayre; for *Brammon* hauing peopled the east, with all such as was of his cast or tribe, was carried with a naturall desire to goe and conclude his days where he began, and to possesse the people of that place with the true form of diuine worshippe, that so all the world might retaine one vniformity of religion, not rending God's worshippe into parts with the factions of unsettled opinions, as also not willing to lose so great a ioy as his eyes should convey unto him in the sight of his parents and his brethren, to the former of which religion had enjoyned him, to the latter all expressions of a brother's loue.

*Cuttery* also, the next that had accomplish'd the end of his trauaile, began to long after the sight of the place that brought

him forth, that he might there, to his father, mother, and brethren, shew the blessings of God, in his wife and progeny, and acquaint them with the story of his occurrences, and leaue a race of soldiers there also in his posterity.

*Shuddery*, turned also by the same inclination, had his desires bent to his birth-place, being bigge with the eminency of his accidental fortunes, which had lost their greatnesse, if his parents and brethren had lost the knowledge of them; to feed which humour, as accompanied with other respects formerly mentioned, drew him to giue his appearance amongst the rest.

Lastly, *Wyse*, to communicate his arts, whose aduenturous trauaile was no lesse memorable then the rest, transporting his sonnes and daughters ouer the seuerall seas, left them in seuerall places, and repaired to his birth-place, to pay his duty to his parents, and his loue to his brethren.



LORD.

The four  
brethren  
meet at  
the place  
of their  
birth.

It so happened, that God that would not crosse any part of their intentions with euill successe, did referue them to find the happinesse of their meetings in their severall turnes and successions, as their workes were in order accomplished, their severall arrivals being congratulated with feastings and triumphs, meete welcome for such guests. It was not to be doubted but *Porous* and *Parcoutee* grew young againe, having such a season of happinesse referued to smile upon them, towards the sunset of their age, such as were able to make their forewasted powers, spent with yeeres, to renew their vigour; every one of them when their ioy grew stale, giuing a fresh renewance of gladness to their parents by their successiue arrivall. Neither could it be imagined, but that the brethren accounted that the blessed time that lost all remembrance of trouble, which wee thinke too importunate a disturber of our ioyes.

But joy is neuer of long lasting, but after the passage of little time hath his abatement: this the brethren being sensible of, laid aside the thoughts of their traualles, and the remembrance of their late comforts; and as men newly transplanted to bring forth the fruites of their being in that place, begetting new generations there, that the world might be compleately populous, and instructed in their severall qualities, by *Brammon* in matters of religion, by *Cuttery* in matters of rule and domination, by *Shuddery* in matters of trafficke and merchandizing, and by *Wyse* in the inuention of the handicrafts: of which foure casts the world consisted, euery one of them living in his severall qualitie, keeping his tribe free from confusion or enterfeering; and thus the world became peopled.

But multitude and concourse that vseth to be the nurse of mischief, for where there are many men there will be many euils, and prosperity that makes vs forgetfull of ourselves, and length of time that renders to vs the worst at our latter endings, began to confound all goodnesse, and turne euery thing out of order: for *Brammon* grew neglectiue of his piety; and *Cuttery* grew cruell and full of usurpation; and *Shuddery* grew deceitful in the weights and ballances, and practised cosenage amongst his brethren; and *Wyse* lost his conscience in his dealings, and became a spend-thrift, making the profits that came by his inuentions, but the furtherers of ryot and excessse. And as

they were thus euill in themselves, so they were euill one towards another; for *Brammon* stomached *Cuttery's* greatnesse, and *Cuttery* forgat to give *Brammon* the preheminence of his birth; and, as if his might had beene sufficient to giue him the right of priority, placing all excellency in rule and authority, condemned the still and solitary spirit of his brother, as vnworthy of respect an eminence; yea, prized his owne lawes and gouernment before God's lawes, because they came from *Brammon* whom hee disesteemed. On the other side, hee pleased himselfe with the slaughter of those that displeased him, lay'd taxations vpon *Shuddery*, and dreyned the profit of *Wyse's* labours, and, like a great tide, made all runne along with his owne current, whilst they requite his iniuries in cosenage and griping vpon their brethren, in fraud and circumuention. These euils of example were seedes of wickednesse that no doubt would grow in their posteritie. And this dissention among themselves did boade a breach of that sweete harmonie that concurred to the world's first constitution.

*Wyse* likewise seeing *Brammon* to lose his respect, the more to make him despised, sought to bring in a new forme of religion, communicated to him in vision, concerning the worshippe of images, and bowing to pagods under greene trees, with other new ceremonies, which since *Brammon's* booke contained not, the dispute was greate whether they should be receiued as canonicall; but vpon *Wyse's* asseueration that they were receiued from God, they were receiued as part of the ceremoniall law.

Thus every day presenting new platformes of wickednesse, and sinnes that made a noyse, God grew angry, and the heauens were cloathed with blacknesse and terror; the seas began to swell as if they meant to ioyne with the cloudes in man's destruction; great noyse was heard aloft, such as vseth to dismay mortal wretches; and thunder and lightning flashed from the poles, such as seemed to threaten a final wracke to the earth; but as if the world needed cleansing of his defilement and pollution, there came a flood that couered all nations in the depths. Thus the bodies had their iudgement, but the soules were lodged in the bosome of the Almighty: And so concluded the first age of the world, according to the tradition of the *Banians*.

Their dissensions.



## C H A P. VII.

LORD.

Of the second age of the world, begun by *Bremaw*, *Vystney*, and *Ruddery*; of their creation, assignation to their severall workes, their time of continuation upon earth, and the meanes used for the restauration of the world againe.

The second age.

**I**T had now (saith the *Banian*) beene to little end for God to disannull his owne creatures, for now his wisdom and power must haue againe layne obscured; but though his iustice were so great, that hee would not let wickednesse goe unpunished, yet hee would againe haue a world of new creatures, to whom his wisdom, power, and mercy might be declared.

Three new persons created.

Seeing therefore the first age miscarried by their sinfulness (for whose purity God had so well provided) the Almighty determined to beginne the second age by three persons of greater perfection and excellency then the other, called *Bremaw*, *Vystney*, and *Ruddery*.

The Almighty therefore descending from heauen vpon a great mountaine called *Meropurbatee*; vpon the top of the same the Lord pronounced his word, and said, Rise vp, *Bremaw*, the first of living creatures in the second age. The earth then did render from her wombe *Bremaw* at the voyce of God, who did acknowledge and worshippe his Maker: and by a second and third command from the same place, raised *Vystney* and *Ruddery*, who with no lesse reuerence adored their Maker likewise.

Bremaw.

But God, that maketh nothing without his vse or end, did not make these to liue idle, but to be seruiceable in the world's restoring; to the first therefore, which was *Bremaw*, hee gave the power to make the creatures, because (say the *Banians*) as great persons do not their worke but by deputies, so neither was it fit God should be seruile to the creatures, but giue them their being by his instruments. To the second, which was *Vystney*, he gaue the charge to preserve the creatures, for that as it was his mercy to cause them to bee, so it was his providence to keepe them in their being. But to the third, which was *Ruddery*, hee gaue power to destroy his creatures, because hee knew they would be wicked, and deserue a iudgement amongst them.

Vystney.

Ruddery.

Now, as God had giuen to these persons power to do these great workes, so it was meete they should be fitted with meanes capable for the discharge of their severall charges. That *Bremaw* therefore

might haue power to make the creatures, hee indued him with the abilities of creation and production. Secondly, that *Vystney* might preserve the creature, the Lord gaue all things into his power, that might tend to the preservation of those that *Bremaw* should make; therefore hee made him lord of the sunne and moone, of the cloudes, showers, and dewes that fall vpon the earth, lord of the hills and vallies, disposer of the changes of the yeere, the conferrer of riches, health, and honour, and whatsoever tended to the well-being of man, and the rest of the creatures. Lastly, that *Ruddery* might be a fit executioner of God's iustice, God gaue into his possession whatsoever might tend to the destruction of living creatures; therefore *Ruddery* was made the lord of death and iudgement, and whatsoever might tend to the punishment of man, whether it were sickness, famine, warre, or pestilence, or any thing else that might be a plague for sinne.

According also to the severall assignations of these persons to their particular charges, they were allotted a determinate time of abiding vpon earth. Because the worke of the creation was concluded in the second of their ages (which was a worke assigned to *Bremaw*) therefore *Bremaw* was to be taken vp to the Almighty in the conclusion of the second age. And because the other ages were multiplied with people by some that were reserved from destruction, therefore *Vystney* was kept on earth till he had doubled *Bremaw's* tearme of time, as of whose preservation there was longer neede. And because the world should end in destruction, therefore the continuance of *Ruddery* was three times so long, that when the great day of iudgement should come, hee might destroy all the bodies, and carry the soules with him to the place of glory.

Their continuation upon the earth.

Nought wanted now, but that they should euery one in their severall turnes shew the powers conferred vpon them. So *Bremaw* consulting with himselfe, how he might fulfill the charge imposed vpon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body; the strangeness of which anguish vexing him in every part, boaded some alteration or vnexpected euent; when

The world re-peopled.



LORD. Ioe such trauaile as happeneth to women in labour seazed him, and a certaine tumour and swelling of his body withall, according to the suddaine ripenesse of the burthen within, distended his bowels more and more, and gaue newer and greater extremities to him in this agony, till the burthen (though *Bremaw* farre exceeded the stature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right side, the other on the left; when behold two twinnes, the one male, the other female, to wit, man and woman did betray themselves to the world in full growth and perfect stature; who thus produced and informed concerning God by the instructions of *Bremaw*, the man was by him named *Manow*, and the woman *Ceteroupa*. So giuing worshippe to God the Creator, and reuerence to *Bremaw* their producer, with a blessing of multiplication pronounced vpon them, they were sent to the East, to a mountaine called *Munderpurvool*, thence to dispread their generations to the West, North, and South; so they departed, and *Ceteroupa* brought forth three sonnes and three daughters; the eldest sonne was called *Priauretta*, the second *Outanapautha*, the third *Soomeraut*: the eldest daughter's name was called *Cammah*, the second *Soonerettaw*, the third *Sumboo*.

As these grew in yeeres, they were in their severall orders disperfed seuerall wayes, viz. *Priauretta* and *Cammah* to the West, to the mountaine called *Segund*; *Outanapautha* and *Soonerettaw* to the North, to the mountaine *Bipola*; *Soomeraut* and *Sumboo* to the mountaine *Supars*, all which brought forth plentiful generations. Thus *Bremaw* made man and woman, and replenished the earth with the rest of the living creatures.

*Vystney* likewise did provide all things necessary that might be to the sustentation and preferuation of the living creatures that *Bremaw* had made, giuing them in enjoyment such blessings as were needfull to a well-being.

To conclude, *Ruddery* did disperse afflictions, sicknesse, death, and iudgement, according as the sonnes of men did by their wickedness inuoke this smart vpon themselves. And this was the order God tooke for restoring of people to inhabit the earth in the second age of the world. Now how God provided for the establishment of religion in this second age, that these that liued might feare and worshippe him, shall be declared in the chapter next following, as it is vnfolded by the tradition of the *Banians*.

### C H A P. VIII.

*How god communicated religion to the world by a booke delivered to Bremaw; the particular Tracts of the same: the first Tract thereof touching the morall law laid downe, with the appropriation of the same to the seuerall casts, and a confutation of the errours thereof.*

GOD knowing that there would be but euill gouernment where there was not the establishment of his worshippe and feare; after the world was replenished anew, bethought himselfe of giving them lawes to restraine that euill in them that was the cause of the destruction of the former age.

Revealed religion.

Descending therefore on the mountaine *Meropurbatee*, hee called *Bremaw* to him, and out of a dark and duskie cloude, with certaine glimpses of his glory, hee magnified himselfe to *Bremaw*, telling him that the cause why hee brought destruction on the former age, was because they did not obserue the instructions contained in the booke deliuered to *Brammon*. So deliuering a booke out of the cloude into the hand of *Bremaw*, commanded him to acquaint the people with those things contained therein. So *Bremaw* made known the sanctions and lawes vnto the disperfed generations.

I

Of the contents thereof if any desire to be informed, the *Banians* deliuer, that this booke, by them called the *SHASTER*, or the booke of their written word, consisted of these three tracts. The first whereof contained their morall lawe, or their booke of precepts, together with an explication vpon euery precept, and an appropriation of the precepts to their seuerall trybes or casts. The second tract vnfolded their ceremoniall lawe, shewing what ceremonies they were to vse in their worshippe. The third tract distinguished them into certaine casts or trybes, with peculiar obseruations meete to each cast or trybe: such was the summe of this booke deliuered to *Bremaw*; of which particulars, if any desire more distinct knowledge, we shall propose the pith and substance of this in that which followes.

First then the tract that containeth the morall lawe, and was by *Bremaw* published to the nations, comprised in the same



same eight commandements; which are these following.

*The first commandement, Thou shalt not kill any living creature whatsoever it be, haueing life in the same; for thou art a creature of mine, and so is it; thou are indued with a soule, and it is indued with the same; thou shalt not therefore spill the life of any thing that is mine.*

*The second, Thou shalt make a couenant with all thy five senses. First, with thine eyes that they behold not things that be euill, Secondly, with thine eares that they heare not things that be euill. Thirdly, with thy tongue, that it speake not things that be euill. Fourthly, with thy pallate that it taste not things that be euill, as wine or the flesh of living creatures. Fifthly, with thy hands, that they touch not things defiled.*

*The third, Thou shalt duely obserue the times of deuotion, thy washings, worshipping, and prayers to the Lord thy God, with a pure and upright heart.*

*The fourth, Thou shalt tell no false tales, or utter things that be vnttrue, by which thou mightest defraud thy brother in dealings, bargains, or contracts, by this cosenage to worke thine owne peculiar aduantage.*

*The fifth, Thou shalt be charitable to the poore, and administer to his need, meate, drinke, and money, as his necessity requireth, and thine owne ability inableth thee to giue.*

*The sixth, Thou shalt not oppresse, iniure, or doe violence to the poore, vsing thy power vnjustly to the ruine and overthrow of thy brother.*

*The seventh, Thou shalt celebrate certaine festiuals, yet not pampering the body with excesse of any thing, but shalt obserue certaine seasons for fasting, and breake off some houres of sleepe for watching, that thou mayest be fitter for deuotion and holinesse.*

*The eight, Thou shalt not steale from thy brother any thing how little soeuer it be, of things committed to thy trust in thy profession, or calling, but shalt content thy selfe with that which bee shall freely giue thee as thy hyre, considering that thou hast not right to that which another man calleth his.*

These eight commandements are bestowed amongst the foure tribes, or casts, ap-

propriating to each two commandements LORD. in feuerall.

First, *Brammon* and *Shuddery*, the priest and the merchant-man, are bound in the greatest strictnesse of religious obseruance, and hold the greatest agreement in their worshippe; and *Cuttery* and *Wyse*, the ruler and the handycrafts-man, do most correspond in theirs.

To the *Bramanes*, which are the priests, they giue the first and second commandements, as placing the strictest parts of religion in these two things: First, in the preservation of living creatures from destruction. Next, in abstinence from things forbidden, as in the eating of flesh, or drinking of wine, to which obseruance they doe also strictly enioyne the merchant-men.

Next, more particularly they apportion to *Shuddery*, as most proper to his profession, the third and fourth commandements; which two precepts inioyne to deuotion, and binde from cosenage in their dealings, a sinne too incident to those that are conuersant in the ballance and waights, who are so mysterious in that particular, as may well neede an act of religion to restraine them from such fraudulency.

To *Cuttery*, their rulers or magistrates, they attribute the fift and sixt commandements, as knowing oppression to be a sinne most common to the mighty, and inioyning them to charity, who are best able to relieue the necessities of the poore.

To *Wyse*, the handycrafts man, they refferre the seuenth and eight commandements, who haue neede of some free times of enioyment, yet giuen to lauishment of their gettings, if they were not admonished by their law; as also binding them from theft, a sinne to which they may be invited by opportunity, as they discharge the duties of their callings in other mens houses.

In fine, to all these they owe a generall obseruance, but are more particularly cautious in keeping the commandements appropriated to their owne peculiar tribe, or cast.

Since then the lawes or precepts of any religion, are no further to be allowed, than they seeme to be well grounded, and to carry truth and good reason with them; methinks, by the way, here is something to be excepted against, in this *Banian* law, which distinguishing them from men of other religions, may be examined, whether it may haue allowance or no.

The principall part of their law, admitting nothing prodigious to opinion, we passe ouer, onely that which cometh into exception, is that which is laid downe in the first and second commandement, and is



LORD. is enioyned the *Bramanes* and *Banians* to obserue, viz. First, that no liuing creature should be killed. Next, that they should not taste wine, or the flesh of liuing creatures.

Concerning the first, that they should not kill any liuing creature; the reason by which they confirme this precept, is because it is endued with the same soule that man is.

This we deny, for the *Banians* here seeme to halt in their philosophy, and the learning of the ancients, who haue deliuered, that there is a threefold kinde of soule. First, a vegetant soule, such as is in hearbes and plants. Secondly, a sentient soule, such as is in beasts. Thirdly, a reasonable soule, such as is in man; which soule hath more noble acts to distinguish it selfe from the other two; as also that when the other doe *interire cum corpore*, perish with the body; this suruiueth, and therefore is not the same soule, as shall hereafter be prooued.

But that this tenent of theirs denying the slaughter of liuing creatures for man's vse is nothing soueraigne, may appeare by scripture, which after the flood declareth God's allowance in this particular, *Gen. ix. 3. Euery mouing thing that liueth shall be meate for you, euen as the greene hearbe haue I given you all things.* Next by the custome of nations, who differenced in other points of religion, yet hold consent in this slaughter of liuing creatures; adde vnto this the practice of *Pythagoras*, one whose name they adore, and who did lay the ground whereon this secte leaneth, he killed an oxe, as *Athenaus* euicteth, *lib. 1. Dipnosoph.* in this distichon.

*Incluta Pythagoræ cum primum inuenta figura est,*

*Incluta, propterquam victima bos cecidit.*

Neither haue they beene abhorrent to this practice themselves, if the report of history may be credited, for *Cæsar Rhodigin.* reporteth, that the ancient *Indians* (which are the people now in mention) when *Liber Pater* discovered those parts, were cloathed with the skinned of wild beasts, which were before by them slaughtered. Neither is this obserued by the *Cutteries* now, and therefore may seeme to be a tradition of their owne deuising, neither from the beginning by them practised, nor by authenticke law iniointed, that it should be an essentiall part of their religion.

And so we come to their second commandment, which containeth in it two prohibitions to be excepted against. The first, forbidding to drinke of wine. The next, the eating of flesh.

To the first, whereas the *Bramanes* and the *Banians* abstaine from wine by a religious kinde of forbearance, at all times and seasons, without the absolute vse of the creature; we answer, that this is a tradition voyde of ground or reason.

First, it is against the common end and vse of the creature, which God hath made to comfort the heart of man, obseruing these cautions. First, that men drinke not too much for the quantity. Secondly, for the manner, not in boasting or ostentation. Thirdly, for the time, that it be not when religious fasts require forbearance. Fourthly, for the place, that it be not where the vse of the creature may bring scandall.

Next, those that haue abstained from wine, haue abstained for diuers endes, but not precisely obseruing the points of this *Banian* iniunction. The *Romans* did forbid their seruants the drinking of wine, but it was because they might not forget the bonds of duty towards their masters. They did also inioyne their women to abstaine from wine, but it was as *Valer. Max.* reports, *lib. 2. cap. 1. Ne in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus à libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam veni-rem esse consuevit.* Lest they should fall into defame, for that the next neighbour to intemperancie is vnbridled lust. The *Carthaginians* forbad their souldiers the iuyce of the grape, but it was lest drownesse should oppresse them in their watch to a publicke perill. The *Egyptian* priests called *Sarabaitæ*, did for temperate ends abstaine from wine, but it was not for euer. That false prophet, *Mahomet*, by his law forbad the drinking of wine, but it was a tradition and imposture of his owne, and the very *Mullaes* and priests do not obserue it alwayes at present, as I myselfe haue beheld. The *Leuites* were forbid to drinke wine, *Leuit. x. 9.* but it was only before their entrance into the sanctuary; that, as *Tremelius* obserueth, they might not deliver the counsels of the Lord with a troubled minde, but know what was fit for their administration: This was no perpetual prohibition. The *Nazarites* vowe was to drinke no wine, but this was not euer, but in the days of separation, *Numb. vi. 2, 3.* The *Rechabites* vowed to drinke no wine, but this was arbitrary, and not by religious obligation, and not for euer, but for 30 yeeres, the space between *Iehu* and *Ioachim* the latter, and *Zedekiah* king of *Iudab.* The ciuill abstinence neuertheless is not to be condemned, but this absolute disanulment of the vse of God's creature.

Againe, the confirmations of men most temperate, doe condemne this interdiction

of



of wine. *Gallen* called it the nurse of old age: *Mnesytheus* allowed men *laxare habenas*, to loose the reynes in merry and harmelesse potations. Rigid *Seneca* said, though a man ought not by drinking to drowne his sence, yet hee might by drinking drown his cares. *Plato*, that leaned to some of the opinions that this people hold, said that wine was a remedy of God against old age, that a man might haue *Vsum liberaliorem vini*, a more liberal vse of wine; and others thinke, that *Pythagoras* did not altogether abstaine from the Greeke wines. To conclude, historie reporteth of these ancient *Indians*, that they were *Φιλονοι*, i. e. *vini amatores*, louers of wine. *Cæl. Rhodigin. lib. 18. cap. 31.* reporteth, that at the death or funerall of one *Calanus*, there was a strife or contention mannaged *Acrotoposæ*, of healths drinking, and he that gained the victory, who was called *Pro-machus*, emptied foure great drinking bowles. So that this law prohibiting the vse of this creature, was not from the beginning, neither is obserued of all; and therefore seemes no prohibition worthy of obseruance or iniunction.

To the second prohibition, laid downe in their second commandment, concerning the eating of flesh, we thus make our entrance.

First, it is certaine, that these *Bramanes* or *Banians*, will not eate the flesh of liuing creatures, that haue either had life in them, or the likenesse thereof: egges therefore come within the precincts of their abstinence, because they suppose the life to be in the shell, by which they become hatched or animate: Roots also that are red are abstained from, because they hold consanguinity with the colour of blood. Neither will they cure their feauers by *Pblebotomy*, but by fasting, because they suppose some of the life issueth with the blood. The reason why they would deterre men from eating of flesh, is because they suppose there is a kinde of *Metempsychosis*, or passage of soules, from one creature to another, that the soules of men did enter into other liuing creatures, which should make men to abstaine from tasting of them. Which opinion of theirs, that it may appeare to be vaine, we will shew first who were the authors of this opinion, concerning such *Metempsychosis*, and how it hath had his succession of maintainers. Secondly, what is the effect and substance of this opinion. Thirdly, shew the reasons by which it is maintained. And lastly, proceed to the refutation of the same.

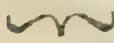
First, then, for the originall of this opinion, though certainly these *Indians* are a people ancient, yet may it not be thought, that this opinion began first among them.

First, because history that is the light of LORD. times, affirmeth them to be slaughterers of liuing creatures. Next, because *Plato* and *Pythagoras* that haue name for defending this *Metempsychosis*, or *Metempsomatosis*, haue an honoured mention amongst the people. It is likely therefore that they haue met with some of their writings, in this particular, by which they haue become knowne to them. Thirdly, because *Iamblichus* with *Chæremon* the *Stoicke*, thinke it to be first maintained amongst the *Egyptians*: That from the *Egyptians* then it came to the *Grecians*; that after it had bene rise amongst them, it was made more tenable by the wits and learnings of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Empedocles*, *Apolonius*, *Tyanus*, and *Proclus*, and might in *Liber Pater's* discoveries of those parts, be disperfed amongst this people, as well as by a scholler of *Pythagoras*, who spread it in *Italy*, where it found fauour with *Numa Pompilius*, that superstitious emperor, and was maintained by the *Albanienses*, and *Albigeneses*, confuted by *Albanasus*.

Secondly, touching the substance of this opinion that gained the patronage of so great schollers; they did hold, that there was a passage of soules of one creature into another, that this transmeation was of the soules of men into beasts, and of beasts into men: Hence *Pythagoras* auerred himselfe to be *Euphorbus*, and *Empedocles* in his verse affirmed himselfe to be a fish. This made it an abominable crime to eate flesh, lest, as saith *Tertullian in apologet. cont. gent. cap. 48. bubulam de aliquo proauo quispiam obsonaret*, some should eate vp the oxe-flesh, that had swallowed up his great grandfather's soule. This opinion gayned propugnation and defence by *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, by this meanes; because that belieuing the soule's immortality, it might gaine assent with others by this thought of its suruiuing in other bodies, after its relinquishment of the deceased, as *Greg. Tholoss.* affirmeth in his *Syntax. Art. Mirab. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Thirdly, the reasons by which they doe induce assent to this transanimation of soules, were these, because the soule was impure by the sinnes and corruptions of the body, therefore it was needfull it should be sublimed from this corruption, by such transmeation out of one body into another, as chymicall spirits gaine a purer essence by passing through the still or limbecke, diuers times; euery distillation taking away some of his grosse part, and leauing it more refined. Againe, because it was meet the soule should make a satisfaction for the filthinesse it had contracted, by remaining in the prison of the body, an exile from blessednesse a longer time, till



 LORD. this passage from one body to another had so purified them, that they might be fit to enter into the *Elysium*, or place of blisse.

Lastly, in confutation of this opinion for prohibition of eating of flesh from supposall of a *Metempsychosis*; we maintaine, that there is no such *Metempsychosis*, or transanimation of soules.

First, the immortality of the soule we euince without this *Chymera* of the fancy, by an argument drawne from man's dissolution: This is the nature of all things that are compounded; that they should be resolved into that which they were at first before their coniunction. Man is compounded of soule and body; the very dissolution of these two in death declareth this, for that cannot be separated that was not before conioyned. This composition was by life, and a creature without life, being in the soule alone, it is manifest that the soule had it before euer it came to the body, or else that which was dead could neuer haue liued by the means of that which was likewise dead. If the soule had this life before the body, it must needs haue the same after in his separation, and by consequence is immortall.

Next, in confutation of their reasons for this opinion, we answer: First, that the soule is not cleansed by such transmeation from body to body, but rather defiled by that filthinesse those bodies contract, as water becommeth defiled by infusion into an vncleane vessell. Much more, since they affirme the soules of men enter into beasts, which are creatures of greater impurity. Besides, those spirits that are subtiliated by stils and lymbeckes, the fire is effectually to their subliming, but the bodies haue not the goodnesse in them that may tend to the soule's greater purity in such transmeation. To conclude, it is improbable the soule should be enjoined to such a satisfaction for sinne, as tendeth to its greater defilement. These reasons therefore auaille little to confirme the soule's transmeation in the manner premised.

We in the last place shall prooue this *Metempsychosis*, to be no other then a vaine imagination by the reasons following.

1. Then, that the soules are not deuied from one another *per traducem*, by way of traduction, appeareth by *Adam's*

speech to *Eue*, Gen. ii. 23. *This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh*: He doth not say, soule of my soule, and spirit of my spirit. It appeareth then, that though shee receiued her body from *Adam*, yet she had her soule from God. And this is that which *Zachery* affirmeth, *Zach. xii. 1. The Lord formeth the spirit of a man within him*: whence *Augustine* saith, *Eam infundendo creari, & creando infundi*, That the soule being put into man was created, and by creating was into man infused; if therefore God created some, why not all?

2. Of spiritual things and corporal, there should seeme the same manner of increase; but the bodies haue new beings, therefore the soules.

3. If the soules were purified by their passage from one body to another, then that man that had the soule last, should be capable of all that knowledge that was enjoyed by them that had it before, and so the infant should be an experienced creature in past occurrences: but we discern no such extraordinary ripenesse of knowledge in one more than another, but that all our habits are gained by industry; which whilst *Plato* would excuse, saying, that the wandering soules did receiue from the diuell a draught of the cuppe of *Oblivion*, and so were forgetfull of that which is past; *Irenaeus* thus taunteth him: If *Plato* had tryall that his soule was obtused with such a draught: I wonder that he could remember, that his soule had lost her remembrance.

Lastly, If this were true, it would follow, that the soules of beasts should be immortall, which would be absurd to thinke in these better knowing times. Having therefore prooued this opinion of passage of soules out of one body into another to be a fancy, and nothing reall; this may be no just cause to detaine them from eating the flesh of creatures, that haue had life in them. Neither would they, if there were great reason to the contrary, permit it as they doe in the casts of *Cuttery* and *Wyse*, whom, if they pleased, they might restraine by the like iniunction. All which thus euenced, this already deliuered may be sufficient to publish concerning the first tract in the booke delivered to *Bremaw*, touching the morall law.



## C H A P. IX.

LORD.

*Of the second tract of the booke deliuered to Bremaw, containing the ceremoniall lawe, in their washings, annointings, offerings vnder greene trees, prayers, pilgrimages, invocations, adorations, together with the formes of their baptizings, marriages, and burials customary amongst them.*

THE second tract of the booke deliuered to *Bremaw*, comprized certaine ceremoniall iniunctions by them to be obserued in the particulars following, the knowledge of which being something materiall to set forth the religion of this people, shall be the subject of this present chapter.

**Washings.** First, then, they are enjoined to frequent washings of their bodies in riuers; the originall of which custome, they say, began with this second age of the world, and was made a part of their worshippe, to keep in memory the destruction that was brought vpon the world for their defilement and sinne. The ceremony obserued in their washings is this; first, to besmeare their bodies in the mudde of the riuier, the embleme of man's filthinesse and corruption by nature; then walking into the riuier, and turning their faces towards the sunne, the *Bramane* vtters this prayer: *Oh Lord, this man is foule and polluted as the clay or mudde of this riuier, but the water thereof can purge off the defilement; doe thou in like manner cleanse away his sinne*; so diuing and plunging himselfe three times in the riuier, whilst the *Bramane* iterateth the name of riuier wherein he washeth, called *Tappee*, with the names of other riuers in *India*, celebrated for these customary washings, as *Gonga* and *Nerboda*, with other like riuers, the party shaking in his hand certaine graines of rice, as his offering on the water, receiuing absolution for sinnes past, is there dismissed.

**Anointings.** Secondly, they vse a certaine vnction in the forehead, of red painting, that, hauing certain graines stucke in the glutinous matter, is as their testimony that God hath marked them for his people; this is no other then to keepe in minde the memory of their baptisme, which accordingly as the marke vanisheth, is daily by them renewed, according to their washings, with the vtterance of certaine words accompanying the action, to put them in minde to be such as becometh God's marke.

**Offerings and prayers vnder green trees.** Thirdly, they are enjoined to tender certaine offerings and prayers vnder greene trees; the originall of which custome they deriue from *Wysse*, to whom, they

say, God appeared by vision under a tree, as is formerly mentioned, with iniunction of worshippe in those places; so that the *Bramanes*, under such greene tree, erect temples to pagods, in which they giue attendance to performe religious rites and ceremonies, to such as repaire thither. The tree peculiarized for this worshippe, is called by some, as by *Pliny* and others, *Ficus Indica*, the *Indian* fig-tree; and by *Goropius Becanus*, affirmed to be the tree of life that grew in the garden of *Eden*; how farre forth to be beleued, I referre to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* first booke of the history of the world, Part 1. Chap. 4. Parag. 1, 2, 3. where the more probable opinion is giuen. Certaine it is, that to this tree much is attributed by them, and they suppose some notable mischance shall happen to that party that violateth or iniureth the least bough or branch of the same. It is a tree of fertill growth, whose branches be spreading, ample and spacious; from whose boughs so dispred, do descend certaine stemmes, that, rooting themselues anew in the earth, propagate an offspring, and so dilate it, that it seemeth beyond the custome of other trees to be capacious. To this tree when they repaire, they thither bring offerings; there they receiue vnctions, and there are sprinklings of seuerall coloured powders; there they pay their adorations, which they number by the clapper of a little bell; there they pray for health, for riches, for fruitfulness of issue, for successe in affaires; there they often celebrate their festiuals with great concourse. In which may-game of superstition to make further inquiry, would be but vaine and fruitlesse.

Fourthly, they are enjoined to certaine Prayers in their temples, which may hold their some resemblance of common seruice, were it purged of superstitious ceremonie; the summe of which deuotion, is the repetition of certaine names of God, dilated and explained; where also they vse processions, with singing, and loud tinckling of bells; which chaunting is of their commandements, with offerings to images, and such like impertinent ser-vices.

Fifthly,



**LORD.** Fifthly, they are enioyned to pilgrimage to riuers farre remote, as to the riuier *Ganges*, there to wash their bodies, and to pay their offerings, that the concourse of people repairing thither is great, and the golden offerings of treasure and iewels throwne into his siluer waues, vnualueable. Hee is likewise esteemed blessed and purified from sinne, that can dye with a pallate moystened with that water.

**Invocations.** Sixtly, another portion of their worshippe they bestowe in inuocation of saints, to whom they attribute the powers of giuing successe to seuerall affaires; they therefore that would be happy in marriage, inuoke *Hurmount*; they that are to begin the workes of architecture, *Gunnez*; they that want health, *Vegenaut*; the soldier in his assault in feates of armes, cries, *Bimobem*; the miserable inuoke *Syer*; and they that are in prosperity, giue their orisons to *Mycasser*.

**Adorations.** Seuenthly, their lawe bindes them to giue worshippe to God, vpon sight of any of his creatures first presented to the eye after the rising sunne: especially they pay their deuotion to the sunne and moone, which they call the two eyes of God; as also to some beasts which they hold more cleane then others, they giue extraordinary kinde usage; as to kine and buffaloes, to whom they attribute so much innocence and goodnesse by the soules of men entring into them, that they besmeare the floores of their houses with their dung, and thinke the ground sanctified by such pollution.

**Baptisms.** In the eighth place, touching their baptizings or naming of their children, the ceremony thereof is different in the cast of the *Bramanes*, and other casts: for those that are of the other casts, are onely washt in water; then some of the kindred of the party deliuered, menaceth the point of a writing penne against the forehead of the child, with this short prayer, That God would write good things in the front of that child. All those then that are present, saying, Amen to that prayer, they giue to the child the name by which hee shall be called; and so putting an vnction of red oyntment in the midst of his forehead, as a signe that the infant is receiued into their church, and marked for one of God's children, the ceremony is alfolued. But then the children that are of the cast of the *Bramanes*, are not onely washed with water, but annointed with oyle, with certain words of consecration, in this manner: *Oh Lord, we present vnto thee this child, borne of a holy trybe, annointed with oyle, and cleansed with water; vnto which adding the for-*

mer ceremonies, they all pray that hee may liue a righteous obseruer of the lawe of the *Bramanes*: so enquiring out the exact time of the child's birth, they calculate his natiuity, gathering by the position of the twelue signes of heauen, the chances or mischances that may happen vnto him; all which they conceale, and at the day of the child's marriage (which they account one of the happiest dayes in his life) publish the dangers past, and the coniecturall euils to come in the sequeale of his life.

In the ninth place, concerning their Marriages. It is considerable, that the time is different from the custome of other nations; for they marry about the seuenth yeere of their age, because they account marriage one of the most blessed actions of man's life; to dye without which they account it a great unhappinesse, which often happeneth by protractation and delay of time; as also that the parents might, before their death, see their children disposed, which cometh to passe by these early coniunctions. Next for their contract in marriage, the parents of the children do prepare the way by priuate conference; the intention and purpose being made knowne, and betwixt them agreed vpon, then there are messengers and presents sent to the parents of the mayden to be married, with the noyse of trumpet and drumme, and the singing of songs in the praise of the perfections of the bride, which may truly giue her the merite of one worthy to be coueted and sought vnto: which presents being accepted, then there are gifts sent backe to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptiall proffer, with like singing of encomiasticks in praise of the bridegroom, setting him forth to be so well composed, as may well deserue acceptance. So the *Bramanes* appointing a day for the solemnization of the marriage, then there is a certaine show, to publish to the whole towne this marriage intended. This show is first by the bridegroom, who, in nuptiall pompe, attended with all the mens children in the towne, of the same trybe, some on horsebacke, some in pallankins, some in coaches, all adorned with iewels, scarfes, and pageant-like habiliments, make their cursitation round about the most publicke streets in the towne, with trumpets and kettle-drummes, and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is distinguished from the rest by a crowne on his head, decked with iewels very rich. And having thus published himselfe, the next day followeth the bride in like pompe crowned, attended with all the girles of the same trybe,



trybe, in no lesse brauery and triumphant accommodation, exposed to view of the spectators. The day drawing to his decline, they repaire home to accomplish the full rites of marriage. The ceremony obserued in their marriage, is, that they neuer are conioyned together but at the going downe of the sunne, at which time a fire is made, and interposed betweene the married couple, to intimate the ardency that ought to be in their affections; then there is a silken string that incloseth both their bodies, to witnesse the insoluble bond of wedlocke, that in marriage there ought to be no desertion or forsaking one another. After this bond there is a cloath interposed betwixt them, shewing, that before marriage they ought not to make their nakednes knowne one to another. This custome, they say, was taken from the meeting of *Brammon* with *Sauatree*, who, because they were naked, couered their immodest parts till the words of matrimony were uttered. So the *Bramanes* pronouncing certaine words enioyning the man to affoord all things conuenient to the woman, and charging the woman to loyalty in the marriage vowe, with pronunciation of a blessing of fruitfull issue to them both; the speeches concluded, the cloath interposed, rest away; the bond by which they were engirt, vnloosed, and after that, full freedome to communicate themselves to each other. Dowry there is none giuen, that the drifts of marriage might not be mercenary, saue the iewels worne on the bridall day; and to the feast none repaire but those of the same cast. To conclude, in marriage they haue some particular legall iniunctions, by which the trybes are differenced; as first, that no woman may be admitted to second marriage, except in the trybe of *Wyse*, which are in the handycrafts men. Secondly, that men in all trybes are admitted to second marriages, except in the *Bramanes*. Thirdly, that euery trybe do marry of such as are of his owne cast: therefore the *Bramanes* must marry with such as are descended from the *Bramanes*; and the *Cutteryes* with such as are descended from the *Cutteryes*; so likewise the *Shudderyes*. But the *Wyses* are not only enioyned to match into their owne trybe, but into such as be of their owne trade; as a barber's sonne to a barber's daughter, and so of others, to keepe their trybes and trades from commixtion.

Burials.

Lastly, as for their burials, this is their custome; when any man is desperately sicke, and past hope of recouery, they enioyn him to vtter *Narraune*, which is one of the names of God, importing

mercy to sinners, of which mercy at that time he standeth most in need. His spirits languishing, they stretch out his hande, pouring faire water into it, as the offering of his life, praying to *Kistneruppon* the god of the water, to present him pure to God, with this offering of his hand. His life being departed, they wash his body as a testimony of his cleanness and purity; this is the ceremony obserued in the visitation of their sicke. After this, for the buriall of their dead; it is after this manner. First, they beare the dead body to a riuer's side appropriate to such purpose, where setting the corps downe on the ground, the *Bramane* vttereth these words; *Ob earth, we commend vnto thee this our brother; whilst he liued thou hadst an interest in him: of the earth hee was made, by the blessing of the earth hee was fed, and therefore now hee is dead, we surrender him vnto thee.* After this, putting combustible matter to the body, accended and lighted by the helpe of sweete oyl, and aromaticall odours strewed thereon, the *Bramane* saith, *Ob fire, whilst hee liued, thou hadst a claime in him, by whose naturall beate hee subsisted, we return therefore his body to thee, that thou shouldst purge it.* Then the sonne of the deceased taketh a pot of water, and setteth it on the ground, vpon which hee setteth a pot of milke, when throwing a stone at the lower pot, hee breaketh it to sheards, which rendereth the water to losse, and perishing; the vessell of milke aboue, defrauded of his support, powreth forth his humidity on the ground likewise; upon which the sonne thus moralizeth the action, that, as the stone by his violence caused the vessels to yeeld forth their humour, so did the assault of sicknesse ruin his father's body, and bring it to losse, as milke and water that is spilt on the ground, neuer to be redeemed. The body then being incinerated or burnt to ashes, they disperse the ashes abroad into the ayre, the *Bramane* vttering these words, *Ob ayre, whilst hee liued by thee hee breathed; and now hauing breathed his last, we yeeld him to thee.* The ashes falling on the water, the *Bramane* saith, *Ob water, whilst hee liued thy moisture did sustaine him; and now his body is dispersed, take thy part in him.* So giue they every element his owne; for as they affirme man to haue his life continued by the foure elements, so they say hee ought to be distributed amongst them at his death. After this funerall solemnity, the *Bramane* presenteth to the sonne or neereft kindred of the deceased, a register of the deceases of his ancestors, as also readeth to him the law of mourners; that



**LORD.** that for tenne days hee must eate no beetle, nor oyle his head, nor put on cleane cloathes, but once euery month throughout the whole yeere, on the day of the month in which his father deceased, must make a feast, and pay a visitation to that riuer that drunke vp his father's ashes. Since these lawes and iniunctions, there hath sprung vp a custome amongst them, that the women that suruiue their husbands, should offer themselues vp alieue to be sacrificed in the flames with them, which to this day is obserued in some places, and for some persons of greater worth, though the examples be more rare now than in former times; of which custome *Propertius* thus speaketh;

Wives  
burnt with  
their husbands.

*Felix Eois lex funeris vna maritis,  
Quos Aurora suis rubra colorat aquis :  
Namq; ubi mortifero iacta est fax ultima  
lecto,  
Vxorum suis stat pia turba comis.  
Et certamen habent leti, quæ viua sequatur  
Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori.  
Ardent viatrices & flammæ pectora præbent,  
Imponuntq; suis ora perusta viris.*

The English.

A happy funerall law those *Indians* hold,  
Where bright *Aurora* shines with beames of gold ;  
For when in fiery brands the husbands lye,  
The women stand with hanging tresses by ;  
And striue who to their husbands first may turne  
A body chaste into the flaming urne ;  
Whilst to the fire they yeeld a constant brest,  
And with parcht mouthes do kisse their loues to rest.

But tho' *Propertius* maketh this to be a witnesse of their coniugal chastity, yet *Strabo* maketh the ground thereof to be the *Indian* womens disloyalty to their husbands ; who, in former times, by secret meanes, vntimely poisoned them, to enioy their paramours. The *Raiaks* therefore to restraine this practice, did procure the *Bramanes* to make it an act of religion to interdict second marriages to the women ; and that after the decease of the husband, the woman should no longer suruiue, that so they might become more carefull of their preservation. The chaster sort, to gaine an honour out of the infamy cast vpon their sexe, did, by voluntary sufferance, remooue all suspicion of such machination of euill, since they were so ready to cope with the terror of death, to confirme their loue ; the ceremony whereof is this. When their husbands dye, they array themselues in their best ornaments and iewels, and accompany the body to the funerall pit, singing all the way encomiasticke songs in praise of their deceased husbands, expressing a desire to be with them. The body then being layd in the graue, the woman with a chearefull countenance imparteth her iewels to her dearest friends, leapeth in to the corps, whose head shee layeth in her lappe ; the musicke sounding aloud, the pile is kindled by the fire, and set on a flame, whilst shee maketh herselfe a martyr to approue her loue.

These obseruances, partly iniointed by their lawe, and by themselues instanced in their present practice, may haue beene sufficient to giue you information what might be the substance of the second tract of the booke deliuered to *Bremaw*. What the third tract imported, and how it is confirmed by their present manners and customs, we shall glance at in the following chapters.

## CHAP. X.

*Of the third tract deliuered to Bremaw, concerning the foure trybes or casts ; their iniunction to follow that order of gouernment, and so touching the first of those trybes called the Bramanes ; the deriuation of the name, their kindes, the number of their casts, their ministerial discharge, studies, and schoole discipline.*

**A**FTER the consideration of the ceremonies enioined and obserued by them in matters of their worshippe, as it was the subiect of the second tract of the booke deliuered to *Bremaw*, now followeth the third tract, declaring in what manner of order or distinction they

should liue, and what was meete for euery one to obserue in his owne particular trybe.

And because there could bee no inuen- Four  
tion more commodious for the gouern-tribes.  
ment of the world, then was vsed by the  
foure trybes in the first age, as to have  
*Bramanes*



*Bramanes* to instruct the people in matters of religion; to haue *Cutteryes* that should sway the scepter, and keepe men in obedience; to haue merchant men that should vse trafficke and trade, as did *Skuddery*; to haue seruile and manufactory men that should serue the vses of the world in the handicrafts, as did *Wyse*: therefore they were by this tract bound to keepe their owne peculiar trybe or cast, and to obserue what was proper to the faculties of each in seuerall; which accordingly was done, and is yet continued so farre as it lyeth in their power to conserue this ancient forme of gouernment and policie; wherein if I shall somewhat digresse from their iniunctions, which for the most part present things lesse pertinent to be knowne, to a more particular display of their manners, I shall better discharge the parts required in this tract.

*Bramanes.* The *Bramanes* then being the first of these trybes, something shall be noted in particular touching them; and first of the name *Bramane*. *Suidas* is of opinion, that they are called *Bremanes* of one *Brachman* that was the first prescriber of their rites. *Postellus*, lib. d. *Origin. Cap.* 13. & 15. affirmeth them to be descended from *Abraham* by *Cheturab*, who seated themselves in *India*, and that so they were called *Abrahamanes*; the word suffering a *Syncope*, they, in the tract of time, for breuity of pronounciation, became called by the name of *Bramanes*. But they neither know of any such as *Brachman*, neither haue they heard of *Abraham*, but affirme they receiue this name of *Bramanes* from *Brammon*, which was the first that euer exercised their priestly function, as they finde by record; or else from *Bremaw*, by adiection of this particule (*nes*), who was the first of the second age, to whom the lawe was deliuered.

Two sorts of *Bramanes*. Touching the kindes of these *Bramanes*, taking them for such as discharge the priestly office amongst the people, they are of two sorts; first, the more common *Bramanes*, of which there are a great number in *India*; or the more speciall, of which there be fewer; and these be called by the *Banians*, *Verteas*, by the *Moores*, *Sevrabs*.

Common *Bramanes*. The common *Bramane* hath eighty-two casts or trybes, assuming to themselves the names of that trybe; which were so many wise men or schollers famed for their learning amongst them, called *Augurs*, or south-sayers, of such a place of dwelling. Thus the prime of them was called *Visalnagranager*, that is, the augur of *Visalnagra*; the second *Vulnagranauger*, that is, the augur of *Vulnagra*, a towne so called; and

so of the rest according to these eighty-LORD. two casts to be distinguished, being *Bramanes* of the discipline of such an augur.

These *Bramanes*, as they discharge their ministeriall function in praying with the people, or reading their lawe, haue some peculiar iniunctions; as first, that they should straine their bodies into certain mimickall gestures, so as may most face the people to gaze vpon them and listen to them; that they pray with both their hands open to heauen, as ready to receiue the things they pray for; that they pray with demissive eyelids, and sitting with their knees deflected vnder them, to shew their feare and reuerence. Next, that they must neuer reade of the booke deliuered to *Bremaw*, but it must be by a kinde of singing, and quauering of the voyce, which, they say, was not only practised by *Bremaw* when it was published, but was also iniointed by God, that they might make his lawe as the matter of their reioicing.

The *Bramanes* are likewise the seminaries of discipline amongst the younger sort of that cast, whose orders, both in their initiation and entrance into that manner of learning, is obseruable; as also no lesse in their confirmation, and ordination to the priesthood: for first, about the seuenth yeere of their age, they are receiued to discipline, being cleane washed, to intimate the purity of that cast; then they are receiued naked, to shew that they haue stript off all other cares, to apply themselves to study; then their heads are shauen, a long locke being only left on the hinder part of the head, to shew that they must not forsake their study; if they doe, by that locke they shall be drawne backe againe. They are bound to a *Pythagorean* silence and attention, and prohibited hauking, spitting, or coughing; wearing about their loynes a girdle of an antilope's skinne, and another thong of the same about their necke, descending vnder the left arme. About the fourteenth yeere of their age (if they be capable) they are admitted to be *Bramanes*, exchanging those leather thongs for foure sealing threds that come over the right shoulder, and vnder the right arme, which they sleepe withall, and neuer put off, but weare them in honour of God, and the three persons, *Bremaw*, *Vysney*, and *Ruddery*, and as the badge of their profession. In which ordination they are iniointed, first, not to alter their cast or trybe; next, to obserue all things iniointed in the *Bramanes* lawe; lastly, not to communicate the mysteries of their lawes to any of a different religion. These bee the most of the principall



LORD. cipall things obserued by these *Bramanes*.

Verteas,  
or special  
Bramanes.

Now for the more speciall *Bramane*, by them called the *Vertea*; he is some man of the cast of the *Skudderies*, or merchant men, who for deuotion taketh this condition on him: Hee is one, that for his habit weareth a woollen garment of white, descended to the middle of his thigh, leauing the lower parts naked: His head is alwayes vncouered, as a witnesse of his perpetuall reuerence of God aboue. They doe not shaue, but plucke off all the hayre on their heads, saue some small remainder on the crowne: The like they do from their chinne also.

Of this sort of *Bramane* there be feuerall casts likewise; one is called the *Soncaes*, and these go not to church, but performe diuine rites at home. Another is of the *Tuppaes*; these go to church to pray. A third is of the *Curtburs*, and these pray by themselues, without society. A fourth called the *Onkeleaus*; and these indure not images. A fift called the *Pusbaleaus*, the most strict of them all.

These kinde of *Bramanes* haue a festiuall called *Putcheson*, which is kept once euery

month, by five dayes solemnization, but betwixt each day of the five they keepe a fast: This feast is kept at the ablest mens houses; and commonly at those times a pension is giuen, to restraine the death of cattell, or other liuing creatures.

More strict they seeme to be in many things then the common *Bramanes*, for the other are not forbidden marriage, as these are; more abstinent they are in dyet, for out of the former feasts they eate nothing, but what is giuen them, and reserue nothing for another meale. More cautelous they are for the preseruacion of things animate, for they will drinke no water but boyl'd, that so the vapour which they suppose the life of the water, may goe out. They disperse their very dung and ordure with a beasome, lest it should generate worms that be subject to destruction; and they keep an hospital of lame and maimed flying fowle, redeemed by a price, which they seeke to restore: They haue all things common, but place no faith in outward washings, but rather embrace a carelesse and fordid nastinesse. And this is sufficient to note concerning this kinde of *Bramane*. Great strictnesse.

## C H A P. XI.

*Concerning the second tribe or cast, called the Cutteryes, presenting them in their flourishing estate, their declining estate, and their present estate.*

Cutteries.

THE second cast or trybe being the *Cutteryes*, had their denomination from *Cuttery*, the second sonne of *Pourous*, who because domination and rule was committed vnto him, therefore all soldiers and kings are said to be of his trybe. That particular of *Bremarw's* booke that concerned this cast or trybe, contained certaine precepts of gouernment and policie; the knowledge of which being but of common import, I rather chuse to omit, and proceede to shew some other things notable concerning this trybe, touching their state or condition. These *Cutteryes* may then be considered, either according as they were in their flourishing estate, or else in their declining estate, or in their present estate.

Ancient  
kings of  
India.

As they were in their flourishing estate, they were the ancient kings and rulers of *India*, especially of that part called *Guzzarat*, and were called by the name of *Raiabs*, which signifieth a king, whereof some were of greater dominion than other, according as they were of greater force. These *Raiabs* had principally four men about them of eminency. The first of which were the *Bramanes*, who by sooth-saying and augury did shew the kings what time was most meete to beginne their designs

to prosecute them with successe. The second was one called the *Pardon*, which was a man of policy in the carriage of state businesse, and dispatched all matters of iudicature, hauing reference to the king for iustice. The third was one that was called the *Moldar*, or the king's chamberlaine, who was most commonly present with the king, as the companion of his conuersation. The fourth was the generall of the king's armies in the field, called *Disnacke*, who was sent abroad about all expeditions of warre. These were the foure that had chiefe eminency about the king. Furthermore, these *Raiabs* are said to haue thirty-six trybes, as the noble families whence they were descended; some were of the cast or trybe of *Chaurah*; some of the *Sollenkees*; some of the trybe of *Vaggela*; some of the *Dodepuchaes*; some of the *Paramars*; that so no man of obscure birth might presse to dignity, but being descended from some of the thirty-six families: Thus the *Raiabs* liued in their flourishing estate.

Now touching their declining state: It is recorded in their history, that one *Ranne-deuill*, a vertuous woman, did at her death prophecy the decline of the *Banian* state,

in



in the time of *Rauisaldee*, chiefe *Raiab*; the beginning of which decline should be in his next successor's daies, which they say accordingly happened, as shall appeare by the story following.

It is then deliuered in their history, that there was a *Raiab* called *Rauisaldee*, who had a sonne called *Syderaijsaldee*: *Rauisaldee* suffering the common change of mortalitie, his sonne was careful to expresse his duty to his deceased father, in a costly monument, at a place called *Sythepolalpore*, which being finished with great curiositie of art, and cost correspondent to that curiosity, being pleased with the worke, and desiring to keep his father's memory and his owne lasting by that monument, hee consulted with the *Bramanes*, to know whether that temple should long abide; or if that pile of goodly workmanship should suffer ruine, by whom it should be defaced. It was diuined to him by one *Madewnauger*, one famous in the discipline of the *Bramanes*, that one *Sultan Alaudin*, a *Patan*, king of *Delee*, should deface the same; as also gaine some great conquest in *Guzzarat*. *Syderaijsaldee* hopefull to preuent the defacement of this temple, by some timely composition, dispeeded his *Bramane Madewnauger*, and his pardon, to *Delee*, to inquire out the said *Alaudin*, and by a summe of money to procure the peace of his father's bones, and the sparing of the temple. But comming thither they could finde no such man of any eminency, but another in the gouernment: onely by strict inquisition they met with a wood-gatherer there, who had a sonne so called; thither they repaire to the amazement of *Alaudin's* poor parents; they make knowne the reason of their comming; and finde the boy administring food to a young kid in his father's backside. The *Bramane* proposing to him the high fortunes that should betyde him in being king of *Delee*, and in the conquest of *Guzzarat*; as also the end of their message, that *Syderaijsaldee* did greet him, and did desire him that when those things should happen, and hee should inuade *Guzzarat*, that hee would forbear to deface the temple and monument of his father erected at *Sythepolalpore*; as a motiue to which fauour *Syderaijsaldee* did freely present him with a summe of money, which summe they tendered to *Alaudin*. *Alaudin* boldly answered, that hee was not in appearance capable of any such fortunes, but if the heauens had so set it downe in their great volume, he could not alter it, but must lay waste the temple; and in the majesty of his nature refused the gift and treasure brought him. His parents, better instructed by their owne necessitie what was meete for him to doe, then his heroicke

disposition would be taught, importuned LORD. him to take the treasure, vrging their owne needes, and how conuenient a helpe it might be to raise him to those fortunes that were to him diuined. So apprehending the counsell to be but reasonable, hee tooke the treasure, and gaue an *Escript*, or writing, that albeit the heauens had decreed that he should scatter some stones of that building, yet hee would picke them out of the corners thereof in such manner as should fulfil his fortune, and make good his promised fauour to *Syderaijsaldee*, in the sparing of that temple and tombe of his father. By this money of composition, *Alaudin* gathered souldiers, and betooke himselfe to armes, wherein he proued himselfe so resolute, that hee gained great fame, whereunto his diuining fortunes became such a spur, that he was made king of *Delee*, and after that made inuasiue conquests on *Guzzarat*, fulfilled his promise to *Syderaijsaldee* in treatie, on the fore mentioned businesse. In which conquest hee ouerthrew many *Raiabs*, to the great ruine and decline of the *Banian* state. But growing weary of this long warre, and many *Raiabs* flying to places inaccessible, led with a desire to returne to *Delee*, his natieue place, hee committed the further managing of these warres to one *Futtercon*, that was his cupbearer, in this manner: For *Alaudin* considering how great hee was grown from nothing (and that accidentally) he determined as accidentally to heape this fortune vpon another; purposing ouer night with himselfe, that who-soeuer did first present him the next with any gift, on him to confirme the gouernment of that part of *Guzzaret* hee had conquered. It so fell out, that whilst this secret was lodged vp in the king's breast, that the fore-mentioned *Futtercon*, the king's wine-keeper, by the rising sunne tendered a cuppe of wine to the king's hand, who smiled and looked fauourably vpon him, and in the presence of his army, confirmed him his successor in the gouernment of that he had wonne, inioyning them all so to acknowledge him, and to doe whatsoeuer he should command in the further prosecution of that conquest: So *Sultan Alaudin* departed to *Delee*, and the said *Futtercon* did further inuade *Guzzarat*, and so did the rest of the *Mahometans* that succeeded him, to the decline of the *Banian* state and regiment.

Now for their present estate, some of Their present state. the *Raiabs* yeelded, others flying to retyrements impregnable, lay in the mawe of the country, and could not be conquered euen to this day; but making outroades, prey on the *Cassaloes* passing by the way; and sometimes come to the skirts of their strongest and most populous townes, haue-



LORD. ing many resolute Souldiers to go on in these attempts of rapine, called *Rasbpoots*, which implyeth as much as the sonnes of kings; for being of the cast of the *Cutteryes*, it is like they were nobly descended, and some of the progeny of those that were ouerrune in the *Guzzarat* conquest. Of those that liue vnconquered at this

day, such a one is *Raiab Surmulgee*, liuing at *Raspeeplaw*; *Raiab Berumshaw*, at *Molere*; *Raiab Ramnager*; *Raiab Barmulgee*, and the great *Rannab*, who hath fought many set battels with the *Mogul's* forces. This may be obseruable concerning the cast of the *Cutteryes*.

## C H A P. XII.

*Of the third tribe or cast called the Shudderyes; of the meaning of the name Banian; of their casts, and the forme of their contracts, in buying and selling.*

Shudderyes.

THE third sonne of *Pourous* being called *Shuddery*, and the profession appointed him to follow being merchandize, all such as liue in the nature of merchants are comprized vnder this name, and belong to this cast: that which the booke deliuered to *Bremaw* contained concerning this tribe, was no other then a summary of religious aduertisements, proper to the carriage of this profession, enioining them to truth in their words and dealings, and to auoyd all practises of circumuention in buying and selling. What may be further worthy of note concerning this tribe (being those that are most properly called *Banians*) at present is either concerning the name *Banian*, the number of their casts, or the forme of their contracts of buying and selling.

Banians.

First, vnder the name of *Banians* is comprized either such as are merchants onely, or brokers for the merchant, for nothing is bought but by the mediation of these, who are called *Banians*, which importeth as much in the *Bramanes* language wherein their law is written, as a people innocent and harmelesse, because they will not indure to see a fly or worme, or any thing liuing iniured, and being

strucken, beare it patiently without resisting againe.

Next for the number of their casts, they are equall to the *Bramanes*, being the self same casts, chusing either to be vnder their discipline, that are *Visalnagranagers*, or *Vulnagranagers*, from the peculiar instruction of which *Bramanes* they are guided in matters belonging to religious worshippe; for being most like vnto the *Bramanes* in their law, they more strictly follow their iniunctions then the other tribes.

Lastly, their forme of contract in buying and selling is something notable, and distinct from the custome of other nations; for the broaker that beateth the price with him that selleth, looseth his *Pamerin*, that is folded about his waste, and dispreading it vpon his knee, with hands folded vnderneath, by their fingers-ends the price of pounds, shillings, or pence is pitched, as the chapman is intended to giue; the seller in like manner intimateth how much hee purposeth to haue, which silent kinde of composition they say their law enioyneth as the forme of their contract.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Of the fourth cast called the Wyfes, the meaning of the name, their kindes and seuerall casts; Bremaw's time is expired, he is tooke vp to heauen; the second age is concluded by the destruction of winde and tempest.*

Wyfes.

LASTLY, as the fourth sonne of *Pourous* was called *Wyse*, and was the master of the mechanicks or handycrafts, so all manufactory men were to belong to the cast of the *Wyfes*. Those directions that were in *Bremaw's* booke for these, were in precepts touching their behaiours in their callings.

This name *Wyse* implyes as much as one that is seruile or instrumentary, for this cause as it may be supposed, because they are seruile or helpfull to such as

neede their art; as was *Wyse*, and those descended from him, who were indued with diuers inuentions; these people are at this present most ordinarily called by the name of *Gentiles*.

Which *Gentiles* are of two sorts or kindes: first, the purer *Gentile*, such as liueth obseruant of the dyet of the *Banians*, abstaining from flesh and wine, or vsing both very seldome; or else the *Gentile Visceraun*, called the impure or vncleane *Gentile*, which taketh a greater liberty.



liberty in dyet, eating flesh or fish, or things animate; such are the husbandmen or inferior sort of people called the *Coulees*.

The purer sort of *Gentile*, as they hold greatest relation in their religious liberty with *Cutteryes*, so they agree in the number of their casts, having six and thirty, according to the number of the trades or professions practised amongst them. In the particular of their handicrafts this is observable, that they make as few instruments serve for the effectuating of diuers workes as may be; and whatsoever they do, is contrary to the Christiane forme of working, for the most part. Such is the substance of the third tract of the booke deliuered to *Bremaw*, concerning the foure trybes or casts, somewhat accommodate to their present manners.

This booke comprizing in it the platforme of religion and gouernment thus deliuered to *Bremaw*, was by him communicated to the *Bramanes* of those times, and by them published to the people, shewing what religion they should obserue, and how they should liue in their seuerall trybes or casts. After which, according to the prescriptions therein, the rulers did keepe the people in the order of gouernment; the priests or *Bramanes* did giue aduise in matters of religion; the merchants did follow traffique and merchandizing; and the handicrafts men did follow their seuerall professions, seruing the needes of all men that had vse of them. All things hauing a good beginning in this second age, religion was embraced, prayers were made to God, and the three persons *Bremaw*, *Vystney* and *Ruddery*: the bankes of the riuers were frequented, and daily washings were not neglected.

Degenera-  
y of these  
tribes. But after the people were multiplyed, the succeeding generations were not of the primitiue integrity, but the lower the times grewe, the worse they were at the bottome. The *Bramanes* grewe hypo-

criticall and lip-laborious; the *Cutteryes* of Lord. rulers, swelled with pride and ambition, cryed out for larger territories, meditating uniuert amplications of gouernment; the merchants grew full of fraudulency in their dealings; and the handicrafts grew idle and ouervaluing their labours.

In this vproare of vngodlinesse, the Lord grewe angry and full of indignation, and descended on mount *Meroparbatee*, acquainting *Bremaw* with the wickednesse of the world, who descended and premonished them of the iudgment to come, which a while husht the cry of their wickednesse; but they fell to their old euils againe. *Bremaw* then interceded for them; but the Almighty would not be pacified, but tooke *Bremaw* vp into his bosome, the time of his aboad on earth being expired, that hee might not behold the euils of the time to come.

Then the Lord made knowne his purpose of destroying the world to *Vistney*, whose nature and office being to preserve the people, did intercede for them; but the Lord would not be pacified, but gaue charge to *Ruddery*, whose office was to bring iudgement and destruction on sinners, to cause the bowels of the earth to send out a winde to sweepe the nations as the dust from the face of the earth.

So *Ruddery* enraged the windes in the bowels of the earth, which brast forth into eruptions, and the great body of the world had her trepidations and wauerings; the day seemed to change colour with the night, the mountaines and hills were hurled from their foundations, and, as some report, the riuier *Ganges* was carried from her wonted rote, to runne in a new chanell; so the tempest destroyed all people, sauing a few that the Lord permitted *Vistney* to cover with the skirt of his preferuation, reserved to be the propagators of mankind in the third age; and so this age concluded.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Shewing the beginning of the third age, the restauration of the same by Ram; new euils bring a iudgement, concluding the third age by an earthquake or chafma.*

**R**UDDERY hauing restrained the windes from their former violence, all now was husht; but miserable and lamentable it was to behold the earth so desolate and voyd of inhabitants, more miserable to see the carkeyfes that were scattered on her surface, some blowne from the tops of high mountaines, others

bruised to mash, all ruined and destroyed; so that the Almighty repented him of his owne worke, and *Ruddery* was sorry that hee should be an instrument of so great fury and destruction.

But because the head of all the former disorders was from the wickednesse and ill gouernment of the kings and rulers, there-



**LORD.** therefore the Lord vtterly rased out all of the tribe or cast of the *Cutteryes*; those that were preserued from destruction by the skirt of *Vistney's* preseruatiō, being some few of the other three casts or tribes.

*Cutteries*  
extirpated.

Now because these foure casts were so necessary to the world's gouernment, that it could not subsist without them, though the cast of the *Cutteryes* perished intyrelly, for their wickednesse; yet that they might be renewed againe from a holier beginning, the Lord appointed that from the *Bramanes* the line of the kings should be renewed. So the chiefe of the *Bramanes* that was then preserued by *Vistney*, was called *Ducrat*; the next child that was borne after this destruction, and which was the youngest of foure, was chosen to propagate the race of their kings and rulers, who being religiously educated, might as well fauour piety as policy, and with holinesse and prudence gouerne men in their feuerall tribes.

So he did many worthy acts, and exceedingly maintained religion, was a patron to the *Bramanes* and churchmen, and his name was *Ram*; who became so

memorable for his worthy deedes, that his name is made honorable in the mention amongst them euen to this day, that whensoever they meete and salute one another, they cry *Ram, Ram*, as a word importing the wishes of all good.

It is like that after him there ruled many worthy kings; but tract of time rendering euery thing worse at the latter ending then at the beginning, brought forth such as followed the course of the ancient wickednesse, and new ambitions, and new hypocrisies, add new frauds and circumuentions, and daily breaches of the law deliuered in *Bremaw's* booke, began afresh to make intrusion amongst them.

So the Almighty was againe angry, that after so many iudgments, the people would not be warned to his feare, therefore by God's appointment, *Ruddery* caused the earth to open and swallow them vp aliue; reseruing onely some few of the four tribes, as a last tryall for the new peopling of the world againe. And such was the conclusion of the third age of the world.

## CHAP. XV.

*The fourth and last age of the world; Vistney's rapture to heauen; the Banians opinion touching the final conclusion of the world, and in what manner they suppose it shall be.*

**AFTER** this, the Almighty againe commanded, that the world should bee peopled by those that were reserued, among whom there was one *Kystney*, a famous ruler and pious king, of whose vertues they haue ample record, as being one most notable in the last age, which they thinke now by the course of time to be deuolued vpon vs; hee did wonderfully promote religion, vpon which there was a reformed beginning of goodnesse.

**Vistney**  
taken up to  
Heauen. By this, *Vistney's* time (as they say) being expired, in this place and vale of mortality; the Lord took him vp to heauen, there being no further neede of his preseruatiō, for when this age is concluded, there shall be a final end of all things.

But the *Bramanes* though they suppose time to be running on the fourth age of the world, yet they suppose this age shall be longer than any of the rest, in the end whereof they say *Ruddery* shall be rapt vp into heauen. These ages they call by foure names: the first, *Curtain*; the second, *Duaper*; the third, *Tetraioo*; the fourth *Kolee*.

Concerning the manner of this final iudgement, they hold it shall be more

dreadfull than any of the rest, and that it shall be by fire; that *Ruddery* then shall summon vp all the power of destruction; that the moone shall looke red; that the sunne shall shed his purling light like flaming brimstone; that the lightening shall flash with terrours, the skies shall change into all colours; but especially fiery redness shall ouerspread the face of heauen; that the foure elements of which the world at first was constituted, shall be at opposition and variance, till by this agony shee be turned to her first confusion.

And that the final consummation of the world shall be by fire, they gather hence; of such as was the beginning of the world, of such shall be her dissolution; but the principles of the world's constitution, were these foure; Earth, Ayre, Water, and Fire; therefore by them shall shee be destroyed, which also they gather by the destruction of the feuerall ages: for the people of the first age were destroyed by water; the people of the second age were destroyed by winde, which they accoumpt the ayre; the people of the third age were destroyed by earth; and the people of the last age shall be destroyed by fire.

Then



Then (say they) shall *Ruddery* carry vp the soules of all people to heauen with him, to rest in God's bosome, but the bodies shall all perish. So that they beleeue not the resurrection, for they say, heauen being LORD. a place that is pure, they hold it cannot be capable of such grosse substances.

*The author's conclusion to the reader ; together with a censure on the materiall parts of this relation.*

**T**HUS, worthy reader, thou hast the summe of the *Banian* religion, such as it is; not voyd of vaine superstitions, and composed forgery, as well may be iudged by the precedent discourse, wherein, as in all other heresies, may bee gathered, how sathan leadeth those that are out of the pale of the church, a round, in the maze of errour and gentilisme. I might leaue the particulars to thy censure, as well as to thy reading; but since I have detected such grosse opinions in this sect, I cannot let them passe without a rod trust at their backes, as a deserued pennance for their crime.

To helpe thy memory therefore in a short reuise of their forementioned vanities; what seemeth their first age to present, but a figment of their owne deuising, to confirm them to be the most ancient of all people? as if, like the *Egyptians*, in the second booke of *Iustine*, they only would boast of antiquity; and to lay the first ground of religion and government, when the *Scythians* had better arguments to pleade than they. How fabulous and like an old woman's tale seeme their deuised *Medium* for the world's propagation, in placing foure women at the foure windes? And for the second age and the world's restauration therein, if by those three persons, *Bremarw*, *Vistney* and *Ruddery*, they glaunce at the Trinity, how prodigious haue they made that mystery; making it rather a Quaternity, than a Trinity? What a monstrous fancy haue they formed and shaped for the peopling of that age; and if they ayme not at a mark so sublime, what men shall deserue the attributes to them appropriate? touching their law, the main pillars thereof haue been demolished in its confutation: *The kingdome of God consists not in meats and drinckes*. For other their ceremonies and rites, contained in their second tract of the booke, what man of reasonable vnderstanding doth not wonder at their

superstitions, which place their faith in outward washings, lotions and sprinklings? in worshippe of sunne, moone, and other li-ving creatures, in paintings, vnctions, and garish processions, in offerings vnder green trees, in cringings, beckings, and bowings to images, and other multifarious ceremonies? all euidences of braines intoxicate with the fumes of errour and *Polytheisme*. As for their foure tribes or casts, as in all things else, how Pythagorically they stand upon the number of foure? the world was formed of foure principles; diuided into foure points of the compasse; to endure for foure ages; planted by foure men, matched by foure women; restored again by foure; and to be demolished by foure feuerall destructions; in foure feuerall elements: and, to conclude, like *Sadducees* denying the resurrection, in which consisteth the hopes of the blessed: of which *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. xv. 29. *If in this life onely we haue hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable*.

All these declare how they haue made their religion a composed fiction, rather then any thing real for faith to leane on. Though then the nouelty of this relation may make it gratefull to any, who like an *Athenian* desireth to hear some thing strange or new: I know not wherein it may be more profitable, then to settle vs in the solidnesse of our owne faith, which is purged of all such leuities; for the vainnesse of errour makes truthes greatest opinion, which duely considered may well moue vs to say,

*Micat inter omnes  
Iulium Sydus, velut inter ignes  
Luna minores.*

That our great light outshines all these,  
as farre.  
As siluer moone outshines each lesser  
starre.



LORD.

THE  
RELIGION  
OF THE  
PERSEES.

The INTRODUCTION.

**H**AUING declared the religion, rites, customes and ceremonies of a people living in the *East Indies* called the *Banians*, a sect not thoroughly publisht by any heretofore, whilst my obseruation was bestowed in such inquiry, I obserued in the towne of *Surrat*, the place where I resided, another sect called the *Persees*; who because I did discerne them to differ both from the *Moore* and *Banian* in the course of their liuing, and in the forme of their religion, as also that the scripture, *Dan. vi. 15.* speaketh of the law of the *Medes* and *Persians* that might not alter, finding these to be that same people that are linked with the *Medes*, I thought it would not be vnworthy of my labour to bring to the eyes of my country-men this religion also, especially since I neuer read of any that had fully published the same, but that it hath remained

obscure and hidd from common knowledge. For this cause, desirous to add any thing to the ingenious, that the opportunities of my trauayle might conferre vpon mee, I ioyned myselfe with one of their church-men called their *Daroo*, and by the interpretation of a *Persee*, whose long imployment, in the companies seruice, had brought him to a mediocrity in the *English* tongue, and whose familiarity with me, inclined him to further my inquirie: I gained the knowledge of what hereafter I shall deliuer, as it was compiled in a booke writ in the *Persian* character, containing their scripture, and in their owne language, called their *Zundavastaw*. But because wee should be better informed concerning the people spoken of, before wee lay downe their religion, we will first declare who these *Persees* are, and then proceed to their worshippe.

CHAP. I.

*Declaring who these Persees are, their ancient place of abode, the cause of relinquishing their owne countrey, their arriual in East India, and their aboad there.*

Descent  
of the  
Persees.

**T**HESE *Persians*, or *Persees*, of whose religion we are now to speake; are a people descended from the ancient *Persians*, in times not long after the flood, who then had their native kings and gouernours; but warre, that causeth an alteration in states and empires, brought vpon them a forraigne scepter.

About nine hundred ninety-six yeeres leaped, one *Yesdegerd*, was native king

of *Persia*, who had his residence in the city of *Yesd*, neere vnto the old city of *Spabaun*, which is somewhat remote from the new city known by that name; this city of *Yesd* was a goodly city in those times, (as those vse to be where kings keepe their courts) spacious for circuit, sumptuous for buildings, and populous for inhabitants, where this people liued in flourishing prosperity.

What



What time the *Arabian* captaines of the sect of *Mahomet*, made inuasion into his country, about the nineteenth yeere of his reigne, who hauing before beene newly assaulted by a great multitude of *Turks*, that came from *Turquestan*, hee was forced to flye to *Karason*, where hee dyed sodainly in the twentieth yeere of his reigne, being the fise and fortith king that descended from the race of *Guionaras*, and the last in whom the ancient *Persian* monarchie concluded.

Oppressed by the Mahometans. The *Mahometans*, vpon the death of *Yesdegerd*, carried all in conquest before them, and subiected the natiues of the countrey as vassals vnto them; and as new lords bring in new lawes, they contented not themselues to bring them to their forme of gouernment in state subiection, but also in matters of religion, to liue according to *Mahomet's* constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the *Mahometan* custome, contrary to the forme of their owne religion and worship.

These *Persees*, not enduring to liue contrary to the prescript of their owne lawe, and lesse able to reiect their yoake, many of them by priue escape, and as close conueyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the *Indies*, purposing to prooue the mildnesse of the *Banian Raiabs*, if there, though they liued in subiection for matter of gouernment, they might obtaine liberty of conscience in course of religion.

Fly to Iasques. So repairing to *Iasques*, a place in the *Persian* gulph, they obtained a fleete of seauen iuncks, to conuey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shoares of *India*, in course of trade and merchandize. It happened that in safety they made to the land of *St. Iohns* on the shoares of *India*, and arriued together, at or neere the

port of *Swaley*, the vsual receptacle of LORD. such shippes as arriue there. Treaty was made by some of them with a *Raiab* liuing at *Nuncery*, publishing their aggreeuances, and the cause of their comming thither, as also their suite to be admitted as sojournours with them, vsing their owne law and religion, but yeelding themselues in subiection to their gouernment; vpon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land the passengers contained in fise of their iuncks.

The other two iuncks remaining, one of them put into the roade of *Swaley*, and treated with a *Raiab* that then resided at *Baryaw* neere vnto *Surrat*, who entertained them on like conditions to the former; but the *Raiab* of that place, hauing warres with a neighbouring *Raiab*, who got the conquest, the *Persees* that resided with the conquered, were all put to the sword, as adherents to the enemie.

The last iuncke coasted along the shoares, and arriued at *Cambaya*, where they were receiued vpon the prementioned conditions, so that howsoeuer this people haue beene dispersed in *India* since their arriual, it hath beene from some of these places. Thus they liued in *India*, till tract of time wore out the memory of their originall, and the records of their religion being perished, they became ignorant whence they were, being assigned to the profession of husbandry, or the dressing of the palmitoes or toddy trees, till being known by the names of *Persees*, they were agnized by the remnant of their sect abiding in *Persia*, who acquainted them with the story of their ancestors, and communicated to them both their law, and instructors in the worshippe according to which they were to liue. And these be the *Persees*, of whose religion, we are to treat in the chapters following.

## C H A P. II.

*Containing the opinion of the Persees touching the creation of the world, and the creatures therein; together with a short mention of the flood, and the generall diuision of the following discourse.*

**N**OW after the consideration of these *Persees*, of whose religion we are to speake, we proceede more particularly to the subject of this booke, which is their worshippe and religion; wherein first cometh to be rendred their opinion touching the creation.

Their opinion of the creation. Touching this, the *Persees* affirme, that before any thing was, there was a God, that was the Maker of all things, who when hee did determine to make himselve

knowne by his workes in the creation of the vniverse, and the creatures therein, did diuide this greates worke of the creation, into a sixfold labour.

First then, they say, hee made the hea- Heauen. uens with their orbes, a place most glorious and pleasant, which he adorned with great lights and lesser; as the sunne, moone and stars; as also hee did make the angels, which according to their seuerall dignities, hee placed in their seuerall orders



LORD.

orders one about another, which place hee made a habitation of blessedness, for such as should live holily in this life; and having thus done, that hee might teach vs to doe great designs with consideration and aduise, he rested five days from the worke of further creation.

Hell.

Next hee made hell, in the lower parts of the world, from which hee banished all light and comfort; that as heauen might be a place of happinesse to those that are good and please the Almighty, so this might be a place of horreur and punishment, to such as offend his majesty; wherein as in heauen, so God had made several mansions that exceeded each other in dolour, which were proportioned according to the degrees of offenders; about which time *Lucifer*, the chiefe of angels, with other of his order, conspiring against God, to gain the souerainety and command ouer all, God threw him from the orbe of his happinesse, together with his confederates and accomplices, damn'd him to hell, the place that was made for offenders, and turned them from their glorious shapes into shapes blacke, vgly, and deformed; till the times of the world should be consummate, when all offenders in generall should receiue their sentence of punishment and condemnation. So God hauing accomplished this second labour, desisted from the worke of the creation five dayes more.

Earth.

After this, the Almighty begunne the third labour of the creation, which was to make the earth, which together with the waters called seas, make this lower world like a globe or ball, so agreeing together, that the sea's humidity maketh the earth fruitfull, and the earth's soliditie boundeth the waters in their due confine; which worke thus finished, God suspended the worke of the creation for five dayes more, and rested.

Plants.

The fourth labour was to make the trees, plants and hearbes, that so the earth might bring forth fruites pleasant to the eye and taste, and for the comfort of the creatures liuing in the earth; this also done, God rested and gaue the former respite to his labours.

Animals.

The fift worke was to make creatures fit to abide in the places forementioned, as beasts of all sorts, to forrage in the Greene pastures; fowles to cleane the ayre with their nimble pennions; fishes to swimme in the vnknowne depths of the watery ocean. The world thus replenished with creatures, God resumed his wonted rest and intermission from this labour.

And lastly vndertook his sixt labour, <sup>Man and woman.</sup> which was the forming of man and woman, to whom the rest of the creatures were made ministratory and seruile, whose names their records deliuer to be *Adamah*, and *Euah*, who being the first two by whom the multitudes of mankind should be propagated, God, as they affirme, did cause *Euah* to bring forth two twinnes every day; for a thousand yeeres together, death did diminish none of the numbers of mankind by mortality.

But *Lucifer* thus deposed with the rest of his order, grew malignant both to God and man; and as God did good, so hee laboured to doe euill, and to perturb his actions, and tempt men to sinne and wickednesse, labouring to make man odious to his Maker, as also making himselfe an enemy to all goodnesse, which God yet did not fully reuenge, as knowing nothing but euill to be in him and his confederates.

But the better to preuent his mischief, set certain superuisors ouer his creatures to preserue them in that state wherein they were at first created. Thus to one *Hamull* was committed the charge of the heauens; to *Acrob* the ouersight of the angels, that they relapsed not as *Lucifer* had done; to *Ioder* the ouersight of the sunne, moone, and starres; to *Soreh* the care of the earth; to *Iosab* the command of the waters; *Sumbolak* had the charge of the beasts of the field; *Daloo* of the fish of the sea; *Rocan* of the trees; *Cooz* of man and woman; and *Sertan* and *Asud*, to whom God had giuen strength and power, were made the guardians of *Lucifer* and the euill spirits, to master and coniure them from mischief to God's creatures, who yet, notwithstanding the watch of *Sertan* and *Asud*, did much mischief in the world by suggestion and temptation to wickednesse; which made God offended with mankind for their wickednesse.

The finnes of men growing great, they say it appeareth in their records, that there came a flood or inundation, which ouerflowed the earth and the inhabitants thereof, some few only God preserued to propagate the generations of the times following; that so there might not be an vtter ruin of mankind. These generations were dispersed to people the earth againe, from which all nations haue had their descent. And as their historiographer *Mircond* reporteth, in times not long distant from the flood, these *Persees* had a race of kings that were their proper governours, continued for about a thousand yeeres by the succession of five and forty kings.

Deluge.



kings. The first whereof was *Guimaras*, who as *Mircond* reports, was the sonne of *Aram*, the sonne of *Sem*, the sonne of *Noah*, by the *Persees* called *Adam Asseny*, that is, the second *Adam*; the last, in whom the monarchie of this people concluded (as is before shewed) was *Yesdegerd*. The abridgement of which chronicle I would haue gathered from them, but that I found it to agree punctually both in matter, and order, with that translation of Mr. *Grimstone's*, called *Estates and Empires*, &c. in the chronicle of the kings of *Persia*, to whom I referre those that desire information therein.

What religion this people had in the riegnes of *Guimaras*, *Syameck*, *Ouchang*, *Thamull*, *Imsbed*, *Zoack*, *Traydbun*, and *Manoucher*, vnto *Lorasph*, which was their fifteenth king, is not the scope of this present worke, though then they had a

peculiar kinde of worshippe. But the LORD religion that is the subject of this booke, is a religion that was receiued in the reigne of *Gustasph*, the sonne of *Lorasph*, their sixteenth king in succession, concerning the worshippe of fire: in the defence of which religion *Gustasph* was so zealous, that hee made warre against *Ariaseph*, king of *Turron*, for that hee reprehended him in a letter about this worshippe.

Hauiug then limited this booke to his proper subject, three things in generall are to be treated of in this worke: First, to declare who was their law-giuer, how their law was deliuered, and came to be receiued of *Gustasph* king of *Persia*. Next to shew the substance of their law. Lastly, to proceede to other ceremonies obserued by them, not improper to this present tract.

## C H A P. III.

*Concerning Zertoost the law-giuer of the Persees; his parents; the omens that did forerunne his natiuity, their interpretation; his perils in his birthplace; his escape into Persia, and the accidents happening in his trauailes thither.*

CONCERNING the law-giuer of this people, it is left recorded in their old writings, that there liued in *Cbyna*, two poore people, of honest fame and reputation, married together as man and wife; the man was called *Espintaman*, the woman *Dodoo* these two hauiug long liued in the state of marriage without issue, the woman earnestly prayed that God would giue her a sonne; her request was heard, and much time passed not ere she conceiued and grew pregnant.

About the time of this woman's conception, shee saw a vision presented to her in a dreame, that filled her with great feare and terrour, for shee conceiued that the heauens were of a light fire ouer her head, and that a flaming rednesse had ouerspread the firmament, which droue her into a great agony, when on a sodaine there rushed into her sight foure griffins, of grimme and horrid appearance, who seazing on her body, did from her wombe seeme cruelly to teare out the child shee had conceiued, to her great feare and despaire of life: when on a sodaine stept in a man, of person goodly, and of warlike aspect, with a truncheon in his hand, in rescue of her, who with fury and resolution vindicated and recouered the child from the griffins, that would haue torne it in pieces, and with gentle hand putting the child into the wombe of his mother, did by soueraigne art close vp the

rupture, that was by the griffins torne and dilacerate; whose agony thus mitigated by this worthy person, the griffins were driuen away, the fierynesse of the heauens altered, and *Dodoo* awaked out of her dreame and slumber.

But the passion shee suffered in this vision, fixing the forepast occurrences more strongly in her phantasme, she related to her husband the particulars of her dreame; whose passages being so remarkable, shee conceiued it to be an omen, either for good or euil touching the child in her wombe; whereof being desirous to be satisfied, shee with her husband repaired to one that was a soothsayer, to be informed touching the significance of this vision. The diuiner informed them, that this vision partly foretold good, partly euill, that should happen to the child that was in her wombe; that by the fire which gaue light was imported some strange reuelation, that should be showed to the child, euen to the enlightning of the whole world, which in that it did shine in heauen, the reuelation should be touching some heauenly businesse; by the griffins was set out enemies that should endanger the life of the mother, but principally endeaour the destruction of the child; by the man was signified God aboue, who should repress the might of those enemies, that they should neither effect their cruelties on the mother or child, but also those dangers should be driuen away,



**LORD.** away, as appeared by the restitution of the heauens to their wonted estate, and the driuing away of the griffins from the woman: with which interpretation *Espin-taman* and *Dodoo* being highly satisfied, they returned home, awayting the hopes that lay folded vp in this child.

Zertoost  
born.

Time having his accomplishment, played the midwife and brought forth this child, who was no sooner brought from the darke wombe to open light, but bewrayed the ioyes he was to bring to the world in open laughter; so the time comming when hee should receiue his name, they called him *Zertoost*, which importeth as much as a friend to the fire, because the soothsayer had prognosticated such good to him by the fire his mother beheld in the vision. But these notable things concerning this child, could not be so concealed, but that they were bruited to the eares of the king of *Chyna*, who fearing lest hee was borne to depriue him of his kingdome, or some of his successors, did vnderhand send the griffins dreamed of, that is, certaine conspirators, to betray *Zertoost* to destruction; who attempting euill against him, had their sinnewes shrunke vp, and came to vntimely end; so that euery one was discomfitted in attempting euill against one whom God had so miraculously preferred. But about twelue or thirteene yeers of

age, a great sicknesse tooke him; which the king hearing of, he wrought secretly by a certaine obicure physitian, to administer to him poysoned physicke, if by such meanes hee might ridde away his life: but *Zertoost*, sensible of their euill practises towards him, refused both the intruding physician and his banefull medicines; and weary of the wickednesse of the place, solicited his parents to flye into *Persia*, by which meanes they should auoyed those mischiefs that the king intended towards them, which would, at some time or other, either bereaue them of him, or him of them. They, chary of their hopes in him, harkened to his aduise, and did, by the ryfing of the next sunne, betake themselves to escape away. The various accidents that befell them by the way, we omit, onely it is deliuered, that meeting with deepe riuers that impeded his passage, hee congealed them with hard frosts, and so past ouer; and after long trauaile arriued at the king of *Persia's* court, in the reigne of *Gustasp* lately mentioned, his parents applying themselves to such courses as might best procure the supplies of liuing; and *Zertoost* wholly dedicating himselfe to the seruice of God and religious deuotions, as to which from his infancy hee seemed inclined.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Shewing Zertoost's meditation of the world's wickednesse; hee goeth out to enquire of God some reuelation for the world's better gouernment; hee meets an angell, is rapt to heauen; his request of the almighty, his vision; hee receiueth a booke from the lord, and returneth backe from heauen againe.*

**ZERTOOST** thus arriued in *Persia*, and there making his abode, vpon a time went into the fieldes, and reuoluing in his minde the world's wickednesse, how one followed his lusts, another his pride, another his belly and epicurisme, another his cruelty; that one sought the depopulation of countries, another the oppression of inferiours, and none obserued good gouernment, or had a good religion or worshippe amongst them; hee beganne to examine the causes of all this wickednesse that thus reigned amongst men belowe, and found it partly because *Lucifer* had laboured to corrupt and make naught that which God had made good; next, because men had receiued no lawes or good institutions, in those parts, to restraints them from sinne, but euery man liued according to his owne deuise,

liberty, and liking, whether it were euill or good.

Hereof *Zertoost* more seriously considering, desired God to giue him some reuelation for the world's better gouernment, and the establishment of religion amongst men; and conceiuing the publique place where hee was, not fit for so excellent communications, hee went out further till he came to the point of a valley where two mountaines ioyned together, when sodainly there descended before him, as his face was bent towards the earth, an angell, whose wings had glorious pennons, and whose face glistered as the beames of the sunne, saying, Hayle, *Zertoost*, beloued of God, what is it thou requirest? *Zertoost* replied, That hee desired to enter into God's presence to receiue some diuine lawes to deliuer



liuer to the nations, that so they might liue in a better obseruance of his feare.

Carried in- So the angell administring something to heauen to him to cleanse and purifie his body, by an an- to make it capable of entrance into so gel. pure a place, bade him close his eyes, and he would transume and rappe him vp into that place of glory, where hee should come into God's presence; whither being carried by the angell, hee beheld such ioyes as were too mighty for his feeble senses; so that vnable to sustain them, hee fell into a trance, till God gaue him power to endure the height of those pleasures; and being returned to himselfe, beheld the glory thereof, and heard the Almighty speaking as one encompassed with flames of fire, and reuealing to him the secret workes of the creation, in what order hee made his creatures; and reuealed to him things to come, shewing him that hee should receiue lawes for the world's better gouernment, and the establishment of religion, with many other things not fit to be vttered, neither by *Zertoost* euer published.

Then *Zertoost*, ready and willing to publish to all people, what might be needfull to bring them to God's better worshippe, did desire of God that hee might liue so long as the world should endure, a publisher of that religion which the Lord had promised to divulge by him, till hee should make all nations beleeue the contents of that booke. But the Lord answered, That if hee should liue neuer so long, *Lucifer* would do more harme then euer hee should doe good; but if vpon better consideration hee would desire to liue so long, his request should be granted.

So the Lord presented to *Zertoost* in a vision, the state of all things past, present, and to come, where hee saw the troubles, sicknesses, and afflictions of man, more particularly, the state of the

*Persian* monarchy, how *Ouchang* was slaine LORD. by a stone; how *Themull* dyed of a pestilence; how *Iimshed* was slaine by one of his owne captaines; how men followed diuers religions, and most their owne wayes, ouerlabouring themselves in the workes of vanity.ouer and aboue, God presented to his eyes the seuen ages, or times of the *Persian* monarchy; the first was the golden age, that was in the dayes of *Guionaras*; the second the siluer age, that was in the dayes of *Fraydbun*; the third the brazen age, in the time of *Kaykobad*; the fourth the tynne age, in the time of *Lorasph*; the fift the leaden age, in the time of *Bahaman*; the sixt the Steele age, in the dayes of *Darab Segner*; the seauenth the iron age, in the reigne of *Yesdegerd*. So *Zertoost* perceiuing time to render euery thing worse and worse, desired to liue no longer then till hee should discharge the message about which the Lord should send him, and that then hee might be translated to that same place of glory againe. So God reduced him to his owne proper sense, from which hee was rauished to godlike speculations.

Being thus, as hee was before, of humane capacity, after hee had remained in heauen many dayes, the Lord deliuered to him the booke before mentioned, containing in it the forme of good gouernment, and the lawes of religion that the *Persians* should follow; conferring likewise on *Zertoost* the heavenly fire, and other gifts that were neuer bestowed vpon any man before or since. So *Zertoost* taking the heavenly fire into his right hand, and the booke that God gaue him, in his left, hee was deliuered to the conduct of the angell that brought him thither, who was called *Bahaman Vmsbauspan*, who taking up *Zertoost*, did cleaue the ayre with his golden wings, till hee had surrendered him to the place where hee found him, and so left him.

## C H A P. V.

*Shewing what happened to Zertoost after the angell left him, the deuill meeteth him and reuileth him; hee cometh to Gustasph's court; the ioy of his parents for his retorne; the infamy Gustasph's churchman seeketh to put vpon him; the miracles whereby Zertoost doth vindicate his fame; Gustasph's foure demands, and his foure grants.*

*Zertoost* emptied by the deuill.

**Z**ERTOOST was no sooner left by his heavenly guardian, but *Lucifer*, an enemy to all goodnes, met him, and called him a seeker after nouelties and delusions, and told him, that God did not loue him in such a manner as hee beleueed, otherwise hee would haue kept

him in heauen still, and not haue sent him away; or else hee would haue granted him to liue to the end of the world, when hee desired it; that that booke which hee had was stufte with falsehoods; that hee should come to trouble, danger, and shame about the publishing of it; as also



**LORD.** alio that hee should be laught at for his fire, as being a creature of destruction, and a consumer of the workes of man, and that there was no neede thereof in hot climates; but that if hee would depend on him, hee could giue him a booke of better instructions, and present to him obiects of better delight, could giue him long life and honour, and power to worke great miracles; that if hee did not beleue him, hee was a senselesse man, and deprived of his wits by his late visions.

But *Zertoost* hauing placed his confidence better, told *Lucifer*, That hauing lost that glory that his eyes beheld, hee could not speake well of his Maker, nor be pleased with that great fauour God had shewne him; but enuying at it, fought not onely to disanull his, but euery man's happiness; charged *Lucifer* by the great name of his Creator, that put him into the darke dungeon of hell, vnder the custody of *Sertan* and *Asud*, and by the truth of that booke, by which hee should in the end of the world be arraigned and condemned, and by that fire in his right hand, by which hee should be burned and tortured, to auoyd his presence as a blacke-mouthed defamer of God and goodness; at which *Lucifer* vanished with great horror and feare from him.

*Lucifer* thus coniured from *Zertoost's* presence, hee proceeded on his way to the city where *Gustasph* had his residence, and so to the place where his parents had their aboad, who with no small sorrow had bewayled the absence of their sonne, and with vaine inquest had sought him, but could not find him, in whom their hopes were repositied; who now, to their strange ioy and admiration, told them of his enthusiasmes and raptures, wherein hee had receiued that booke and heauenly fire that was so long before prognosticated by his mother's vision, and so truely interpreted by the augur and soothsayer. His parents blessed him, and became instructed in this new religion how to worshippe, as God had reuealed to *Zertoost*.

These things could not be long hid; for the ioyes of mothers are not silent, but in euery eare did *Dodoo* powre forth her visions in her sonne's conception, and the soothsayers interpretation of them; how true the particulars had fallen out; the late raptures her sonne *Zertoost* had in heauen; his reuelations there, whereof a booke written by God's owne hand, and the strange fire hee brought from thence, were liuely euidences. These rumours being strange to all eares, and not testified by hearefay, but confirmed

by one whose eyes had beheld the things auerred, got passage, and were carried to the eares of *Gustasph*, then king of *Persia*, who therefore sent for *Zertoost*, of whom hee inquired the further truth of this matter, who affirmed the same to be such as it was reported, that God had deliuered him a booke concerning his worshippe, and other secret knowledge inducing the worshippe of fire, whereof hee gaue some touches in particular to the king. The king admiring these things, and yet so certainly informed in the circumstances, grew wauering in his former worshippe and religion, and somewhat enclined to *Zertoost*, so that hee diuers times sent for him, and had much conference with him.

*Gustasph's* churchman then perceiuing his soueraigne to harken to this new religion, wherein hee had no knowledge, and that by degrees hee lost that grace hee had wontedly from him, did seeke to put some infamy on *Zertoost*, by which the king might become alienated from him and that newsprung religion, wherein hee had no knowledge, and that by degrees began, as hee thought, to sincke too fast into the brest of the king; for this cause he suborned the porter that kept the doore of *Zertoost's* house, which was a *Persian*, to conuey vnder the bed of *Zertoost*, the bones of dead men, and the dead carkeyfes of dogs, a creature loathsome to the *Persians*; of which whilst *Zertoost* was vtterly ignorant, the king's churchman put himselfe into the presence of *Gustasph*, with some other of his nobles that did not fauour *Zertoost's* innouation, saying, Oh king, what new religion is this to which thou standest so much inclined? or what is this new and strange lawgiuer *Zertoost* whom thou so fauourest? who the other day came in poore manner into this land, as a fugitiue from his native country, who, as I heare also, was hatefull to his prince and the king of his people, that hee should finde such grace in bringing vp a new religion, false and fictitious, and not of that authority it is pretended to be, being, as I am also informed, a man of uncleane and beastly living, in whose house, at this time, and vnder whose bed whereon hee hourelly lyeth, thou shalt find the bones of humane bodies, the carkeyfes and limmes of dead dogges, and filthy caryon, an abomination to the eyes of any cleane person; continue thou then, oh king, in the lawe of thy fathers, and listen not to this nouelist. This speech being seconded with some of the great ones, and the act reported being so odious and abominable, *Gustasph* commanded *Zertoost's* habi-

Sent for by  
*Gustasph*  
king of  
*Persia*.

Opposed  
by a  
church-  
man.



Unjustly  
imprison-  
ed.

habitation to be searched ; and it being (as the churchman of *Gustasph* had reported) effected by the wicked confederacy of *Gustasph*'s churchman and *Zertoost*'s seruants, *Zertoost* was cast into prison, despised and hated of all people.

It happened in this time of *Zertoost*'s imprisonment, that *Gustasph* had a horse which he much prized, that fell very sicke, and there was not any found that knew his disease, or how to cure him : this being told the iaylor that had *Zertoost* in custody, and the king publishing great rewards to him that could restore him, *Zertoost* came to the knowledge of it, who told the keeper, That if the king pleased, hee would cure the horse, or else be liable to the king's displeasure. The keeper so fauoured *Zertoost*, that hee made knowne his words to the king ; so *Gustasph* sent for *Zertoost*, who, according to his promise, did restore the beast ; which seruice was acceptable to *Gustasph*, that hee was had into new estimation againe ; and maintaining his innocency touching that same plot that was layd vpon him, the king gaue him liberty and great rewards, and by often conferences became neerely in respect with the king, so that a way was againe afforded to publish this religion of *Zertoost*'s ; who working strange miracles amongst them, gained credence to be a man come from God.

This booke of *Zertoost*'s gaining every day a better opinion then other, and his great workes really demonstrated, shewing him to be a man of more diuine endowments then was found in ordinary men ; vpon a time the king sent for him, and told him, That if hee would grant him foure demands which hee would propound to him, hee would beleeeve his law, and be euer a professer of that religion contained in the booke hee brought with him. *Zertoost* then bade him propose his demands, and, if they were such as were reasonable, they should be granted. The king then proposed them. The first whereof was, that he might ascend to heauen, and descend from thence when hee list. The second was, that hee might know what God would doe at pre-

sent, and in time to come. The third LORD. was, hee might neuer dye. The fourth was, that no instrument wharsoeuer might have the power to wound him or hurt him.

*Zertoost* thus replied, that these were difficult and high demands, neither did so great a power rest in him as to grant them ; neither was it meete that any one man should haue them all, for that therein hee should rather seeme to be a God then man ; yet difficult though they were, that the booke of laws he had brought, might be knowne to proceed from God, hee would procure that these requests might be granted to seuerall persons, but not all to one. So the first, which was to ascend to heauen and descend thence at pleasure, was obtained for *Gustasph*, who, they say, had this power granted him. The second, which was to know what would fall out at present or hereafter, was granted to the king's churchman, that so hee might direct the king in his designes, what should be vndertaken, what should be left vndone. The third, which was to liue for euer, was granted to *Gustasph*'s eldest sonne, called *Pisbition*, who yet liueth (as they say) if we will beleeeve them, at a place in *Persia* called *Demawando Coboo*, in a high mountaine, with a guard consisting of thirty men, to which place all liuing creatures else are forbidden to approach, lest they should liue for euer, as they doe that abide there, who neuer suffer mortality. The last, which was neuer to be wounded with instrument or weapon, was granted to the youngest sonne of *Gustasph*, called *Espandiar*, who, they say, by *Zertoost*'s prayers, was made invulnerable, that hee might put himselfe into the danger of battel, without feare or hazard.

So *Gustasph* and the other three mention- Converts ed, prouing the power of these seuerall gifts, the king. they all determined to liue according to the precepts in *Zertoost*'s booke ; wherein that they might be informed, *Zertoost* vnfolded to them the contents thereof. The matter or subject of which booke, of what nature it was, shall be declared in the chapter following.



LORD.

## C H A P. VI.

*Wherein is shewed the maine contents of the booke delivered to Zertoost, and by him published to the Persians or Persees.*

HAVING shewed who Zertoost was, that was the lawgiuer of these *Persees*, in what manner, according to their assertion, hee receiued the booke by strange reuelation, with what wonders, as they affirm, hee wrought assent thereunto, and beleefe thereon, by *Gustasph* and his nobles; after this it will perhaps be desired to know, what this booke contained, that this sect deliuer to be receiued after so wondrous a manner, which will be the drift of that which followeth.

They affirme then that this booke contained in it three feuerall tracts. The first whereof treated of that which we call iudicial astrologie, foretelling the euent of things to come, by iudgment of the starres, which by them is called *Astoo-deger*.

The second did treat concerning physicke or the natural knowledge of things, with their causes, and the cures of the diseases incident to man.

The third was called *Zertoost*, because *Zertoost* was the bringer thereof, and this contained their law and matters that concerned religion; which bookes, according as their matter was diuers, so they were deliuered to men of feuerall studies and learning.

The first of these bookes called *Astoo-deger*, which treated of iudiciall astrolo-

gie, was committed to their *Iesopps*, or wise men, which are knowne by the name of *Magies*.

The second, which treated of physicke, was giuen to their physitians to instruct them in that science.

The third, which contained their law, and matters of religion, called *Zertoost*, was deliuered to their *Darooes* or churchmen, that they might know how to worshippe God themselves, and also instruct others in the knowledge of the same worshippe; of such three tracts did this booke or volume consist.

These tracts were likewise diuided into certaine chapters, whereof seauen were contained in the wiseman's, or *Iesopp's* booke, seauen in the physitian's booke, and seauen in the *Daroo's* or churchman's booke.

But because that which was giuen to the augur or soothsayer, as also that which was giuen to the physitian, containeth nothing concerning the religion to be declared, the vses of the former whereof are vnlawfull, and the knowledge of the latter in these experient times, seemeth vnneccessary, we make addressement to the third tract, called *Zertoost*, which layeth down their law or religion, as most appertinent to our present drift, in that which followeth.

## C H A P. VII.

*Containing the particulars of the booke of their law, as they are appportioned first to the Behedin or layman; secondly, to the Herbood, which is the ordinary churchman: And lastly, to the Distoore, which is their archbishop.*

THE common diuision of men being of such as are of the layetie, or such as are of the clergie; and those of the clergie being either such as are ordinarie, or such as are extraordinarie, it pleased God, say the *Persees*, to apportion and diuide his law amongst these three sorts of men.

Laws to be observed by laymen First, then, vnto the layman or *Behedin* God gaue five commandments; who being by secular occasions drawne from the seruices of religion, had therefore a lesse difficult iniunction layd vpon him.

First, to haue shame euer with them, as a remedy against all sinne; for a man would

neuer oppresse his inferiors if hee had any shame; a man would neuer steale if hee had any shame; a man would neuer beare false witnesse if hee had any shame; a man would neuer be overcome with drink if hee had any shame; but because this is layd aside, men are ready to commit any of these, and therefore the *Behedin* or layman must thinke of shame.

Secondly, to haue feare alwayes present with them, and that euery time the eye twinkled or closed his leddes together, they should stand in feare at those times of their prayers, lest they should not goe to heauen, the thought of which should make them feare



to committ sinne, for that God sees what manner of ones they are that looke up towards him.

shall shew himself to be contrary to him, LORD. by his speaking the truth, for all men must give credite to his words.

Thirdly, that whensoever they are to doe any thing, to thinke whether the thing be good or badd that they goe about, whether commanded or forbidden in the Zundavastaw; if prohibited they must not doe it; if allowed by the booke of religion, they may embrace and prosecute the same.

The fourth, to be knowne onely in his owne busynesse, and not to enquire after the things of the world; it belonging onely to him to teach others what God would haue them doe. Therefore the Behedin or layman shall see that hee want nothing needfull, but shall afford it him, and hee shall seeke nothing superfluous.

Fourthly, that whosoever of God's creatures they should first behold in the morning, it should be a monitour to put them in minde of their thanksgivings to God, that had giuen such good things for mens use and seruice.

The fifth, to learn the Zundavastaw by heart, that he may be ready to teach it to the Behedin or layman wheresoever hee meeteth him; for from him must the people fetch their knowledge concerning God.

Fifthly, that whensoever they pray by day, they should turn their faces towards the sunne; and whensoever they prayed by night, they should incline towards the moone, for that they are the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witnesses, most contrarie to Lucifer, who loueth darknesse more than light.

The sixth, to keepe himselfe pure and undefiled from things polluting, as from the carkeyes of the dead, or touching meates vncleane, for God is pure, whose seruant hee is, and it is expected hee should be such, abhorring the sight of all things that are foule and loathsome, and stopping the passages of his breath, lest their corrupted aire should enter into him to defile him.

These be the five precepts enioyned to the layman or Behedin; now follow those that are to be obserued by the ordinary or common churchman, called their Daroo or Herbood, who as his place required a greater holinesse than the layman's, so his charge was greater; for not onely is hee, by the booke of their law, inioined to keepe the Behedin's precepts without violation, but also to fulfil these eleuen precepts more, as particular to himselfe.

The seventh, to forgive all injuries, shewing himself the patterne of meeknesse, that hee may be thought one that cometh from God; for we offend God euery day, yet hee giueth vs things that are good, when we deserue that he should recompence euill for euill.

First, to know in what manner to pray to God, observing the rites prescribed in the Zundavastaw; for God is best pleased with that forme of prayer that he hath given in his owne Booke.

The eight, to teach the common people to pray, according to the directions in the booke of their law, to goe and pray with them for any good they desire to obtayne; and when they come to the place of worshipping, to ioine in common prayer together.

The second, to keepe his eyes from coveting or desiring any thing that is another's, for God hath given every man what hee thinkes meete for him; and to desire that which is another's, is not onely to dislike of God's disposure of his owne gifts, but to challenge to himselfe that which God hath denied him, and whereof hee seeth him unworthie.

Ninth, to give lycense for marriage, and to ioyne the man and woman together, and that no parents match their children without the consent and approbation of the Herbood.

The third, to have a care euer to speake the truth, for all truth commeth from God, and as it is most communicated to men of God, so they should most shew it in their words and actions; but Lucifer is the father of falsehood, and whosoever useth it, it may be a signe that the euill spirit is powerfull with such an one; the Herbood therefore

The tenth, to spend the greatest part of their time in the temple, that hee may be ready for all that come to him, for to that God hath appointed him, and to that hee must bind himselfe.

The eleauenth and last injunction is, vpon paine of damnation to beleue no other law then that which was brought by Zertoost; to add nothing to it, to take nothing from it, for therefore was it so miraculously delivered, and such gifts giuen to Zertoost, that it might be beleued to come from God.

These



**LORD.** These are the precepts that are to be obserued by the *Herbood* or ordinary churchman, contained in the booke of their law. Now their *Distoore* or high priest, whereof they have neuer but one, to which all the *Herboods* pay their obseruance, as hee is aboue the rest in dignity, so he is enioyned to be aboue the rest in sanctity; his iniunctions therefore are transcending; for not onely is hee bound by their *Zundavastaw* or booke of religion, to obserue all that is commanded the *Behedin* or layman in his fve precepts, and all that is commanded the *Herbood* in his eleuen precepts, but also to fulfill thirteen precepts more as peculiar to himselfe.

By the  
high  
priest.

*The first is, that he must never touch any of a strange cast or sect, of what religion soeuer, nor any layman of his owne religion, but he must wash himselfe, because God hath made him especially holy to himselfe, for which cause hee must not approach to God in prayer, with the touch of others uncleannesse.*

*The second is, that hee must do euery thing that belongeth to himselfe with his owne hand, both to witnesse his better humility; as also the better to preserue his purity, viz. to set the hearbes in his owne garden, to sow the graine of his owne field, to dresse the meate that hee eateth, vnlesse hee haue his wife to administer to him in that, which is not euer vsuall.*

*The third is, that he take the tythe, or tenth of all things from the Behedin, as the Lord's dues, and imploy it to such vses as hee thinketh meete, since the Lord hath made him as his Almoner, and dispenser of charity.*

*The fourth is, that as he must vse no pompe or superfluity; so of that great reuennue that cometh yeerely to him, he must leaue nothing ouer-plus at the yeeres end, that must not be bestowed in good vses, either in charitable contributions to the poor; or in building of the temples of God.*

*The fift, that his house be neere adioyning to the church, where he must keep and make his abiding, continuing in prayer and abstinence, not ostentating himselfe to publick view, but liuing recluse and retyred from the world, as a man wholly dedicate to God.*

*The sixt, that hee must binde himselfe to greater purity then others, both in his frequent washings, and also in his dyet, in feeding on meates accompted more pure by the*

*law, as also that he liue sequestred from his wife in time of her pollutions.*

*The seauenth is, that whereas the Herbood is enioyned only to be knowne in the law, or booke called Zertoost, that the Distoore be acquainted with all the learning contained in the Zundavastaw, both in that part which treateth of iudiciall astrologie, committed to the Iesopp, or wise man, as also in that which concerneth the physitian, and most especially in the book of the law; for it is expected that he should informe all men, and none should be found like him therein, before he be admitted to be high priest.*

*The eight, that he must neuer eate or drinke excessiue, for these are enemies to the high speculations required in a high priest.*

*The ninth, that he stand in feare of no body but God, nor feare any thing but sinne; for hee is so to trust in God, that hee must not feare what Lucifer can do unto him.*

*The tenth, that God hath giuen him power ouer all men in matters of the soule, that therefore when any man sinneth hee may tell him of it, be hee neuer so great, and euery man is to obey him, as one that speaketh not in his owne cause, but God's.*

*The eleauenth, that according to the wisdom that God hath given him, hee be able to discern in what manner God cometh to reueale himselfe; in what manner Lucifer, and how to descide betweene falshood and truth.*

*The twelfth, that when God manifesteth himselfe to him in visions of the night, and sheweth him in what manner hee made his workes in the creation; he should not reueale God's secretts, but keeping them to himselfe should admire his power, for God doth not publish himself to any as hee doth to his Distoore, or high priest.*

*The thirteenth, that he keep an cuer liuing fier, that never may go out, which being kindled by that fier that Zertoost brought from heaven, may indure for all ages, till fier shall come to destroy all the world, and that he say his prayers ouer it, according as is enordered by the booke of the law.*

This is a summary of those precepts contained in the booke of their law, that Zertoost by them is affirmed to bring from heauen, and that religion which Gustasph with his followers embraced, perswaded by the fore-mention'd miracles by Zertoost wrought amongst them.



## C H A P. VIII.

LORD.

*Declaring other ceremonies amongst these Persees, in their feasts and fasts, in their idolatrous worshippe of fier, baptisms, marriages, and burials.*

THE third particular concluding this tract, consisteth in the display of certaine rites and ceremonies, obserued by this sect, differencing them from others in the contents aboue mentioned; the particulars follow in their order.

First then, touching their liberty in meates and drinckes, and their customes obserued in their feasts and fasts. Their law alloweth them great liberty in meates and drinckes, but because they will not giue offence to the *Banians*, amongst whom they liue, nor displease the *Moores*, vnder whose gouernment they are; they especially abstaine from eating of kine and hogs-flesh, meates prohibited by the lawes of the two former. It is obseruable also amongst them, that they eate alone, as a meanes for greater purity and cleanness; for they suppose they participate of another's vncleanness by eating with him: They likewise drinke euery one in seuerall cuppes, proper and peculiar to their owne vses, for the same cause; and if any chance to drinke in another man's cuppe they wash it three times, and abstaine from the vse thereof for a certaine season after.

Secondly, for their festiualls inioyned by their lawes, they obserue fixe in the yeere; and these feasts are celebrated for five dayes together, each of them according to the fixe workes of the creation. The first is called *Meduserum*, which is upon the fifteenth of their moneth called *Fere*, which is our *February*, for ioy that the Lord made the heauens to be a place of glory, to entertaine such as feare him. The second is called *Petufaban*, which is vpon their moneth *Sberuar*, our *Aprill* the fixe and twentieth; for that the Lord had made hell to be a place for the diuell and his angels. That feast therefore is a memoriall to put them in minde that they take heed of that euill, that may bring them thither. The third is *Yatrum*, celebrated vpon the fixe and twentieth of their moneth *Mabar*, which is our *May*, in memory that the Lord made the earth and seas, to bring forth creatures for the vse of man. The fourth is *Medearum*, kept vpon the fixteenth of their moneth *Deb*, which is our *August*, in memory that God made the plants and trees, by whose fruites man is sustained and nourished. The fift is *Homespetamadum*, vpon the moneth *Spindamud*, which is our *October*, beginning on the thirtyeth day, in remembrance that God

made the beasts, fishe, and foule, creatures ordained for the sustenance of man. The sixt is called *Medusan*, falling in the eleauenth of their moneth *Ardebest*, which is *December*, for ioy that then the Lord made man and woman, from whence all mankind had their originall.

In the third place, touching their fasts. After euery one of their feasts, they obserue a five dayes abstinence, eating but one meale a day, in memory that the Lord after euery one of these labours, rested five dayes, and whensoever they eate of any foule or flesh, they cary some part of it to the *Eggaree* or temple, as an offering to appease God, that for the sustenance of man they are forced to take away the life of his creatures, and these are the rites most notable touching their meates and drinckes.

Now in the second place for their worshippe of fier, because this is an idolatry most notably distinguishing their worshippe from the worshippe of other sects. First, for the ground of this their worshippe of fier, it is fetched from the lawgiuer *Zertoost*, who as they affirme, being rapt vp to heauen, had fier deliuered vnto him from God, and brought it thence, together with the booke of their law, as the worshippe by them to be embraced, and by their law enioyned. Moreouer they affirme that *Zertoost* being in the forementioned rapture in the place of glory, did not see God, but heard him speaking to him out of the fier; and when the fier was deliuered, receiued it as the vertue of God, and his first-borne of excellencie; and for these causes to be worshipped and reuerenced.

Next for the nature or qualitie of this fier. The first fier thus worshipped and idolized, was that *Zertoost* brought from heauen with him, which was a liuing fier, that nothing could extinguish; but whether this haue certainly bin preserued in the succession of time, to be communicable to all, is vnkowne; vpon defect hereof they are licenced to compose a fier of diuers mixtures, to be kept liuing from time to time, to which they are to performe their inioyned worshippe. Such is that which is idolized in *India*, where this sect remaineth, in a place called *Nuncery*, that hath not beene extinguished for the space of two hundred yeares, as they affirme. First then, This fier consisteth of that fier that is made by the sparks flying from the



**LORD.** flint, by the finiting of a Steele. Secondly, of that fier that is made by the rubbing of two peeces of wood together, a custome much vsed amongst the heathens of ruder manners, by which they kindle their fiers in all places where they neede. Thirdly, of such fier as is occasioned by lightning falling on some tree or thing accendible. Fourthly, of such fier as is called wild-fier, which flying from place to place and lightning on matter combustible, consumeth it. Fifthly, of artificiall fier, made by coles or wood, most ordinarie in vse. Sixthly, of the fier wherewith the *Banians* vse to burne the bodies of their dead. Seauently, of the fier that is made by burning glasses, and the beames of the sunne: Of all these ingrediences they compose their idolatrous fier, which they call their *Antisbeheraun*, or religious fier.

Lastly, for their ceremonie or rite bestowed about this fier so variously composed, and by their *Distoore*, or high priest so tended, that it may not extinguish: Whensoever the *Persees* assemble themselves together to this worshippe, the *Distoore*, or in his absence the *Herbood*, together with the assembly, encompassse the fier about, and standing eleauen or twelue foote distant therefrom, (for they hold it so holy that they feare to approach too neare) the *Distoore* or *Herbood* vttereth this speech: *That forasmuch as fier was deliuered to Zertooft, their lawgiuer, from God Almighty, who pronounced it to be his vertue and his excellencie, and that there was a law deliuered for the worshippe of this fier, confirmed by so many miracles, that therefore they should hold it holy, reuerence and worshippe it as a part of God, who is of the same substance; and that they should loue all things that resemble it, or were like vnto it, as the sunne and moone which proceeded from it, and are God's two witnesses against them, if they should neglect that religion and worshippe so inioyned: As also to pray to God that hee would forgiue them, if in the ordinary vses of this element, so seruiceable to man's neede, they should either spill water, which might in some manner quench it, or spitt in it vnawares, or put such fewell to it to keepe it burning, as was impure and unworthy of that holynesse that was in that element, or whatsoeuer abuses els they should do, as they used it in the necessary seruices of their life.* And this is the summe of their worshippe touching the fier.

Baptism.

In the third place for their baptisme or naming of children, when they enter them into the church; this is their forme: As soone as euer the child is borne, the *Daroo*, or churchman, is sent for to the partie's house, who obseruing the punctuall time of his birth, calculateth his natiuitie; after

that, considering about the name of the child, at last the parents and friends approving the same name that the churchman giueth, the mother in the presence of them all giueth the name to the child, there being no ceremonie but the naming of the infant as then vsed. After this the kindred of the child, together with the infant, accompany the churchman to the *Eggaree* or temple, where he taketh faire water, and putting it into the barke or rynd of a tree called *Holme*, which groweth at *Nesd* in *Persia*, and is admired in this one particular, as they affirme, for that the sunne of heauen giueth it no shadowe: Hee thence powreth the water into the infant, vttering this prayer, *That God would cleanse it from the uncleannesse of his father, and the menstruous pollutions of his mother*; which done, he departeth. About the seauenth yeare of the child's age, when the same is more capable of his entrance into their church, hee is led thither by his parents, to haue a further confirmation, where hee is taught by the churchman to say some prayers, and to be instructed in religion: wherein when hee is prompt, hee vttereth his prayers ouer the fier, hauing a cloath fastened about his head, and ouer his mouth and nostrils, according to their generall custome in that worshippe, lest their breath yssuing out of their sinfull bodies, should taint that holy fier. Then after prayers be concluded, the *Daroo* giueth him water to drink, and a pomegranate leafe to chew in his mouth, to cleanse him from inward vncleannesse; so washing his body in a tanck with cleane water, and putting on him a linnen cassock, which hee weareth next his skinne, called *Shuddero*, which descendeth to his waiste, as also a girdle of cammell's haire called *Cushee*, which hee euer weareth about him, and is wouen like inckle by the preacher's owne hand, he vttereth these prayers ouer him, *That God would make him a true follower of the religion of the Persees all the dayes of his life, of which those garments are the badge or sign; that hee might neuer beleeue in any lawe but that which was brought by Zertooft; that hee might continue a worshipper of their fier; that hee might eate of no man's meate, nor drinke of any man's cuppe, but in all things might obserue the rites and customes of the Persees.* All which transacted, hee is held a confirmed *Persee*, and one of their owne sect.

Fourthly, touching their marriage and Marriage. the rites in them obserued. They haue a fiefold kinde of marriage distinguished by feuerall names. The first they call *Shausan*, which is the marriage of a man's sonne and a man's daughter together in the time of their youth, where the parents agree



agree without the knowledge of the children; to this they attribute much, and suppose them to go to heauen that are maryed in this state. The second is called *Chockerson*, when the party once widowed, is maryed againe. The third *Codesherabason* when a woman enquireth out a husband for herselfe, according to her owne free choyce. The fourth *Ecksan*, when a young man or mayd dying before they be maryed, then they haue a custome to procure some man's son or daughter to be matched to the party deceased, attributing the state of marriage to be a meanes to bring people to happinesse eternall in another world. Those that commonly vse this, are the richer sort, who by a price hyre the parties to such a contract with a summe of money. The fift is called *Ceterfson*, when the father hauing no son, a daughter of his owne hauing sonnes, he adopteth some of them to be his, and maryeth them as if they were his owne children; for they account that man vnhappie that hath not a male or female, a son or a daughter to ioyne in the state of marriage.

Now for the rite or ceremony obserued in their maryages, it is this; the parties being agreed and mett together for the purpose of contracting, about the time of midnight the parties to be maryed are set vpon a bed together (for they are not maryed in their churches): opposite to the parties to be maryed, stand two churchmen, the one in the behalfe of the man, the other in behalfe of the woman, with the kindred of each by the *Herbood* or churchman to either deputed; holding ryce in their hands, an embleme of that fruitfulnessse they wish to them in their generations. Then the churchman that standeth in the man's behalfe, moueth the question to the woman, laying his forefinger on her forehead, saying, Will you haue this man to be your wedded husband? who giuing consent, the churchman deputed in the woman's behalfe, laying his forefinger on the man's forehead, moueth a like question, of which receiuing answer, they ioyne their hands together: the man making a promise to her, that hee will giue her so many *Dinaes* of gold, which is a peece worth thirtie shillings, to binde her to him, implying by that promise to maintaine her with all things necessarie; the woman againe promifeth that all shee hath is his: so the *Herboods* or churchmen scattering the ryce vpon them, pray God to make them fruitfull and send them many sonnes and daughters, that may multiply as the seede in the ears of haruest, that they may liue in vnity of minde, and many yeeres together in the state of wedlock. Thus the ceremony be-

ing done, the woman's parents giue the LORD. dowry, for the men giue none, and the marriage feast is celebrated for eight dayes after; when such time is expired, they are all dismissed. And this is all that may be obseruable about their marriages or matrimoniall ceremonie.

In the last place for the buriall of their <sup>Burials.</sup> dead, two things are notable: first, the place of their buriall; secondly, the ceremonie vsed therein, differing them from others. First, for the place of their buriall, they haue two places or tombes built of a round forme, a pretty height from the ground, sufficiently capacious and large; within they are pauerd with stone, in a sheluing manner; in the midst of them a hollow pit, to receiue the bones consumed and waisted; about by the walls are the shrowded and sheeted carkeyfes layd, both of men and women, exposed to the open aer. These two tombes are somewhat distant one from the other, the one is for all those that are of commendable life, and conuersation, but the other is for such as are notorious for some vice, and of publique defame in the world for some euill, by which they are branded. Touching the ceremony obserued in the burials of their dead, whensoever any of them are sicke unto death, the *Herbood* or churchman is sent for, who prayeth in the ear of the sicke man in this manner, O Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend; this man hath offended: that we should doe good; this man hath done euill: that we should worshippe thee; this man hath neglected: Lord, forgiue him all his offences, all his euills, all his neglects. When hee is dead the churchman commeth not neere him by tenne foote, but appointeth who shall be the *Naceffelars* or bearers; they then carry him on an iron biere, for the lawe forbiddeth that the body of the dead should touch wood, because it is a fewell to the fier they accompt most holy; and those that accompany the dead are interdicted all speech, because the graue or place of the dead is a place of rest and silence. Being come to the place of buriall, the *Naceffelars* or bearers lay the body in, and the churchman standing remote from the place, vttereth the words of buriall in this manner: This our brother whilst hee liued consisted of the four elements; now hee is dead, let each take his owne; earth to earth, aer to aer, water to water, and fier to fier. This done, they pray to *Sertan* and *Asud* to whom was giuen the charge ouer *Lucipher* and the euill spirits, that they would keepe the diuells from their deceased brother, when hee should repayre to their holy fier, to purge



LORD. purge himselfe: for they suppose the soule to be vagrant on earth for three dayes after his decease, in which time *Lucipher* molesteth it: for security from which molestation it flyeth to their holy fier, seeking preferuation there: which time concluded, it receiueth iustice or reward, hell or heauen. Vpon this opinion they all (as their busyness will permit) assemble themselves for three days together, and

offer up their prayers at morning, noone and euening, that God would be pleased to be mercifull to the soule departed, and remit the sinnes that the party committed in his life time. After the three dayes are expired, and that they thinke the definitiue sentence is past what shall become of him, they on the fourth day make a festiuall, and conclude their mourning.

*The author's conclusion to the reader.*

SUCH in summe (worthy reader) is the religion which this sect of the *Persees* professe: I leaue it to the censure of them that read, what to thinke of it. This is the curiosity of superstition, to bring in innouations into religious worshippe, rather making deuises of their own braine, that they may be singular, then following the example of the best in a solid profession. What seeme these *Persees* to be like in their religious fier? but those same gnats, that admiring the flame of fier, surround it so long, till they prooue *ingeniosi in suam ruinam*, ingenious in their own destruction. And if the *Papists* would hence gather ground for purgatory, and prayers for the dead, and many other superstitions by them vsed, to be found in these two sects, we can allow them, without any shame to our

profession, to gather the weedes of superstition out of the gardens of the *Gentile* idolaters. But the catholike christian indeed, will make these errours as a sea-marke to keepe his faith from shipwracke. To such I commend this transmarine collection, to beget in good christians the greater detestation of these heresies, and the more abundant thanksgiuing for our calling, according to the aduise of the apostle, *Ephes. iv. 17. This I say, and testifie in the Lord, that ye henceforth walke not as other Gentiles walke, in the vanitie of their minde, hauing their vnderstandings darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart: but rather that we may pray, that God would establish vs in his truth; his word is that truth.*





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An ACCOUNT of the

# Wonderful Preservation

OF THE

Ship *TERRA NOVA* of *London*,  
*Peter Daniel* Commander, Homeward-bound  
from *VIRGINIA*.

Written by *Charles May*, Mate in the said Ship.

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-noster Row*.







# An ACCOUNT of the wonderful Preservation of the Ship TERRA NOVA of London.

**T**HE dangers we ran thro' in this passage, and the distress we were in, were so extraordinary, that they cannot but deserve a place among the many relations the publick has received of strange shipwrecks, and unaccountable escapes and deliverances of vessels reduced to the utmost extremity. Tho' here be no new discovery, or description of nations before unknown, but a passage so much frequented, yet the circumstances of it are such, and the providence so singular, as are scarce to be parallell'd in any other voyage. I have been particular in the circumstances, as believing they would be acceptable to all that have any insight in sea-affairs, and represent the whole matter the more lively. As to the truth, I deliver it not upon hearsay, but as an eye-witness, present at every part, and void of any motive to draw me away from it, besides that there are doubtless many still living, who might disprove me should I be any way inclined to romance. In fine, this may serve as an encouragement to all that venture upon the sea, ever to hope the best in danger, and to confide in that providence which delivered me when all human hopes seemed to fail.

On the 17th of *August* 1688, the ship *Terra Nova*, captain *Daniell* commander, arrived at *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*. His grace the late duke of *Albemarle* was at that time governor of the island; but whilst we lay there unloading and providing for our return, the duke fell sick and died. Upon his death, the duchess resolved to return for *England* with her whole family; and, in order to it, agreed with our commander to take aboard as passengers fifteen of her men-servants, which, with two brothers we had before received, made seventeen. They laid in a plentiful stock of all manner of provisions, as sheep, hogs, turkies, hens, &c. with a sufficient quantity of *Indian* wheat, and other sorts of grain to feed them during the passage, according to all probability. The ship being well fitted, and the provisions and passengers aboard, we sailed from *Port Royal* on

the 24th of *December*, being *Christmas*-eve. We were richly loaden with sugar, logwood, *Jamaica* pepper, hides, indigo, sarsaparilla, &c. besides my lord duke's costly furniture, such as rich hangings, curious chairs, large looking-glasses, and all other choice goods. But above all, in the great cabin was a large chest, so heavy, that five or six men could but just draw it along the deck, full of pigs of silver, bags of pieces of eight, and some gold.

This treasure brought us into some danger; for the night after our departure, a sloop came up with us, and bearing along our side, after haling us, pretended to be sent on purpose with some letters from the then deputy-governor, and desired we would send our boat aboard for them, they having no boat, or else they would lay us aboard on our larboard quarter, and deliver the packet. Our commander suspecting some knavery, commanded them to keep off till day, and then they might deliver their message, our guns and small-arms being all ready to fire upon them if they offered to come near us. However, they ventured sometimes to make up towards us, but our commander threatening them hard, they fell astern of us again; and at last, seeing us resolute in keeping them off, they durst not attempt us, but made away, firing two guns with shot at us, which we returned in like manner with interest.

Being rid of them, we passed by the islands of *Caimanes*, and that of *Pinos*, so round the west cape of *Cuba*, called *St. Antonio*, in  $21^{\circ} 52'$  N. lat. and then entered the gulph of *Florida*, which we pass'd in few days with safety; and being got into the open sea, we plyed to the northward till we got to the westward islands, of which *Corvo* is the most northerly in latitude of  $40^{\circ} 9'$  N. Our commander fearing the north winds, stood on, still plying to the northward, till we got into the latitude of  $45^{\circ}$  N. It was then the beginning of *February*, at which time we met with very hard winds, for the most part east southerly; and being got so far northerly, we designed not to raise our



C. MAY. our latitude any more as yet, but were forc'd by the violence of the said winds to ply with our three courses, for about seven days, our topmasts struck and lowered snug down.

On the eighth of *February* 1688-9, the time when the sun enters *Pisces*, the storm ceased, and it proved a pleasant morning, with a fine easy gale, tho' in the same corner still, which made us all fall to work with willing minds; so we sway'd up our topmasts, set our topails, and let out all our reefs. But at noon, when we expected a good observation, having had none for some days, we found the weather thickened again, and looked foul, the wind at the same time shifting to S. E. and beginning to blow hard. We reefed our topails again, then handed them, lowered our topmasts snug down, as before, and lay some short time under three courses. Towards night, perceiving the weather grew still worse, and the wind stronger, we handed our foresail, and lowered the yard close down a portlongs; then did the same by our mizen, and before night reefed our mainsail; but at last finding the wind too fierce for us to hold that sail, we lowered our mainyard snug down a portlongs, and furl'd the sail. Having then but one mizen-sail, which was to the yard, our commander was loth to venture it in the force of the wind, and therefore ordered a main-bonnet should be spread on our weather quarter; which done, and our helm clap'd apart, being then our lee-side, the ship answered our expectations, and lay very well, looking upon the sea all night.

About four in the morning the commander consulted with us all what was best to be done, the wind raging, and the sea running very high; and it was agreed to let her lie as she had done all the night, not daring to scud, lest the sea should overtake us, or for fear of broaching to, and so foundering the ship. This was the ninth of *February* 1688-9, when about six of the clock in the morning, day appearing, as I stood at the steerage door, a violent sea fell in upon our deck, and floated our deal yawl, which was then stow'd in our long-boat on the deck, clear over our lee-gunnel; but her painter being made fast to the ring of our long-boat's bow, she tow'd by it under our lee, till we presently cut her loose, and never saw her more. Next our sprit-sail broke loose, and in a moment was gone clear out of the boltrope. No sooner was this past, but a second violent sea broke in upon us, and carry'd away our tow-bowers and stream-anchor clear

out of the lashings, and they were quite lost; but the same sea wash'd our sheet-anchor off our lee-gunnel, where she was stow'd; however the stopper to which the stock was lashed, holding, and the bill of the anchor lighting upon the upper channel-wale, there she remained, tho' without board. Fearing lest the past unhappy accidents should be followed by a worse, our men went forward upon the fore-castle to overhaul our runner and tackle, whilst I stood in the lee-scutters with a pair of slings to sling the anchor that lay quite without board. We were at least half an hour slinging and hooking the tackles, all which time I was, without any intermission, beaten by the sea continually breaking in; yet we compass'd our design, and lash'd the anchor, with a rope thro' the scuppers, to the gunnel.

This done, and having try'd the pump, and found the ship tight, we went in to refresh us, it being about eight of the clock in the morning, our passengers all abed as if they had been on shore; but our commander bearing an equal share in our labour, and endeavouring to secure all things. When we had set all to rights, and provided the best we could for other accidents, I brought some bread, and every one having taken what he thought fit, for we had plenty enough of that and other provisions for a long *West-India* voyage, yet as it happened, little enough, tho' it had been much more, as will appear hereafter. I went to the leeward, and stood looking forward out at the steerage door, when on a sudden a prodigious wave broke to the windward of our ship, and fell with such violence upon us, that it set us all a swimming, scarce knowing whether we were within or without the ship, but that on me roul'd the men, chests, handspikes, shot, and whatever lay to windward. The same sea broke away our starboard gallery, in which were all our compasses but two that stood in the bittacle in the steerage, and stav'd all the great cabin windows, so that it was like the rest, full of water; and the chest of drawers, cabin table, chairs, and what else lay to windward, fell all upon the captain, keeping him striving for life under water. The passengers fared no better; for being in close low cabbins, they were almost smothered before they could get out. The violence of this sea had quite overset our ship, so that the coamings of the main-hatches lay under water, and a man might have walked upon her starboard side without-board, as he could before upon the main deck. We could not have lain long in  
this



this condition without perishing, and therefore it pleased God, that the same sea which overset us, raking us along on our weather quarter with so much violence, hove our ship quite round against the sea, so that, tho' thus overset, being so violently toss'd round, she brought the sea under our lee-bow, and that side of the ship which before was the weather side, became the lee side. Having now the sea under our larboard bow, it gave her such a second toss, as set her upright again; and being at a stand, the water fell from off the deck.

Tho' this disaster all together was not the work of a minute, yet the damage our ship sustained by it was incredible. It carried away her head and cut-water, broke the bolt-sprit within a foot and an half of the stem, bore away the fore-mast close by the fore-castle, the main-mast within five foot and an half of the deck, and the mizen-mast, which was stept in the gun-room, close to the quarter-deck. It washed away seven powder chests plated fast to the deck with winding plate off the fore-castle and quarter-deck, staved the long-boat in her lashings all to bits, and in her drowned and washed over-board six hogs, as many sheep, and some goats, besides six hencoops full of hens it carried away; and in one hen-coop left on the quarter-deck, with about two dozen of hens, there was not one alive. Thirteen turkies were drowned in the fore-castle, standing on the guns, two tire of water-casks washed off the main-deck, and a spare topmast which was broke into three pieces, two minion guns, carriages and all, were lost from off the main-deck, on each side the bulk-head of the steerage, tho' well lashed with new britchings and tackles; two falconets and a paterero were taken off the quarter-deck, and both the bulk-heads of steerage and great cabbins staved to bits, so that there was not the bigness of a trencher to be found of them. But the worst of all was, that it carried away our starboard-side, fore and aft, from the steerage to the cook-room, as if it had been sawed close by the deck, and at the same time staved our bittacle to mash, with one of the compasses that were in it. The dish of the other compass by great providence, rousing about among the other broken things, was taken up by the duke's first gentleman, who threw it carelessly into his cabbins, without considering of what value and use it was like to be to us, but the box of it was lost.

When our captain had, with much difficulty, clear'd himself of all the things

that fell upon him, he call'd to me to know how things stood, who soon acquainted him how all our masts were gone, and we lay like a wreck. Hereupon we run to clap our helm a-weather; and coming to lay hold of the whipstaff, I found it was fallen into the gun-room; and going down to see the cause of it, was almost up to the knees in water upon our lower deck, which, with the beating of the ship, wash'd from side to side in such a manner, that I had much ado to scramble in to feel for the tiller. Having at length waded thro', I found the tiller lying in the gun-room on the deck, broke off short at the rudder-head. Whilst I was thus groveling in the dark, I felt my body all over covered with rats, as thick as they could stand upon me, on my coat, arms, neck, and my very head, so that I was forced to make my escape into the light to get rid of those vermin. Going up to see if we could by any means get the stump of the tiller from the rudder-head, we perceived our rudder hanging only by the upper gudgeon, and floating in the sea across our counter; and in less than a glass's time it broke clear away.

All this while our gunnel lay open, the water continually pouring down into the hold, and we could not tell which way to remedy it to prevent foundering. Our masts and yards lay still under our lee; and the ship driving in the trough of the sea upon them, it was hard to get rid of them, and it was altogether impossible to save any, because of the violence of the wind and sea, and the rousing of the ship. All our main chain-plates, both of shrouds and back-stays, both to leeward and windward, broke off short as if they had been glass, and not one of them held: so did all the chain-plates before, excepting the two aftermost plates of our larboard shrouds, which alone held, and kept the wreck under our lee, till at last our boatswain cut them away with a hatchet, and then they drove away a-head of us. Our mizen chain-plates broke all to windward, but those to leeward held; by which means we saved our mizen shrouds, which, with one half of our cross-jack yard, and a piece of our ensign-staff, was all we could save of our wreck. Besides, we found our grindstone at the end of our windlass, in the corner of our starboard gunnel; which was very strange, considering, that before we lost our mast, the stone lay in its trough, and that nailed down to the deck, between the guns by the steerage door; yet the trough was washed over-board, and the stone rouled so far forward,



C. MAY. wards, and lodg'd in that unlikely place very unaccountably, considering the rousing of the ship; and we should have had a great miss of it, had it been lost. Nor was it a less providence, that our main-mast and all the rigging falling overboard, did no harm to either of our pumps; for had they been spoiled, we could never have out-lived the next day.

Next we must contrive to secure our broken side, and keep the water from running down into the hold; for our ship, by the shuffling of the wind, lay again with her broken side to windward, and the weather continuing tempestuous, we were afraid the sea would drive away our other gunnel, by beating upon it continually; besides that, the water which broke in upon our deck, was constantly running down into the hold betwixt the side and the ceiling. The first thing we did was to stretch a coil of two inch rope from the timbers of the fore-castle to those of the quarter-deck, fore and aft, in the nature of a rope-maker's walk when their tenterhooks are all full of cable yarns. This we did to lay hold of as we walked along the deck, because, having nothing to steady our hull, she roul'd intolerably, and it was almost impossible for a man to keep his feet on the deck, without holding. This done, the boatswain and I having a bolt of *Holland's* duck delivered us by the captain, and our pockets full of nails, we stretched the said duck from the top of our broken gunnel, afore all along the deck, tacking it down with here and there a nail, both within and without the deck; and, to keep it the closer, our commander bored some hoops taken off an old cask, and drawing them out strait, we nailed them upon it. It had been impossible for the boatswain and myself to have done this, had we not had two long pieces of new rope about our middles, which were made fast at the other end to the rings on the deck, and two men attending us, they were let loose or shortened as we had occasion. With all this precaution and care the work took us up about two hours; during all which time, the sea continually beating in over us, we could scarce keep our eyes open to see what we were doing, or have full time to breath for fear of the water, which never ceased falling upon us.

By that time we had done, it was near night, and our commander had made two long hoses of canvass, and nailed them to the pumps to convey the water we pumped out of the hold, over-board; and whilst the pumps were fixing, we tacked up a main topgallant-sail for a

bulk-head to our steerage, rather to keep out the wind than the sea. Then our captain encouraged the men the best he could to stand by one another in their distress, which they promising to perform, he sat him down on the steerage with an half-hour glass, the only one that had escaped breaking, betwixt his legs, and four men were set to pump, being relieved every half hour by four others; which was continued for eighteen hours incessantly; at the end whereof, to our unspeakable joy, we found the pumps did suck. What water was betwixt decks we were forced to cut holes to let out, the scupper holes being all stop'd, except what was let down into our run, at the powder-room scuttle; which was done by our boatswain, who seeing so much water between decks, took up the said scuttle, thinking it might have drained down there to come to the pump: but we paid dear for this his indiscretion; for the water gushing down there, fell into our bread-room, and damnified half our bread. Thus ended the ninth of *February*.

The next morning after our pump had suck'd, we found several great leaks in the run of our ship, which were occasioned by the breaking loose of the rudder-bands, and the leaks were in such places that there was no coming to stop them; only the upper gudgeon being nailed to the rudder, was hung upon an iron hook drove thro' the stern-post; which drawing, and the hole being left open, I stripped an ear of *Indian* wheat, and thrust the husk of it strongly into the hole, where it remained till the ship got a new rudder. The other leaks were a continual trouble to us; for besides them our ship was as tight as a drum, notwithstanding all the damage receiv'd. About eight of the clock in the morning, this tenth of *February*, to lighten the ship, our commander caused six minion guns to be hove over-board, which was done by giving them a run out at the port-holes, on the lee side, where they stood in the steerage. Then we got up several *West-India* hogsheads of *Jamaica* pepper in baskets, and threw it over-board, with several casks of indigo, and the duke's curious chairs, and cases of all manner of goods, and rich hangings, as also abundance of log-wood and other goods; but the indigo scattering about the decks, spoiled all our beds and cloaths, so that not one man had a dry or clean rag to put on. Still the storm continued, and the pump was ply'd day and night.

We were now tired, and, what was worse, must think of retrenching our allowance,



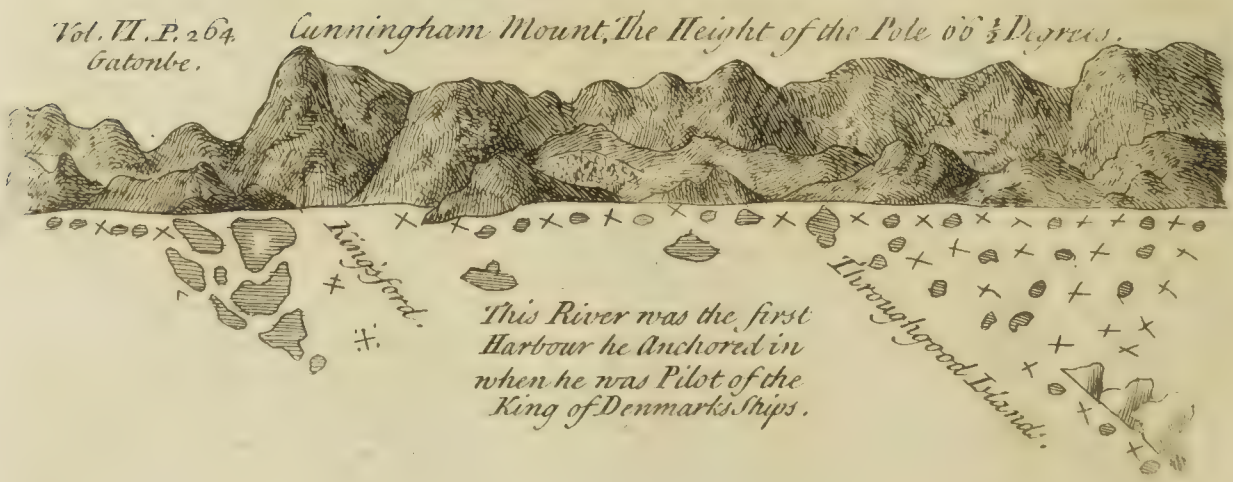




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lowance, for we had fed two days on the hens and turkies that were drowned, which was dainty fare; but no more being left, and we not knowing how long we might remain in that condition, judg'd it convenient to begin in time, and reduce ourselves to short allowance, that it might last the longer, about half of our bread being damaged by the salt-water. The cook had every day a pail full of it delivered to him, which he heated in the furnace, and then every six men had a mels bowl of it full: this we eat with sugar, having cut a hole thro' the bulk-head of our bread-room, to come at a hogshead, which proved very good, and was a great help to get down that wet bisket. This choice fare lasted us about ten or twelve days, and agreed with us well; but after that, the wet bread grew perfectly rotten, mouldy, and of several colours, so that we could eat no more of it, but hove what was left over-board in ballast baskets, and our allowance still grew harder. I had hitherto kept the key of the bread, but now observing that some men muttered, as believing I could go to it when I would, and so fared better than they; therefore to satisfy all, I delivered up the key to the captain. From this time our allowance was settled all alike to men and boys, our commander himself not excepted. When we were rid of our rotten bread, we lived for some days upon the provisions that were laid in for the sheep and hogs, being *Indian* wheat, which lay about the gun-room damnified by the sea-water: this we boiled sometimes whole, and sometimes, when we could, would beat it in a piece of canvass, and eat sugar with it to get it down. When the *Indian* wheat was done, then every six men had two pounds of bread for a week; four times a-week stock-fish was boiled, and then every six men had a pound and an half; and three times a-week beef, each time a small piece between six; also puddings three times a-week, each time a pound and half of flower betwixt six. The meat was watered, and puddings made with salt-water, and boiled in the same, as were the stock-fish, and eaten without any oyl, butter, or other thing whatsoever. Our allowance of drink was a small coconut-shell a-man, being about half a pint, or little more, delivered every night by the captain himself, or his steward, and then the spike cut off close till next night. The carpenter and I had a thirteen gallon cask of lime-juice, after all the rum was gone, which we broached, and when we could come at it without being seen, drank it with melasses, or sugar spoiled

by the sea water; but it lasted not long. C. MAY. We always drank it in private, because if any man saw another eat or drink, he would beg most earnestly, tho' he knew not what it was; for our short allowance pinched hard.

I was often commanded to go help stow the dry provisions with the steward, they being apt to shake loose in the lazaretto under the cook-room, which was a very agreeable employment, because I always found some scattered pease lying about in the scuppers, which I put in my pocket; and tho' they were swollen and ready to burst with salt-water, I eat them very greedily in some corner, not daring to be seen to eat upon the deck. Other times going to scuttle a cask of beef, and giving out the allowance to be put into water, I put into my pocket all the loose bits I found in the pickle, or could pick off the pieces, and would afterwards privately eat them raw without bread. But when the steward went down for sugar or bread, I had always some pretence, as looking to the powder, or the like, to go down with him; and when his head was thrust thro' the hole in the bulk-head of the bread-room to come at the sugar which was in the hold, then would I stuff a pair of *Turkish* boots I wore, as full of bread as I could, so as not to be discovered, and getting up into the gun-room where my chest lay, put out my cargo there in the dark; which done, I got again into the bread-room, and waited till the steward came out, begging a bit of bread of him, which he seldom refused me. This lasted not long, for at last the steward found the bread in my boots; and tho' he said nothing to any body but myself, yet I lost the favourable opportunity, and was forced for the future to fare as my brethren did. When we could gather rain-water on the quarter-deck, we boiled pease, and not else; and tho' they were, when boiled, as hard as swan-shot, and as bitter as gall, yet they went down pleasantly enough without butter. Very often when the beef was laid in water, it would be sliced away, and half of it eaten raw, and yet we never knew who did it. The manner of dividing our victuals was thus. When six men had their allowance given them, it was laid down fairly betwixt them, and divided as equal as possible; then one man stood aside so that he could not see it; and another pointing to a piece, asked who should have it? and he that was named by the other that did not see, took it; by which means we had no dispute about victuals. There were abundance of parrots aboard, and



C. MAY. and almost starved for want, and the duke's servants would commonly sell a parrot for a bisket to any man that could pinch one out of his belly, which several seamen did, and brought some of them home, tho' many died by the way. I brought a delicate bird to *Plymouth*, which cost me five dollars in the *West-Indies*, and thought it harder to maintain that poor creature aboard than I have since done a wife and two children. Rain water saved in a blanket was often sold by the men for a royal plate, or six-pence a pint, to the passengers.

But to come now to the manner of building our bulkheads, we had, as I said before, saved half our cross-jack, and a piece of our ensign-staff; with these two we made a pair of shoves, and fixing them on the deck over our starboard pump, lifted it clear off our lower deck. Then I went down into the hold, or well, and having made way by removing some sticks of logwood, I got at our dry ox hides, and rousing them close together, made a shift to hand up sixteen of them through the hole of the pump. Then the pump was again lower'd down into its place, we struck our shoves, and with the hydes we made up our bulk-heads, which when dry did very well, but as soon as wet they flopped like a piece of tripe.

All this while the weather was no way favourable, and we were spent with labour, and had not a dry thread to put on, and for about a week the boatswain's eyes and mine were so sore with the great cold we had taken, that we were not able to do any thing, but sit all day in a dark hole; but with our surgeon's assistance we soon recovered of that distemper. However the blisters we had on our knees by nailing *Holland's* duck on the side of our ship troubled us long after. The foul weather held us full twenty days without any abatement, and all this time we drove in the trough of the sea, the same side still to the windward. However by the dish of our compass we always observed her drift according to judgment, and now and then took a bad observation, and every day at noon lay flat on the deck to write down our past four and twenty hours work.

On the 21st day it proved fair weather, and being on the deck we spy'd a sail to windward of us standing to the eastward with his larboard tack aboard, the wind being now westerly; whereupon we fired four or five guns out of our fore-castle on the starboard side, and at last perceiv'd the ship bear down upon us, to our great joy, as hoping for some relief. When she was within a bowshot to windward and a head of us, discovering us to be a

wreck, she hoisted out a small boat, and in her sent four men, two of whom were *Dutch* and *Portuguese*. I was the only man that could speak to them, having learnt some *Dutch* in my youth, when I lived two years in the city *Zusphen*. The *Dutchmen* told me the ship was a *Portuguese* homeward bound to *Brasil*, of about 5 or 600 tons, as I remember. A *Portuguese* and a *Dutchman* were left aboard our ship, and the captain and I went aboard the *Portuguese*. The *Dutchman* interpreted betwixt the *Portuguese* captain and me, and I told our commander what the *Dutchman* said: we told the *Portuguese* the condition we were in, and heartily begg'd of him to afford us a spare yard or top-mast to make us a jury-mast. He had three or four of each fort lash'd along his gunnels and upon deck. Our commander offered him goods or money for them, and desired he would spare us a compass. The proud fellow stood on the deck with his hands in the sleeves of his watch-coat, and without returning any answer to our request, asked, How far we thought the rock of *Lisbon* distant from us? we answered, about 160 leagues eastward; then the *Portuguese*, shrugging his shoulders, told us, he could not spare us so much as a compass, for fear the same accident should befall him in sailing those 160 leagues, as had happened to us. But in case we were willing to quit our ship and bring our provisions and water with us, he would receive us aboard, and carry us to *Lisbon*. Hereupon our captain resolving to stay by his ship, left him, and the unnatural monster never so much as asked him to sit down, or to drink a draught of water; so we went into the boat again, and returned to our own ship. As we put from his side, he ordered some of his men to throw us a piece of wood, which was so rotten that it did us no service. Our commander made their men drink some rum, and then sent them back to their own ship, which then hoisted sail, and in three hours time was out of sight. But before the boat went off, our commander called all the seamen and passengers together, and told them, if any had a mind to go aboard the *Portuguese* whilst the boat was there, he would send them away with a competent allowance of provision, he being resolved to stay by his ship. To which the duke's chief gentleman made answer, he would stay and share his fortune, and all the company resolved the same; whereupon the boat was dismissed. Within half an hour after the boat was gone, the boatswain began to revile me, as if I had been the cause, that he and all the ship's crew were not taken aboard

the



the *Portuguese*; but our captain hearing it, took him up severely, and never liked him well after.

The weather now growing fair, and the water smooth, a black we had aboard, and I, were let down in ropes out at our great cabin ports, with each a pocket full of spikes and a hammer, to try if we could stop the leaks made by the tearing of the rudder bands; which with great trouble we perform'd, driving in two and thirty spikes between us, about a foot and a half under water: which made our hull so tight in the run, that she made not a drop of water there all the voyage after; so that we had no more trouble of the pump. The same black that afternoon going up on the poop, happen'd to drop the piece of our ensign-staff over-board, and knowing we should be at a mighty loss for want of it, he boldly leaped into the sea, and brought it to us again, which after served us for a mizen-mast. Being now somewhat favour'd by the weather, as hath been said, we began to consult how to get new masts and yards. In order to it, with the help of our former shores, viz. the piece of our cross-jack yard, and the piece of our ensign-staff, we got up the stump of our mizen-mast, which was about seven foot long serviceable, and no more. Our carpenter proving a mere bungler, and unfit to do any thing, the captain himself made a pair of cross-trees on one end of the aforesaid stump; then I sawed away all the splinter'd part of our main-mast down to the sound wood, and about two foot and a half lower down I sawed the remaining stump one third part through, and with a coopers-ads I hollow'd a place in the said stump of the main-mast, large enough to contain the stump of the mizen-mast when placed in it. These two stumps we spiked and woulded together, and, with wedges drove within the woulding with a maul, secur'd them. Then taking out the stump of the bolt-sprit, whose serviceable timber was not above three foot and a half, we fixed that to the lower part of our main-mast in the well, which, with the help of another man, I placed in the step, and spiked them together, then woulded and wedged them securely. So that when we had done, our main-mast was about seventeen foot high above our upper-deck. The piece of bolt-sprit was lowered down to me through the hole of the pump into the well. Whilst I was in the well, I knocked down two boards at the bottom of it to get at the ground tire of sugar, and beating in the head of a hog'shead, found all the said ground tire was quite out, and pump'd over-board. The piece of our cross-jack

yard made us a main-topmast. A main-yard we made with a spare tiller we had in the ship, and the tiller that broke in the rudder head. The top-sail yard was a main-top gallant yard that lay between decks. Our mizen-shrouds made us main-shrouds, and for the top-mast we made shrouds of two inch rope. Our main-top gallant sail was a main-top-sail, and we made a main-sail out of an old fore-sail. Thus the main-masts, yards and sails were fixed.

What to do for a fore-mast we knew not, but being one day in the gun-room, I perceived a beam under the great cabin, which was loose upon the ceiling, not bolted nor kneed. Having acquainted the captain with it, he viewed it, and had it cut down at both ends, and carrying it on the deck, he himself lined it all round with three-inch plank, after which we clapt eleven wouldings on it, and having fixed on a cap and cross-trees, we stept it in the stump of our fore-mast, and made shrouds of two inch and a half rope; so was our fore-mast fixed. For a top-mast to it, we took our whip-staff, and to strengthen it with a small gouge on that side we designed to stand aft, we goug'd a score, into which we put a long piece of a spare iron-bolt of about two inches and a half in size, and having woulded it securely with seven yarn sidnet, we got it over head, and it proved serviceable all the voyage. Our bolt-sprit was the long-boat's davit, lash'd to the stump of the cut-water, and spiked. It was lashed with our two main-top gallant clunings, and our fore-stay, being a two inch and a half rope, came over the roule, and then reev'd upwards through the hole, where the lanier of the davit was wont to be reev'd; so with three or four round turns about the davit, we hitch'd the end on the standing part, and belay'd it. Our fore-top sail was the fore-top gallant sail, and the yard belonging to the same for a fore-top sail yard, which went as a down-hall top-sail. Our fore-yard was made of pieces of three inch plank nailed together, and then woulded. We made a sail to it of our sprit-sail top-sail, adding two cloths to it in the middle of the sail. The mizen-mast was made of the piece of our ensign-staff, on which we carry'd our long-boat's main-sail with a reef in it. We also made a stay-sail, which was hoisted up to the head of our main-mast, and belaying the tack forward, we hawl'd aft the sheet.

This was the best shift we could make, and had then about 260 leagues to the lands-end of *England*. It pleased God the wind from this time always continued westerly, and yet the greatest of our run with all our sails drawing, was scarce a knot and a half, that is a mile and a half an

hour,



C. MAY. hour, so that we could scarce perceive the ship's motion through the water. Our lame side we had made up by clenching a piece of our main-sheet we had saved about a timber on the quarter deck, which with a small gun-tackle we brought taught forwards upon the fore-castle, and belay'd the fall. Then we sewed the wet hides round this rope with some marline and a boltrope needle, and then nailed them without board with small battens to the side, which served to keep off the spray of the sea. We endeavoured to steer with our head sails, but they not being enough to command her, it was an unspeakable trouble; for when our course was to be north-east, she would take a fling and look south-west. Then the way to pull her about was thus: We had lashed two of our burton clocks forward, one at each cat-head to a timber of the gunnel, and having aboard two small warps of about 120, or 130 fathom long each, one of these warps being reev'd in a block to the uttermost end of it, we did bend a grapnel, which had a cross made of three-inch plank split over the ring down the shank, and a coil of old rope coil'd round the said cross, which was of two pieces, each five foot and a half long; this rope was seiz'd securely fast to make it hold water taught, and on the fluke of the iron grapnel was a nun-buoy made fast, to keep it from sinking. Then veering this out to the better end of our warp, all our people, being thirty-one, would turn violently to, and by meer strength pull her about the right way again. It would sometimes take up two or three hours to get her about, and in five or six minutes she would look again as she did before. Thus were we continually plagued till our commander found out another way to steer, which was very ingenious; but it somewhat hindered the ship's way.

The thing was this; we took the end of our stream cable, about five inches and a half in size, and veered out at the larboard stern port in the great cabin about five or six fathom, and bringing the end upon our poop or quarter-deck, there we had a cross made of three-inch and half elm plank, about five foot and a half in length, bolted in the center with a short pump bolt, and having a small ring over the small end of it, we forelocked it, and then drove two spikes in each quarter; then clenched them securely; and in each end of the cross we bor'd with a large auger two holes, into which we drove two trennels; then we coil'd an old rope about the cross, and between the two trennels, and bor'd other small holes in each end of the cross, and through them seiz'd this rope

very fast, and on one end of the cross we bor'd a hole, and there splic'd in a wooden buoy, to keep the cross from sinking. Then we took a round turn about the cross with the end of the stream cable, and clenched it round the standing part of it, which done, we hove the cross, thus fixed to the cable, over-board, and veer'd it astern about twelve fathom; next we took one of our small warps, and reev'd one end of it through the block at our cat-head on the starboard, and the other on the larboard side, and passing the ends of the hauser or warp round our quarters, we brought them into our great cabin stern-port, and clapping both ends on the stream-cable with rowling hitches, and seizing them fast, veer'd the cross in all about sixteen fathom astern. Then we belay'd the cable to our main-mast, and with good caskets seized it securely to the rings of our ports, along the larboard side within board, in the great cabin and steerage, and with a piece of two inch and a half rope, we made two small sarvices splicing in each an iron thimble. These sarvices we clapt upon each part of the warp within board, abaft the windlass on deck, and hooked therein two small tackles. They being hooked in the sarvices, and the other blocks hooked in the eye-bolt, where our top tackle was wont to be hooked at the bulk-head of our steerage, and a man standing on the main-hatches with a tackle-fall in each hand, when he saw the ship fall off, he slack'd the lee-tackle, and hawl'd lightly the weather-tackle, and the ship answered immediately. And if the ship came too near the wind, he slack'd the weather-tackle, and gently hawl'd the lee-tackle, and so she fell off without any trouble. So that in short one man could steer the ship, and she answered as well as she would before the rudder. All the harm was, that the draught of water of the cross, did hinder our way.

By these contrivances we were fitted for sailing, and had a little ease from labour; but our fare was still very hard. And therefore for fear we should be drove to greater distress, we made tryal of eating hides, both by boiling and broiling, but still found them not eatable, for the first way they were but meer thong, and the latter no better than a burnt sole of a shoe. Some days after we had fixed our new rudder, we met with another storm, which lasted a few days, and one night we shipt a sea, which falling upon the bunt of our main-sail, tore it to rags, and carry'd our main-top mast by the board. The mast we soon got up again, though about two foot shorter than before. We cut up an old top-sail to make a main-sail, and for want



want of twine to fix it, we cut a piece of a white steering hauser, which we open'd and made hemp, and holding one end in our teeth, with our hands made small threads, and the captain and boatswain sewed them up. Thus we made the sail, and quilted it all over, and it proved serviceable. When it blew so hard, that we were fain to lie try, we would bowse our stream-cable up to the cat-head, with that part of the hauser or warp that lay to windward, and belay him fast, so that as we drove to leeward, the cross would always check her bow to windward, by which means, and the help of our main-sail, she always tended the sea well. A great dog we had, who before our misfortune was as fat as bacon, was now grown as lean as a rake, and so ravenous, that he was ready to seize upon the men; him we now threw overboard. We had contrived to make a box to our only compass left us, which the captain had one day upon deck, and coming down, left it wrapt up in his watch-gown. Our black going up, put the gown about his shoulders; but being still very cold, left it again carelessly with the compass upon deck; and soon after he was gone, we hearing a rumbling above, a man ran up, and found the dish of the compass standing fast on the top of our lee gunnel, but the box it hung in before was fallen over-board. This was the stranger, because our ship being but 130 ton burthen, the gunnel was very low on the quarter-deck; and had this compass been lost, we had been in a miserable condition, being still many leagues from land. The storm continued about 48 hours; and though the wind was fair, we could carry no sail to it, which made us lie a-try.

When the weather broke up, we out with all the sail we could make, and crouded on to the eastward, with the wind sometimes right aft, and sometimes upon our quarter, a brisk gale, yet she seldom ran above a knot and half, or six miles in four hours; but if ever she happened to run two knots, or eight miles in four hours, we were all overjoy'd, and presently began to reckon how long we should be getting into the soundings. At length, when by our reckoning we judged we could strike ground, our deep-sea lead and line were brought out, and having hove it over-board, we struck ground the first cast at one hundred fathom water. But when I drew up the lead, I perceived two of the strands of the deep-sea line quite broke asunder just above the eye of the line, so that only one strand brought up the weight. Then going to hang it on a cleat at the main-mast, the strap was so rotten, that it broke from the lead, so that it had a

double escape in the sea, being so near failing in two places; and if that had been lost, we had none left aboard. For joy of striking ground and preserving our lead, the captain made a half powder barrel of punch, and gave every man a large cocoa-nut shell full, which was about a pint. By our soundings we guessed ourselves to be upon one of the outward banks coming into the channel from the westward, so we held on our course with very brisk westerly winds, and a day's good observation, often heaving our lead.

At length, by our account, observations and soundings, we judged ourselves very near the channel, and expected, by the next day at noon, to fall in about six leagues to the southward of *Scilly*. That night I was upon deck from twelve till four in the morning, and, according to my commander's order, carefully steered E. N. E. it being a clear moonlight night. This was the 11th day of *April* 1689. and at 4 in the morning I went off, leaving the boatswain upon deck, and my orders. When day appear'd, one of our passengers coming upon the deck, and looking forward over our larboard bow, the weather being foggy, he thought he discovered a parcel of rocks; and acquainting the captain with it, he was of the same opinion, and took them to be the rocks by *Scilly*, called the bishop and his clerks. Hereupon he calls for me up, and asking what course I had steered, all I could say did not persuade him that I had steered E. N. E. according to his orders, but was positive I had fallen asleep, and not minded which way we went, concluding we were lost, as not able to avoid being upon the island of *Scilly*: however, he ordered in a hurry, the ship to be brought to, with our larboard tack aboard, to stand for *Milford* haven. I used all possible means to convince the captain, that I had punctually fulfilled his orders, yet we could not guess what those we took for rocks should be. We held on our course for *Milford* haven; but the fog clearing up in half an hour, we discover'd those we had taken for rocks, to be sixteen men of war, with some yachts, and other tenders in their company, which proved to be admiral *Herbert*, or lord *Torrington*, bound for *Bantry* bay, where, on the first day of *May* he engaged the *French* fleet.

The fleet discovering us, and judging we were in distress, the *Ruby* man of war stood with us; and being come long side of us, hoisted out her boat and came aboard. They told us, King *James* had left the kingdom, that the prince of *Orange* was proclaimed king, and war declared against *France*, which was all news to us.

They



C. MAY.

They took a particular account of all our damages, and then returned to their ship, and made sail to the fleet, our commander having desired them to acquaint the admiral with our condition, and beg the assistance of some ship to tow us into any harbour of *England*, for fear the wind should come about easterly, and drive us out to sea again, where we must all perish. The commander of the *Ruby* went and acquainted the admiral with our distress; and Capt. *Greenville*, commander of the *Advice*, and youngest son to the earl of *Bath*, whom the voyage before we had carry'd from *Smyrna* to *Constantinople*, being there present, and hearing the ship's and commander's name, acquainted the admiral with it, and had orders to sail after us, and tow us into *Plymouth*. We were now in despair of any help, the fleet being almost sailed out of sight, when at last we discovered a great ship making all the sail she could after us. She came up with us, and proved to be the *Advice* afore said. The lieutenant came aboard, and acquainted us his captain had orders to tow us into *Plymouth*: then our commander ordered the tarpaulins to be taken off our hatches, and the hatches unladen. By the by I must observe, that these tarpaulins were no other but some of the duke of *Albemarle's* rich hangings curiously painted in oyl colours, which had lain there ever since our misfortune, and kept out the wet to admiration. When our hatches were open, we roused up the end of our best bower-cable, and brought it to the windlass; and then passing the end of it out of the hawse, we bent it to a warp we had on board from the man of war; then we veered the cable out, and their men roused the end of it on board their ship, where making it fast on one quarter with a spring from the other quarter, they tow'd us after the rate of eight knots a glass, that is, eight miles an hour, or ten leagues and two miles a watch, which is four hours.

When we were fast to the man of war, our commander gave up the keys of the bread-room and lazaretto, and ordered we should all have what bread, meat, and drink we would, which we were very greedy of; and yet when it was dressed, we had very little stomach to it. The *Advice* towed us in as far as the buoy in *Plymouth* sound, where she cast us off; then we roused in our cable, and by the help of their pinnace and our sails, we ran our ship fast aground at low-water mark, under the *Lammey*, and against the *Barbican* at *Plymouth*; then running our stream-anchor and cable out to windward upon the flood,

we veer'd her into the harbour between the old causey and the *Barbican*, and warped her up to *Smart's* key, thousands of people flocking on the shore to see us. This was on the 11th of *April* 1689. Abundance of people came from all parts of the country to see the wreck ship, by which name she is called at *Plymouth* to this day. Here we entred a solemn protestation against the sea, drawn by Mr. *Samuel Eastlick*, notary-publick of that town, and signed by our commander, the boatswain, and myself; but nevertheless the *Cambridge* man of war pressed eight of our men the next day; and had I not by chance made my escape down through the hole of our pump, into the well, they had carry'd me away too. The next morning their press-gang came to beset me before day, but I kept close in my hole till they were gone: then I made my escape in a small boat to one *Madam Sparks's* at the *Friery*, where I was known, and the lady kept me above a week in her house; till having an opportunity to ride out as far as a place called *St. Austin*, where my parents dwelt, I had the satisfaction of seeing them again, and they new rigged me. When my commander sent me word that the press ship was gone, I returned to *Plymouth*, and by that time he had got our boatswain clear. Here we new rigged, got new masts and yards, boltsprit, sails, and rudder, but did not repair our sides or bulk-heads till she came to *London*, where, I suppose, our masts may now be seen lying at our captain's house near *Rotherhithe* church. From *Plymouth* we went in company with the fleet that came from *Bantry* engagement, to *Spithead*, where I and all the ship's crew, except the commander, his servant, and the black, were pressed to sail in his majesty's ship the *Old Lion*, Capt. *Charles Skelton* commander; from aboard whom I was one of the 106 men put ashore sick at *Godsport*, upon the king's account. Our ship went away to *Chatham*, and I left my chest with our old boatswain, who being careless, consumed and lost all my books, instruments and cloaths, and among the rest, the journal I kept of this voyage.

Thus have I given an exact account, to the best of my knowledge, of all our proceedings, without deviating the least from the truth, which whoever is pleased to read this relation, I hope, will give credit to, and not think it too tedious. Written on board his majesty's ship the *Resolution*, at *Spithead*, the 2d of *February* 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

CHARLES MAY.



## An ACCOUNT of the King of Mocha, and of his Country.

**T**HE respect which is due to this *Mahometan* prince, ought not to be past by in silence; for his qualifications are very eminent, and the country which he inhabits, extremely pleasant.

*Climate.* I will begin with the climate, which is very temperate, especially near *Kuddera*, which is dignified with the palace of the king; the air likewise is healthful, and the situation delightful, and the land, in some places, is enriched with very pure pleasant streams. In the winter, indeed, the cold is sharp and penetrating, especially in the mornings and evenings, beyond what the latitude of the place might seem to threaten; for allaying of which the natives seldom make use of any stove or fire upon their hearths, but only burn some rich perfumes that are warm and fragrant; the smoke of which diffusing itself thro' the room, and by continuance condensing, does both afford a most grateful smell, and revives and cherishes the cold and benumb'd senses, whereby their spirits are both refreshed, and their garments are perfum'd with costly odours: for this is a place considerable for myrrh and manna, for incense, cassia, balm, and gums of several sorts, all which are here in great plenty, and are therefore purchased at an easy rate. And notwithstanding its nearness to the sun, yet are not its beams so very scorching, but that an *English* cloth coat may here be worn in most seasons of the year, without any very great inconvenience.

*oil and products.* The richness of the ground produces yearly two crops of corn, both of wheat and barley, and other grains, by the plenty of which the poorer *Arabians* have their wants very happily supplied. Nor is there wanting great variety of the choicest and most excellent fruits, such as grapes, apricocks, peaches, quinces, pears, mangoes, dates, mulberries, oranges, plantains, figs, limes, pomgranates, &c. which are neither of an ordinary size, or common taste, but are large and fair, pleasant to the eye, and delightful to the palate. The peaches continue from the latter end of *May* till the beginning of *December*; but the grapes hold in season till *January*, of which there are abundance, and of sundry kinds: for nature here is so luxuriant, that plenty seems to vie with variety, and 'tis dubious whether she pleases herself more in the multitude of her productions, or in the delicacy of her increase.

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The beef that is eaten here, and fed on *Meat.* only by the poorer people, is but coarse, but the mutton compensates for it, being fine and sweet, and apt to invite the most delicate palate. The country abounds with store of wild beasts and fowls, with antelopes and deer, with hares and partridges, wild pigeons, and especially *Guiney* hens, and upon the sea-coasts with plenty of fish: and nothing is wanting, either in the agreeableness of the climate, or the fertility of the soil, to represent us with a faint idea of ancient *Canaan*, that lovely blessed place, which as this approaches in situation, so we may fancy that it does in some measure in quality too. And were we to judge of the future bliss of its natives by their present felicity, we should then conclude them to be in reality the happiest nation in the world: so that considering the constant moderation of the weather, and the distance of it from the excessive heats and colds, from the intemperate rains and droughts; considering the great plenty and variety of most delicate and grateful fruits, and the great abundance of fresh and healthful provisions with which this kingdom does so much flourish and abound, this country may very well challenge its claim to that epithet which bespeaks its felicity, and justly deserves to wear the title of *Arabia the happy*.

And as the people are extremely blest in *Inhabitants.* the temper of the air, and the fruitfulness of the country, so is the country equally happy in the probity of its inhabitants, in the exercise of their temperance, lenity, and justice; for their religion severely prohibits the use of any strong drink, which might be apt to unman their faculties, and tempt them to disorder and excess: and honesty is so much the practice of the natives, both abroad and in private concerns, that robberies here are very rarely heard of. Yet if any one here has been so grossly misled, as to fall into so detestable and uncommon a crime, they will however extend their clemency in his punishment, and not immediately deprive him of his life, who only robb'd them of their goods, but inflict the penalty upon the offending part, and cut off that hand which did the fact; so that here you may see forty or fifty camels laden with the richest goods which *Arabia* affords, sometimes with gold and silver, passing the road without any danger or disturbance, and only driven by six or seven men. And that which



which inclines these gentle *Arabs* to so much innocence in their lives, and the observance of so harmless a deportment, ought in a great measure, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the royal example of their kings, men generally of singular behaviour; which leads me now to speak of the present king, and his eminent qualifications.

Descent of  
the kings  
of Mocha.

The kings of *Mocha* and the parts adjacent, boast their descent from the grand prophet *Mahomet*, and *Hascem* his great grandfather. Nor do the eastern princes deny them this pretence, which renders them both renowned at home, and gives them a singular veneration among all the *Mahometan* emperors abroad; and therefore both the great *Mogul*, the great *Turk*, and the *Persian* monarch express their respect to him, not only in fine words and formal compliments, but in valuable and costly presents, in such presents as become the riches of *Asia*, and their eastern grandeur to bestow; and for this reason he is allowed not only to live tribute-free, exempt from the impositions of any superior and more powerful prince, but receives considerable donations from other kings.

Titles.

This prince is dignified with the title both of priest and king; and as he is stil'd *Amman*, which in their language imports a king, so is he likewise call'd *Xeriffe*, which signifies a high-priest; for, according to the original custom of the world, every man, in matters of private personal concern, acted as his own priest, as we read both of *Cain* and *Abel*, *Gen. iv. 3, 4.* But if the sacrifices of a family were to be performed, and oblations offered upon their account, the father officiated then as a priest, as *Noah* did, *Gen. viii. 20.* and *Job* for all his sons and daughters, *Job i. 5.* But when men began to multiply in the earth, and families united into societies, and rank'd themselves under one common head, as formerly they were under only one father, then was the prince of each society also the supreme priest; and both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and other nations, were originally the high-priests of their country, as *Plutarch* tell us of the *Greeks*, in his *Quest. Rom.* and *Virgil* in his *Æn. III.*

*Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique  
sacerdos.*

The same *Anius* was both king of men, and priest of *Phœbus*; and being honoured with both these titles, this king of *Mocha* does endeavour to maintain as well the piety of the priest, as the dignity of the monarch: for the eastern sovereigns being commonly absolute, and restrained by no laws, but only their own judgment and authority, do nevertheless rule their subjects with that modera-

tion, and so temper their meekness with their sovereignty, that the lives of their subjects are commonly as safe in their hands, as if they were guarded by the strictest laws of *Europe*. And therefore tho' the present king has wielded his scepter with that com-  
The pre-  
sent king-  
passion, that sixteen are the most that have been put to death since he ascended the throne (which is no less than fifteen years) yet is he reputed a prince severe and rigid, tho' the criminals condemned were notorious offenders in their esteem. But he quits himself clearly from any imputation of this kind, by his constant exercise of mercy, which is so much his favourite and beloved virtue, that he shews it upon all occasions, and measures his kindness so much by the distress of those that are miserable, that scarce any were ever yet known to depart from his palace without some relief answerable to their needs: for tho' he is attended with numerous guards, and is careful to maintain in all places the port and dignity of a king, yet he lays aside all awful majesty when misery and distress appear before him, and commands very strictly his great retinue to make way for the clamours of the calamitous, that the meanest peasant in his kingdom may not be denied to approach his person, when his extremities call for his aid; at which times he both vouchsafes to cherish them with kind expressions, and bountifully to supply their needs; and takes a pleasure, upon all convenient occasions, in dispensing his royal liberality with his own hands. A certain portion of victuals is provided by his appointment every day, and distributed in doles at his own gates. And upon *Fridays*, which is their weekly solemn festival, and upon all other religious days, his charity exceeds the common bounds, and flows in a larger current of liberality. In all the publick entertainments which are made for the nobility and state-officers, the poor have constantly a share in them, and are as constantly taken care of as the principal guests that are invited; for the king commands that such a quantity of fresh provisions should at the same time be made ready for them. At other times their fare is but ordinary and mean as their condition, and is frequently no better than camels flesh, especially that of the barren females; the others are made use of for burthen and increase. However, we read, that among the ancients, persons of the best quality in *Persia* treated their friends upon their birth-days (which were stated festivals) with a whole ox, and a whole camel drest. *Herod. in Clio.* and *Antiphanes apud Athen. L. 4.* says, *That a camel served up hot, was a feast for a king.*

When the winter approaches, which is not too severe in these parts, the royal bounty, as if it glory'd in patronizing the  
neces-



necessitous, takes likewise care to provide some raiment warm and convenient for such as are destitute of cloathing, to prevent their sense of misery in that season, and that nature might not be oppress'd by labouring under the want of necessaries. Nay, the king himself, and likewise the young princes of the blood, do often part with their own cloaths from their bodies, to cover such as they find naked, transcribing herein exactly the precept of our blessed Saviour, *Luke iii.*

11. *He that has two coats, let him impart to him that has none.* Thus he lives an illustrious example to his kingdom, of all those princely virtues of meekness, charity, justice and humility, which render him more beloved than feared; and is ambitious to shew his greatness rather by his acts of mercy than his power, as if he made use of that exalted station wherein he stands, only that he might, with more advantage, see and succour his peoples wants. And certainly this charity will hide a multitude of his sins, and plead powerfully in the excuse of the errors of his mind and education. And this merciful *Mahometan* shall find more favour with that Almighty Being, whose glory it is to excel in mercy, than the greatest zealots for the Christian faith, whose souls are not inflam'd with this divine temper.

And as his kindness is thus conspicuous to all that are in want, so is he likewise very bountiful and princely in his favours to all his servants and dependants, as particularly Mr. *Henry Watson*, an *English* surgeon, has observed, who is capable of confirming this relation; for the king hearing of the fame of the *English* in this art, sent for this gentleman to entertain him as his physician and surgeon; for in *India* they generally practise in that double capacity. When he arrived at *Mocha* from *Surat*, which was in the space of 28 days, he was detained by sickness for two months in that city, before he was able to travel to the court. During which time his salary was 125 rupies a month, besides an allowance for domestic expences. When the recovery of his health prepared him for undertaking the journey, the king sent him a curious *Arabian* horse, and appointed both a linguist and a cook, a groom and a footman to attend him; and upon his arrival, received him with a gracious countenance, and allowed him to kiss his hand. Besides his

monthly salary of 125 rupies, the king ordered him a dollar a day for the maintenance of himself and seven servants, besides three pounds of flower, one pound of butter, one pound of coffee, one sheep, wax-candles, and oyl for his lamps, and daily provision for three horses.

The first patient whom this new physician undertook to cure, was the queen, who laboured under a tedious consumption, of which she was recovered in four months; which was so grateful to the king, that he immediately sent him a curious horse and rich furniture, and a considerable sum of gold. Which present was seconded by the queen with a purse of gold, a rich piece of flowered silk, and several yards of choice *English* broad-cloth; who at the same time also cloathed all the servants that waited upon him. Several likewise of the sons and daughters, who were heal'd of very dangerous distempers, never fail'd of bestowing some generous present suitable to their high birth. Nay, the very opening of a vein, or a dose of physick, were always gratify'd with some considerable reward. And when some urgent occasions called the physician from the court, and he went to take his last leave of his generous master, he found him very averse to grant him a discharge, inquiring, with much concern and tenderness, whether any of the domesticks had given him any private distaste or affront. But when the king saw him pressing, and resolved to depart, he sent for him into his presence, and conferr'd on him a mark of honour, as a farewell sign of his royal favour and generous resentment of his eminent services; and therefore he commanded a couple of spears to be shaken over his head, and presented him with a delicate horse and fine sword; and after that they called him *Sheak*, which is a ceremony somewhat resembling the making of a knight with us. Besides this he gave him a writing, to which was affixed his hand and seal, allowing him the privilege of all his own goods custom-free; and another with the same privilege for the goods of all *English* merchants that came into the port of *Mocha*: but the latter of these two was lost upon his departure from the kingdom, when, in his voyage towards *Surat*, the *European* pirates made him and his companions a prey.



## Some REASONS for the Unhealthfulness of the Island of Bombay.

**S**INCE the unhealthfulness of this place is so fatal to the *Europeans*, and such a prejudice to the commodiousness of the harbour, where the captains are forced to exchange the lives of their sailors for the safety of their ships; I think it fit therefore to insist more particularly upon the reasons of this fatality; that when the causes of it are understood, all possible care may then be taken for preventing such an evil. That which therefore contributes considerably to this sad and deadly inconvenience, is the overflowing of the tide, which from the time that it is half flood, till it returns thither again, over-spreads one half of the whole island. This makes the ground which is overflowed, very waterish and marshy, and thereupon very thick and plentiful exhalations are rais'd by the constant vigour of the sun, and these being impregnated with the steam of the dead fish that are left behind at the retiring of the sea, are rendered extream noisom.

1st Reason.

2d Reason.

3d Reason.

4th Reason.

Another reason, and that which is a-kin to this, is the laying abundance of small fish at the roots of the trees, in the time of the rains, to make them the more fruitful. The putrefaction of which not only diffuses itself into the adjacent wells, which are often at no more than twenty or thirty yards distance, but likewise scatters a most fetid and nauseous stench into the ambient air, whereby the inhabitants are as much infected by what they breathe, as what they drink. Besides in the months of *October, November, December* and *January*, the easterly winds bring every morning great store of very thick and humid vapors upon the island.

To these may be added the excessive rains which fall from the month of *May*

till *September*, infomuch that sometimes they continue without any great intermission for three weeks or a month. At this time the natives throw up little banks three or four foot deep, to confine the water where the rice grows from falling away, so that the whole island seems in a manner to be under water, from whence arise such constant powerful exhalations as if the air itself were half changed into the element of water; and by this means the walls of their houses are all over covered with thick drops. These prodigious damps therefore insinuating themselves continually thro' the pores which are all of them open'd by the heat, and mixing themselves with the blood and humours, produce abundance of diseases even among the natives themselves, particularly rheums and agues, distillations and catarrhs, which degenerate often into fevers, and these terminating in a flux, commonly put an end to the patient's life.

The causes therefore of the unhealthfulness of this island are various, some deriving themselves from the natural situation of the place, and others from the carelessness and imprudence of the natives; and tho' it's impossible to prescribe a means for preventing all this, yet something may be thought of to alleviate these dire effects; and for the rest, whatever is within the reach of human industry and prudence, ought not to be neglected: particularly this, of building their houses two or three stories high, according to the custom of the *Portugueses*, who are much less subject to these diseases than the *English*, whose apartments are commonly upon the ground, which indeed prepares so many of them early to take up their rest in it.



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A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F A  
J O U R N E Y

Made thro' Part of the

*Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France.*

By PHILIP SKIPPON, Esquire.

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-noster Row*.



ACCOUNT  
OF  
JOURNEY

TO THE GREAT BRITISH MOUNTAINS

BY WILLIAM SMITH



# An ACCOUNT of a JOURNEY SKIPPON. made thro' Part of the Low-Countries, Ger- many, Italy and France.

**A**PRIL 17. 1663. *St. Vet.* being Friday, Mr. Ray and myself took horse at *Leeds* in *Kent*, and rode to *Canterbury* 20 miles, and 15 miles further we arrived at *Dover*, where we stay'd all night, and met the rest of our company, viz. Mr. Willughby and Mr. Bacon, with two servants, who came post from *Gravesend*.

April 18. In the morning we went up to the castle, seated on a high hill, garrisoned by 150 soldiers, and governed by *C. Stroud*; without the walls is a deep trench, and within high 30 acres of ground; here stand the ruins of a church, and the palace, a compact building, now somewhat defaced; a broad pair of stairs make the ascent into two or three large rooms; some small impressions were made by cannon bullets in the siege 1648. Within the castle walls are three wells, one in the outward space about 60 fathoms deep, a stone let down perpendicularly into it, strikes against the sides many times. Another well at the palace in the inner space about 80 fathoms deep; it has a little house over it, where they put two asses into a great wheel which being mov'd round by them brings up the bucket of water: the third well is near the broad stairs of the palace. In a little vault where beer is sold, we saw the brass horn call'd *Julius Caesar's*, the found whereof gave notice to the workmen to begin and leave off their days work, when they were building this castle. Below the cliff, and under the castle, is a platform, with guns that command the sea near the shore. On the walls of the castle are many platforms, having great guns mounted, among which one we observed about 23 foot long, made in *Flanders*, 1544; the bore of it is small. In this castle we saw a *Turkey* ram with four horns, two of the horns recurved like a goat's, the other two hanging down by his ears, which were much larger than our ordinary sheep's; his snout was arched, and his tail cut off because it trail'd upon the ground; the body seemed not much bigger than our common sheep; the wool was coarser.

The town of *Dover* is large and long, situated under the cliffs; it is a corporation, and sends two parliament-men to the house of commons. The haven has a peer of wood, and not far off is a ware-house of an indifferent bigness.

Before we entered the packet-boat, we pay'd to the clerk of the passage four-pence

custom for a trunk, and two-pence a portmanteau, four shillings and ten-pence for transcribing a pass for four persons, and three shillings and six-pence for transcribing a pass for two persons. To the water-bailiff one shilling; to the master of the ferry one shilling and six-pence a man; i. e. one shilling town-custom, and six-pence for himself. To the searcher, six-pence a man for writing down our names, and we gave him two shillings and six-pence because he did not search us.

April 18. About two in the afternoon we went aboard the packet boat; about eight in the evening we were besalm'd, and were forced to lie two leagues short of *Calais* till the morning, and then about five o'clock we arriv'd at *Calais*-shore, having sailed eight leagues from *Dover*. We gave five shillings a man for our passage, and five shillings for the use of the master's cabin. Two *French* boats met us off at sea, and boarded us, and paying three-pence a-head to the master of the ferry, we enter'd one of the boats in the haven; but before they would set us ashore, after much wrangling with those brawling sharking fellows, we were forced to give them six-pence a-piece. When we came to the town gate, the searchers opened our portmanteaus: they can demand nothing for searching, except any new things are found, as silk stockings, laced bands, &c. for which there a considerable custom must be paid. When we came to *Calais*, our inn, we repos'd ourselves till noon, and then walk'd over a large square marketplace, where there is a market twice a week, viz. on *Tuesdays* and *Saturdays*. The town-house (*maison de la Ville*) hath a fair tower; the hall for lawyers courts was burnt down 1659. We viewed *Nostre Dame* church, *N. Dame Church*. and saw many altars dress'd with pictures, &c. The high altar is curious wood-work, adorned on one side with the statue of *Charlemagne*, on the other side with the statue of *St. Louis*, and on the top the virgin *Mary*. To this church belong 20 priests, the chief of which is *Le Douen*. On the north side of the church is a monument erected to Sir *Andrew Young*, an *Englishman*, Baron de *Baume*, who dy'd 1637. In the churchyard the tombs are set up on the wall, as in *Scotland*. While they are at their devotions, the poor will beg of strangers and others in the church. We visited the nuns of the *Dominican* order, they were 28 in number; their chapel is a plain building without



**SKIPPON.** without and within; none of the nuns appear in the chapel, but their singing may be heard thro' the wooden grates in the wall. We were brought into a little parlour, and discoursed thro' a wooden grate with two of them, (one could speak a little *English*). They sold us several things made of straw, and faints bones wrought up in wax, and made at *Rome*, which were impress'd with the saint's effigies; they did not give them immediately to us with their own hands, but put the lesser thro' the grate, and the bigger things into a cylindrical box, which having a hole in one side, they turn'd the box, and then we took the things out of it. They would not shew us their faces. Besides the grate they have a curtain within, and they have a maid that stands nigh the altar to put out some of the candles when service is done. They chuse their abbesses once in three years. Another nunnery called the *Hospital*.

**Minnum.** At the convent of the *Minnum*s who are of the order of *St. Francis de Paola*, we saw a poor maid in the church, who (they say) was three years before miraculously cured of a palsy and asthma in a quarter of an hour's time, by praying before *St. Francis* his picture, she herself telling us that she was thus suddenly restored to her health and use of her limbs, after she had been four years distemper'd; her picture hangs up there, praying to that saint, and underneath are her crutches. And we also observ'd a great many legs, arms, hearts, &c. of wax, being resemblances of such parts as were cur'd. The friars brought us into their parlour, where the story of *St. Francis* is painted in several pictures, and we were in one of their cells, where they shew'd us a piece of our Saviour's cross brought out of *England*, and a piece of the sponge us'd at the passion. They have a small library, and garden; 20 monks did belong to this place, but now they are reduc'd to 12. Their cells are mark'd 1, 2, 3, &c.

*April 20.* being Rogation week, we saw their procession.

We went to the *Capuchins* chapel, but saw nothing there remarkable.

*Calais* is populous, it hath two gates, one at the haven, and the other very handsome, call'd *La Porte Royale*. The houses are much after the *Scotch* fashion, built of brick, and tyld; their windows are half glass, and the lower half is a wooden casement. The great church (*Nostre Dame*) and a large square stone building, were built by the *English*. Many of the women wear green rugs in cold weather about their heads and shoulders, like the *Scotch* plads; they call'd this rug *Une mante*.

A strong old wall made by the *English* encompasses the town, and a deep trench full of water round about it, and without

this trench is a new wall, built about 35 years ago, with two trenches of water about it. They would not suffer us to go up any steeple to view the town, nor permit us to go into the citadel, which is large, and within the walls of *Calais*; two forts besides and bulwarks without the walls. The number of the soldiers in garrison is sometimes 2000, sometimes 3000, more or less. The present governor's name is *Monf. Le Conte de Chano*, one of the four captains of the king's guard, *mareschal de Camp*, counsellor to the king, governor of *Calais* and *Le pais Conquis*. Soon after we came to *Calais* we sent our names to him; drums and trumpets gave us their salutes. Old *Calais* is not far distant. Hereabouts and in the town are 22 windmills.

The government of *Calais* is by a mayor <sup>Governor</sup> and four eschevins chosen by the freemen <sup>ment</sup>. every year; the eldest eschevin is deputy mayor. None can be mayor except he hath first been treasurer and four times eschevin. There is a court of Justice to decide controversies between merchants.

The *Hugonots* or *Protestants* that are freemen, are not capable of the aforesaid honours; the governor can arbitrarily dispose of the town offices.

On the sands near *Calais* we found growing *Rhamnus* L. *Diosc.* and *Cochlearia minor rotundifolia*.

*April 21.* paying first to the searchers at the gate five-pence a portmanteau, and five-pence a trunk, and five-pence for a pass through the Gate, and eleven-pence for a pass to *Grevelin* and *Dunkirk*, we went into our waggon, and travelled by Oye in a fenny level. Some distance before we came to *Greveling*, our portmantaus were visited by a troublesome searcher, notwithstanding the pass we procur'd in the morning; then we ferry'd over the river *Aa* in a boat, which was pull'd over by a rope that cross'd the water. Four leagues from *Calais* we arriv'd at *Greve-Greveling*, passing first over five draw-bridges. Many trenches, strong bulwarks, and a firm wall about this place. The houses are poorly built, being a frontier of *Flanders* which is divided from *France* by the *Aa*; the streets are broad and well paved; we saw *Nôtre Dame* church, and gave a visit to the *English* nuns of the order of *St. English* *Clare*; the name of the abbess was *Taylor*; Nuns of *St. Clare*. she spake very civilly to us, and told us they were in number 44. They live very strictly, and never see the face of any man; the bars were of iron that we discours'd through. They have a large house and garden. About eight years ago part of their chapel was blown up with the magazine of the town. The abbess is chosen for life by the major vote.

Another



Another nunnery of 14 black nuns. And a monastery for 14 *Recollets*.

A large market-place, where are markets on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*.

He that is governor of *Dunkirk* is governor of this place. They would not permit us to walk the fortifications.

After dinner we pass'd in sight of *Borborgh* steeple, and riding a sandy way by little hills, we saw the ruins of *Mardyke* fort. The country hereabouts is much spoil'd by wars.

*Dunkirk*. In the evening we entered *Dunkirk*, and the next morning, *April 22*, we had drums beating at our chamber door. About five or six months before the town was garrisoned by five thousand *English* soldiers, but now sold to the *French* king for five million of livres; the governor is monsieur *Le Strade*, ambassador at the *Hague*, and his deputy-governor is the marquis *Monpefant*; there are about three thousand in garrison. The soldiers have two or three streets of uniform lodgings, two stories high, three beds in the lower room and two above, and three soldiers lie in a bed. We went in a boat to the fort built lately by the *English*; it is on the sand, which by some winds is so driven that you may walk over the walls. The *English* made two firm bulwarks, which command the sea, and under them is a broad platform, and then a thick wall (not yet finished) and within the wall is a passage for soldiers to stand in, and shoot through; a trench round besides; beyond the fort, towards the sea, is another sand. There are three gates besides the water-gate; the town is not so populous as *Calais*. Most of the dead are buried in a church without the suburbs, and a little chapel called *St. Louis*. The stadthuys is a good stone building; there are three market-places, one for corn, another for fish, and a third for herbs, called the green market.

*Gilds*. There are three gilds or fraternities, first, of the cross-bow; second, the hand-bow; third, the musket. *St. George* is patron to the first, *St. Sebastian* to the second, and *St. Barbara* patroness to the last.

*Government*. *Dunkirk* town is govern'd by sixteen magistrates, who out of their own number make a yearly choice of two bailiffs and a burgo-master. The freemen elect the sixteen.

The buildings are fair and uniform, and the streets broad and handsomely paved. *St. Peter's-street* is so call'd from his statue erected there.

*English nuns of St. Clare*. We visited the *English* nuns of the order of *St. Clare*, which are ten in number: they told us that they came from *Greveling*, and that seventeen of their order removed themselves to *Rouen*. They never eat flesh;

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we went into their chapel, and then through a wooden grate we had liberty to see one or two of them in their habits, but would not discover their faces. The abbess's name is *Browne*. They perform their devotions six times in twenty-four hours. They wear a cord about their waist, with which they discipline themselves.

We went then to another nunnery of *English*, called *The rich Nunnery*, and being admitted into a parlour, a curtain was drawn, and we had freedom to see and discourse with the ladies; about five or six giving us the entertainment of their company through an iron grate; the lord *Rivers's* daughter, and one Mrs. *Carew*, were two of the ladies we saw; the abbess of *Guant* is their abbess. These nuns transplanted themselves hither about a year ago, and are thirteen in number, which is not limited. If any desire to be admitted, they have two years trial; the first year they may go abroad, the second they are more strict, but yet have liberty to recede; they have a school-mistress to teach young gentlewomen to work, sing, &c. These nuns say their publick prayers five times a day, spend two hours in recreation among themselves, and the rest of their time in private. They told us, that at *St. Omer's* are kept the bodies of two or three *English* saints. The *Benedictine* nuns are stinted in time for work, and an hour before dinner is allotted for mental prayer.

At the cloister of the *Annunciata* are white nuns.

The black sisters or nuns attend on the hospital.

We saw a procession of thirteen *Recollets*; *Recollets*. they are barefoot, but go on wooden sandals. In this town is a cloister of *Carmelites* and another of *Minnums*.

The jesuits have a fair college and a handsome church; two tall marble pillars support the gallery the organ is on. Here are many pictures representing the sufferings of jesuits in *Japan*. Arms, legs, &c. of wax hung up on the walls of the church. On the left hand of the high altar was written *Sacellum reliquiarum*. The confessing seats are handsome.

We view'd the great church, which is fair and large, adorn'd with good pictures, as the stories of *St. Sebastian* and *St. Agatha*; the virgin *Mary* is well drawn; and there is a very great picture of the resurrection at the west end, drawn from a little original. *Rattokamar* the author. The high altar is very sumptuous, built of marble, and incompass'd with black marble pillars; two stately high candlesticks (nigh ten feet high a-piece.) There are continual prayers said whilst the sacrament is set on the altar,

F C

two



**SKIPPON.** two of a religious order being on their knees, till other two come. We observ'd the statues of St. *Lawrence* and St. *Giles*, &c. In this church are fifteen chapels. A canopy of wood stands over the front; the steeple is of a good height, having many bells in the windows that chime tunes. Every one of the chapels is covered with a pyramidal pinnacle. The roofs of the wings or isles of the church are fallen down, and that which remains is the nave or body, and the choir, which is much higher than the body.

The key is of a great length, and is handsome; on the wall of the shore stands a tower or *Pharus*. The town on the other side is strengthened with the same wall, and a deep broad trench, and fortified with good works without the suburbs. Without the outworks are three or four draw-bridges.

We took notice here of two sorts of fishes, viz. first, the *Marner*, and another which some called *Tench*. We met with another fish called *Potsboest*, i. e. *Scorpana Bellonij*.

**Nieuport.** April 23. In a waggon we rode over the place near the shore where the *English* encamp'd and fought 1658 with the *Spaniards*; and after four leagues riding, on our right, saw at a distance *Vuerne*, and two leagues further, passing over three bridges, we entered *Nieuport*, and then went to one of the garrison captains, who asking whence we came, &c. dismiss'd us. This place is well strengthened, and is possess'd by the *Spaniards*. The governor's name is Don *Francisco Gonsales d'Alvedo*. The streets are well paved, are broad and streight; the houses are low, but uniform; the market-place is a pretty square area; the stadthuis is indifferent. A tower at the market-place which hath many chiming bells in it. A handsome key by a long and safe harbour, at the entrance whereof stands a tower. The place is not populous, and the inhabitants that are, maintain themselves by fishing.

**Government.** Nine magistrates, two burgo-masters, and one bailiff, rule the affairs of the town.

Five convents, viz. 1. White nuns of the *Annunciata*. 2. Penitents of the order of St. *Francis*. 3. *Recollets*. 4. *Carthusians*. 5. The monks of St. *Norbertus* his order, clad in white.

We view'd the church of *Nôtre Dame*, which hath a stately large and high porch; the apostles statues stand on the pillars of the body of the church, and St. *Norbertus* among the rest. About the frame of the canopy which is carried over the host is written, *Ecce panis Angelorum*.

After dinner we travell'd over the place where the famous battle was fought be-

tween prince *Maurice* and the king of *Spain's* forces; and on the sandy hills we observ'd a black cross erected in *perpetuam rei memoriam*: then we rode over a sandy shore, and in the evening arrived at *Ostend*. **Ostend.** Having pass'd over three draw-bridges, we came into a neat square market-place, where one of our company went to the captain of the guard, to be examin'd whence we came, &c. At night we sent our names to the governor's deputy, there being no governor at present; but Don *Pedro Cheval* is expected; there were not above five or six hundred soldiers that garrison'd this exactly fortified place, and the curious bulwarks. The town is indifferently full of inhabitants, who are under the government of eight **Government.** magistrates, one bailiff, and one burgomaster, who are chosen every year, two years, or three years, as the commissaries of the country please.

There is a little square market-place for cattle. The key is handsome and broad, and the haven is large.

The great church is indifferent; but having no chapels, the altars are set against the pillars. At the high altar is a fair picture of St. *Peter* fishing. At the west end hangs this inscription,

*Ab insidiis Gallorum liberavit nos Dominus, Anno 1648. 15. Jun.*

Two monuments, one of the last governor.

The prison is well built, and hath a beautiful tower, with many chiming bells in it. The king of *Spain* hath granted many immunities to this town. There are but two gates, and but two monasteries, one of *Capuchins*, the other of *Jacobin* or *Dominican* nuns.

April 24. We took our places in a boat that went a league, being a fourth part of the way to *Bruges*; and then we came to *Sluces*, and entered another boat, which brought us betimes in the afternoon to *Bruges*. In our passages the boatman paid something at two bridges, which were removed aside to let the boats pass.

The city of *Bruges* hath very fair streets, **Bruges.** well paved, streight and broad, the citizens houses are handsome, five or six stories high; in the market-place, a spacious square, we saw a multitude of people about a stage, where actors entertain'd the company with dancing, &c. this week being a time of jollity, there being a kermes or fair. The gentlewomen in their coaches rode through the principal streets, and observe a tour as our *English* gallants do in *Hyde-Park*, and the ladies are treated with sweet-meats, &c. And yet it is reputed a great absurdity to eat apples, or any thing else, as one walks in the streets.

We



A tall man.

We saw a very tall man, 27 years old, born at *Schoonhoven* in *Holland*, his name is *Jeanne Taeks*; I stood under his arm-pit with my hat on, which was two yards; from his middle finger's-end to his elbow 25 inches and a half; the length of his hand from the tip of his finger 11 inches. His finger was as long as my hand, eight inches. He spoke *English*, having some years since been in *England*.

inches broad, and seven feet eight inches long) which is mark'd with crosses thus: *SKIPPOH.*



A burial.

We observ'd the burial of one in the *Dominicans* chapel, the friars first carried a cross and banner, then follow'd the corps borne by four of them; some distance before they entred the church they began their singing, which continued a good while after they came in; one of the monks going round the body with a pot of incense, with a brush sprinkled holy water; then he read some prayers, and all that while two of them rung a bell near the dead body, which was then carried to the grave, accompanied by three or four of the *Dominicans*, the rest went to the choir and sung: at the grave one of them took a spade, and threw earth on the feet, middle and head of the coffin, then incense was shaken over it, and holy water sprinkled about.

The *Dominicans* church is large and handsome; on the pillars stand statues, and the entrance of the choir is marble.

Jerusalem church.

We went to the *Jerusalem* church, which we were assured exactly resembles that at *Jerusalem*; it was built by one *Merklier*, who travell'd three times thither about three hundred years ago, to take a true survey of all particulars. His and his wife's monuments are before the altar, just in the same place where queen *Hellen* lies buried at *Jerusalem*. At the east end beyond the south corner, is our Saviour's tomb, and on the side wall is written, *Et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*; the tomb is one intire stone seven feet long, the breadth is one foot nine inches, the height two feet nine inches. The effigies of our Saviour lies in a hollow of the wall, the length of it is near five feet, all marble, and of such stone as that at *Jerusalem*, and all the dimensions of this place agree with that. All the walls are black'd over. A double red woollen cloth, and over that a linen of net-work, cover'd the figure of our Saviour's body; on *Good-Friday* and *Ascension-day*, two soldiers stand with halberds at the entrance, who take care that all may see that come on those days. About two feet seven inches from the tomb-stone is an unpolished stone, like that at *Jerusalem* whereon the angel sat, and its dimensions are exactly the same. Over a vault, where pilgrims that die here are buried, is a marble stone (four feet two

An artificial rock is behind the altar, whereon are express'd three crosses, three death's heads, two ladders, two whips, a pair of pincers, three nails, two cords, the crown of thorns, the lanthorn, the sponge, a torch, the pillar, the purse of money, three dice, a bucket, the coat, &c. Fourteen steps on each side of the altar lead up into another chapel, the steeple is of a parallelogram figure, with the corners cut off. A piece of the cross is kept at this altar, and over the altar is a picture of the passion. On the top of the steeple we went into a copper globe, where a dozen men may stand, and above this is a piece of a wheel, like that piece of *St. Katherine's* wheel at *Jerusalem*.

In this city are five gilds or fraternities; Gilds. 1. of the Fences; 2, 3. two of the Cross-bows; 4. the Musket; 5. the Hand-bow; this last we saw, and went into a garden, where, in a long gallery, the spectators stand to see the shooting: here a high pole stands with a wooden parrot on the top, which is shot at every last *Sunday* in *April*; he that shoots it off is chosen master with a great deal of triumph; the late duke of *Gloucester* took it down, and under his picture in the great hall is inscribed,

*Henrico D. G. Duci Glocestriæ Sodalitij Sti. Sebastiani Mæcenati et Sodali.*

Our king *Charles* the second's picture is in white marble, with his arms.

In the garden lies a whale's throat-bone.

We saw one of the cross-bow gilds. In the garden are long bowling alleys (made like *Pall-malls*) where they play with spherical bowls; a chapel at this gild.



SKIPPON.

In the hall, under the picture of king Charles II. is written,

Carolo II. Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ et  
Hiberniæ regi, grata Confraternitas  
Sodali suo & Mæcenati Monumentum.  
P.

And under the duke of Gloucester is written,

Henrico D. G. Glocestriæ Sodalitii Sancti  
Georgij Mæcenati et Sodali.

The picture of one Onnoti a burgo-master, who procured our king moneys in his exile, which are now repaid to Onnoti, who hath 1000*l.* per annum (they say) settled on him.

The cathedral is dedicated to St. Donatus.

We visited St. Donatus's church, which is the cathedral; having many statues of the apostles, &c. on the pillars; the entrance into the choir is of marble. St. Jerom's chapel, among many others, we took notice of, which was hung with gilt leather. In the middle of the choir near the altar is the monument of Louis earl of Flanders, having this inscription round the edges of the marble.

*Cy gist noble et puissant Prince de bon memoire Monseigneur Loyis Conte de Flandres, de Nevers, de R. . . . qui trespasse en l'an de grace 1446. Aug. 25. Pries pour l'ame.*

On the north side of the choir, near the altar, is another monument, with this inscription.

*Cy gist tres-illustre Prince Monseigneur Jaques de Bourbon, Chevalier et Frere de l'ordre de la Thouson d'or, belle et adroit de Corps, sage, vertueux, valeureux, bien amé, et fils de feu M. . . . de tres-noble memoire Monseigneur Charles Duc de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne, &c. et de Madam Agnes de Bourgogne, et Uncle maternelle de tres-haut, tres-excellent, et tres-puissant Princeesse Madame Maria par la grace de Dieu Duchesse d'Austrie, de Bourgogne, de l'Ostrecht, de Brabant, de Luxembourg, de Limbourg et de Geldrie, Comtes de Flanders, d'Artoys, de Bourgogne, d'Hainault, d'Holland, de Zealand, &c. laquelle trespasse de ce siecle 23 an de son age, le 22 du May. En memoire de quelle ladite madame sa Niece fist faire ceste Sepulture et fonda l'autel prochaine en l'an 1479. Pries Dieu tout-puissant pour l'ame de luy.*

In the corner between this last monument and the altar, lies Margaret coun-

tes of Flandres; and at the foot of Louis earl of Flanders is a white grave-stone thus inscribed,

*Siste Viator, metæ ades ad quem properas, monumentum hoc inspice; perillustrem Reverendissimum D. Dyonygium, hujus quondum ædis Canonicum, Scholasticum, Decanum, dein Sextum Brugenium Episcopum hæc Urna tegit, sed Mentem sed Virtutem non tegit, effulgebit illa in æternam, in hac quam ære suo statuit manu sacravit, devovit, sibi superstes vivit in illustriori monumento, Civium Brugenium in animis, pauperum memoria, hæc unâ honoris cursum non annos mensus est, testis ei religio, testis ei patria, ab illo strenuè propugnata, sed prob dolor . . . . . in . . . annos, menses 10, dies 10 . . . . . Præsulis Virtutem mors immatura contraxit, ingemuit pietas, sed cum pugili suo non occubuit, ultro triumphat, cælum visit, quia patiando luctata est. Tu Sepulto bene Apprecare. Obijt Anno Domini 1639.*

A little below the earl of Flanders his tomb, on the north side, is a stone, which we guess'd was over Ludovicus Vives; but the letters of the epitaph were scratch'd out.

Not far off is a grave-stone over Petrus Curtius, primus Episcopus, and another over Drusus, secundus Episcopus, qui obiit 1594. Note, the bishops of the city of Bruges are always chancellors to the king of Spain; the present bishop's name is Heniin. Carolus Philippus de Rodoan, Consiliarius & Episcopus, hath a monument in a little chapel on the north side of the body of the church. A Præpositus of this church lies buried here, who was elected archbishop of Palermo, but died before he was consecrated. Arnolpbus, earl of Flanders, founded seven of the canons places, and is buried here. In a great cloister on the wall is this written under the virgin Mary's picture with our Saviour in her lap,

*O Mater Dei, Memento Mei. Nobilissimæ Augustæ Domine Gunildæ Canuti, Angliæ, Danemarcia, Norvegiæ & Sueciæ Regis Filiæ, Imperatoris Augusti Henrici nigri laudatissimæ Conjugi, post acceptam gravissimam à marito injuriam hoc in Castello religiosè viventi, &c. A. D. 1042. 12 Kal. Septembris defunctæ, hoc monumentum Ecclesia (cui perquam erat munifica) erexit, quod denuo restitutum per M. Nicolaum Helewout, Organistam.*

30 canons, 25 chaplains, and 12 musicians (who have each five Flemish pounds per mensem) belong to this church.

April



April 26. We saw the bishop of *Bruges* enter the choir; he wore a purple habit fac'd with scarlet; about his shoulder it look'd like our judges robes; there was a pot of incense brought to him, which he took into his hands. The steeple is high.

N. Dame. We view'd many particulars in *Nostre Dame* church; on the pillars stand the apostles statues, and others; the body of the church and choir have double isles; a good picture of our Saviour's passion is over the high altar; marble pillars adorn the entrance into the choir. In this church stands the statue of *St. Christopher*, of a huge bigness. The chapel to the virgin *Mary* is encompassed with brass pillars, and hers and our Saviour's statue are over the altar, being valued at its weight in Gold. On the north side of the choir not far from the altar, lies a grave-stone, with this inscription.

Sir *Robert Louell* of *Harling*, in the county of *Norfolke*, married \* *Jane* daughter of *John Roper* Baron *Tenham*, Sister of *Christopher* Baron *Tenham*, and Aunt of *John Lord Tenham*.

*Maria Roper, Angla, Roberti Louell Equitis aurati Vidua, Johannis Roper Baronis de Tenham filia natu nobilissima, tamen fidei zelo Catholicae quam ut liberè exerceat patria & parentibus relictis exilium subiit voluntarium, sollicita semper ut de bonis bene mereretur, vixit pauper ut pauperes pasceret, religiosi & locis sacris devota, & beneficia Monialibus Anglis Antwerpiae ex Sancta Terefiæ familia monasterium fundavit & redditibus ornavit, & dum aliud erigere ad honorem Sancti Bernardi in hac civitate meditabatur, superatis magnis laboribus & impensis varias oppositiones & non paucas perrumpens difficultates cum jam piam intentionem ad finem quasi speratum promovisset, placuit Domino Deo huic mœstissimæ faminae pro vita caduca quam piissimè egit & peregit æternam commutare 12<sup>o</sup> Novembris, Anno Dom. 1628. Ætatis 77. Requiescat in sancta pace. Amen.*

In the middle of the choir, near the altar, are two stately monuments, one thus inscrib'd.

*Cy gist tres-haut tres-puissant & magnanime Charles Duc de Bourgogne, de l'Othryck, de Brabant, de Limburg, de Luxembourg, & de Gueldres; Conte de Flandres, d'Arthoys, Conte de Bourgogne & Palatin de Hainnau,*

*de Holland, de Zealand, de Namur, & de Zutphen; Marquis du Saint Empire, Seigneur de Frize, de Salines & de Malines, laquelle estant grandement doué de force, constance & magnanimité, prospera longtemps en haults Enterprinses, Batailles & Victoires tant à Mont-le-Heri en Normandie, en Arthois, en Liege, que aultre part, jusques a ce que fortune lui tournant le doz l'oppressa la nuit des Roy, 1476. devant Nancy, le Corps du quel deposite au dict Nancy fut depuis par le tres-hault & tres-victorieux Prince Charles, Empereur des Romains, Cinque de ce nom, Son petit nepueu, Heritier de Son Nom, Victoires & Seigneuries transporte à Bruges, ou le Roy Philippe de Castille, Leon, Arragon, Navarre, &c. Fils dudit Empereur Charles le fait mettre en ce tombe du costé de sa fille & unique Heritier Marie Femme & Espeuse de tres-hault & tres-puissant Prince Maximilian Archiduc de Austrie depuis Roy & Empereur des Romains. Pries Dieu pour son ame. Amen.*

Close by is the other monument, with this following inscription.

*Cy Sepulchre de tres-illustre Princesse Dame Marie de Bourgogne, par la grace de Dieu Archiduchesse d'Austriche, Duchesse de Bourgogne, de l'Othryck, de Brabant, de Limburg, de Luxembourg, & de Gueldres; Contesse de Flandres, d'Arthoys, de Bourgogne, Palatine de Hainnau, de Holland, de Zealand, de Namur, de Zutphen, Marquis du Saint Empire, Dame de Frise, de Salines, & de Malines, Femme Espeusé de tres-illustre Prince Monsieur Maximillian lors Archiduc d'Austrich & depuis Roy des Romains, fils de Frederick Empereur de Rome; la quelle Dame trespassa de ce siecle an l'age vint cinque Anns le 27 jour de Mars l'an Mille quatre Cens quatree vingts & un, & demoura son heritier Phillippe d'Austrich & de Bourgogne son seul fils en l'age de trois ans et neuf mois, & aussi Margarete sa fille en l'age de quatorce mois, et cinque ans fut Dame des susdit pays quatre ans & neuf mois fut en mariage vertueusement & en grate ameur vescu avec Monsieur son Marie. Regretté, plainté & ploré fut de ces Sujets & tous autres qui sa cognoissoient autant qui fut onques Princesse. Pries Dieu pour son Ame. Amen.*

Over against these monuments, on the north side of the choir, is a great tomb, with a Dutch inscription about the edges, which



SKIPPON. which one of the chaplains writ thus in Latin. *Dominus de Guelhuyse Princeps de Brugis*. In the pavement is a stone over one *Tristram, Præpositus Ecclesie*; and in the South wall of the choir is a stately monument of one *Le Toure, Præpositus Ecclesie*.

In the *Sacristarium* or vestry, we saw four vestments of cloth of gold, set with diamonds and other precious stones of a very great value; three keys to them are kept by three persons, one by the provost, another by the æditiuus, and the third by the chapter; they are only worn at *Easter*; they were given by *Charles V.* or some of that family about this time.

Jesuits.

The Jesuits chapel is a fair high building, the front very noble, and over the entrance is written.

*D.O.M. & S.P. Francisco Xaverio Sacrum.*

Seven fair arches within the chapel, which is pleasantly lightsome; there are good pictures, and the confessing seats are of handsome wood-work. In the middle of the chapel stood a table, having a piece of *Xaverius* his hand expos'd in a rich . . . . . and many silver candlesticks about it; a great deal of marble and silver was about the altar, and two very high brass candlesticks, and over the altar were represented soldiers converted by *Xaverius*, and angels in the clouds. The pavement of this chapel is finely variegated with crosses after this manner,



In a cloyster of this city is a monument of *Maximilian* arch-duke, which is shewn but once in a year; his head and other bones are preserved, by which some judge his height was ten foot. The occasion of his death is thus reported: In a dearth, the monks of that convent hoarded up corn, which the arch-duke understanding, he commanded it to be sold at reasonable rates to the poor; whereupon the monks revenged themselves by murdering their prince, to whom the king of *France* was related; and he so prosecuted them, that he caused them all to be hang'd, and that monument to be erected to the arch-duke's memory.

At *St. Servator's* church we heard a *Cappuchin* preach, who threw off his mantle when he began to be hot with tossing his body to and fro, and speaking huge earnestly; towards the latter end of the ser-

mon, he desired something might be given to the poor, and for the reparations of the church; a crucifix was placed on one side of the pulpit, as our ministers have hour-glasses; in sermon-time the men put on their hats.

We were inform'd the parish-churches of this city are but seven; the number of the convents we could not learn; *Golnitz* in his Itinerary says there are about 60, among which are two *English* nunneries, English Nuns. one of the *Augustine* order, and the other of the order of *St. Clare*, being *Franciscans*.

There are three abbies, one of *St. Bernard*, the second of *St. Bartholomew*, the third of . . . .

That of *St. Bernard* is a handsome building, having a very fair and high cloister, well glazed and paved; it is adorn'd with many pictures, among which we observ'd these with their inscriptions, viz. The ab-  
bey of St. Bernard.

*R. D. Helias sextus Abbas Dunen' Regi Angliæ à consiliis, quem à captivitate Ducis Austriæ liberaverat.*

*B. Alexander Convesius princeps Scotiae.*

*B. Eugen' Pont. Rom.*

*B. Conradus Cardinalis.*

*B. Robertus Anglicus Abbas.*

*B. Thomas Archiep. Cantuariæ.*

The chapter-house is a square place, supported by four pillars; a little thatch'd chapel is built into the area where the abbots are buried. Every monk hath a little garden; we were in one of their cells one story high, and in their library, a spacious room furnished with few books; the MSS. are kept by themselves, where only the monks are admitted: We went up another pair of stairs among more cells, convents for the most part having all the cells in one floor. The *Calefactorium*, or Stove, is a long, square, and great room. The *Refectorium* or dining-hall is a fair place: the monks sit all on one side, with their faces to the middle of the room, and serve one another by turns; a chapter is read at meals, and the dishes of meat are given thro' such a box as the nuns use to put their work which strangers buy of them. Under the cloister is a fair arch'd vault full of provisions; this abbey was founded about 20 years ago, and hath 36 fathers or monks, and 14 lay brethren or servants belonging to it.

The other abbey of *St. Bartholomew* afforded us nothing remarkable, besides an altar (in the *Refectorium* or *Calefactorium*) of shells, curiously made; on the wall hangs this inscription.

*Jubilum*



*Jubilæum  
Decimi Seculi  
Præmæ foundationis Brugensis Abbatie  
De Eeckhoutte  
Factæ per S. Trudonem,  
Anno 650.  
Celebratum ipso festo ejusdem S. Trudonis,  
23 Novembris, 1650.*

In the cloister is the prophecy of *Lubert Hauschilt*, abbot, which is printed in a sheet of paper; and to be fold here.

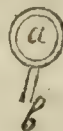
Channels of water run through many of the streets, which channels have their sides well brick'd up. The brass statues of *St. John*, *St. Nicholas*, *St. George*, &c. give names to the bridges they stand on. The comedians chamber is a good building. The *Biscayers* have a house in this city. Nigh the cathedral is the bishop's palace; *Palatium la Francke* and the *Stadtbuys* are both well adorn'd on the outside with statues of princes, &c. The *Stadtbuys* hath a very stately high tower; the prison and the fencing hall, a very long and large building, is near the market-place, which is spacious; there is a large beast-market. The cloisters about the town hall are used by merchants to walk in; a pair of stone stairs lead up into walks like those in our *Royal Exchange*, though not so handsome, and the shops are but meanly furnished; *Mons pietatis* is written on the gate of a house, where things pawn'd are kept, and which are forfeited, if they be not redeem'd within a year and six weeks, and the overplus the things are sold for is given to the owners. Here we first observ'd the *Low-Country* custom of tying a linen cloth about the knockers of doors, which signifies that a woman in the house lies in; if a malefactor flees into such a house, he is in a safe asylum.

This city hath nine gates and many bridges; it is fenced with a thick earth-work, and a hedge grows round the bottom of it; two trenches besides and bulwarks; on the mounts of the works are windmills with sails, that have their beams on one side. In one mill we saw them with stamps beat sheepskins in oil and make parchment; of calf-skins they make vellum.

The *Spanish* soldiers beg with their swords by their sides, in the churches and streets; they have their lodgings in buildings like our alms-houses.

Nigh the city wall, we saw a pleasant water-work; in a yard stood *Neptune* and other figures, and on a sudden the spectators were catch'd, and sprinkled with water, which is forc'd up little pipes, and through the pavement, and the water

shap'd in some places into stars, &c. The *SKIPPON* stars are made by a circular piece of brass, with a round and narrow hollow, thorough which the water forces a passage;



*a* is the circular piece of brass made hollow, and *b* is the pipe that is fitted to the water-pipe. We saw a brass ball play a great while upon a stream of water.

A water-house here.

The high and the low burgo-master, the Govern-high and the low bailiff, and 14 magistrates, ment. govern this city.

*Vandyke* here first invented laying colours in oil.

Our beds were like little cabbins, with little coverlets. Some of the women wear a black tuft on their forehead, which they call *Een-boet*.

The porters themselves draw little carts like horses with things of burden and weight.

*April 27.* About one in the afternoon, we took our places in the passage boat for *Ghent*, and we passed in a channel between high banks; about the middle of the way, a gathering was made for the soldiers, and afterwards another for the poor, and the maintaining of the channel. We went under three or four draw-bridges, and at night came to *Gant*; having travell'd from *Bru-Gant*. ges six leagues.

*April 28.* We went to the cathedral, Cathedral. dedicated to *St. . . . .* The pillars of it have the apostles statues; here are two organs, one of them very fair; many rich chapels of marble about the body of the church and the choir; the bishop's chapel is behind the choir. In one of the chapels is the monument of *Vigillius Iste*. The present bishop's name is *Charles Vanden Bosch*. At the entrance into the choir, on the right hand is the Effigies of our Saviour, and two laying him in his grave, with this inscription over head.

*Triginta Venditum denarijs  
Occisum vides  
Causam requiris? edissero  
Peccata sunt  
Commissor redemptionem querens  
Dietim  
Ter denis hic panibus  
Vult  
Et hoc missæ sacrificio  
Recreari  
Ut tu qui me intueris  
Imiteris.*

Underneath



SKIPPON.

Underneath the cathedral is a church where the last bishop of *Ghent* lies buried, and *D. Ægidius de Faing*, who had been sent 23 embassies.

An old tomb there of *Vrauw Margarete van Ghistele, Vrauwe van Kalkedre, Vachdele van Wicklene, &c. int yaer XCIII' en XXXI den eerste dach van Aust.*

English nuns.

We visited the *English* nuns of the *Benedictine* order, and, thro' a grate in their parlour, freely discoursed with *Madame Fortescue* the prioress, and with *Madame Minshul*, who gave us a printed paper of her being miraculously cur'd of lameness, &c. by using some of the oil in a lamp that hangs before the altar of our lady of *Succour's* chapel in *Brussels*: she was cur'd 26th of *August* 1660. *Madame Man-nock* (who has a sister in the nunnery at *Dunkirk*) and *Madame Monson*, and *Madame Wakeman* (who has a brother in the college at *Rome*) were of the company we saw. *Madame Knatchbull*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull's* sister, is the abbess. There are 33 dames of the choir, and 16 lay-sisters, who help as servants in ordinary occasions that belong to this convent. They say their devotions seven times in a day. They say their matins over-night at 9 of the clock. In the morning they rise at 5, and work before dinner an hour and an half, without speaking a word, except the prioress gives them leave. An hour after dinner, the time we were entertained by them, and an hour after supper, is allotted them for recreation. In the afternoon they work an hour and an half, and they go to supper at 5 of the clock, and to bed at 10. They teach young gentlewomen to sing, &c. who are at liberty to return home when they please. We saw some of their work, which was an imitation of flowers and greens in a pot. They have a fair building, and a large garden. In *N. Dame* church-yard lies a great heap of skulls.

The abbey of St. Benedict.

The abbey of *St. Benedict* hath a fair glassed cloister. Here is kept a fair relique of the cross. The church is new and fairly built; two stately marble entrances into each isle of the choir: the seats and the organ are of most curious wood-work. 25 monks here.

On a pillar hangs a table with these inscriptions over the several pictures, viz.

1. *Matilda uxor Baldwini, mater Arnulphi, filia Hermannii, Ducis Saxonum.*
2. *Arnulphus major filius Baldwini, 988. hic in sacello divi Laurentii tumulatus.*
3. *Sufanna uxor Arnulphi, filia Berengarii Regis Italarum, hic sepultus.*

4. *Baldwinus Barbatus, Filius Arnulphi, Comes Flandriæ, Anno 1035. hic sepultus.*

5. *Ogma uxor Baldwini, Filia Gisberti Lucemburgensium Ducis, hic quiescit.*

6. *Gissa, Ogmæ Soror, ulteriori lapide ad plagam meridionalem sepelita.*

Over a tomb-stone in the wall is this writing.

*Serenissimæ Principi D. Isabellæ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, Noruegiæ, Gothorum, Sclavorum, Vandolorumq; Regina, Archiduci Austriæ, Burgundiæ, &c. Comiti Flandriæ, &c. Domine suæ clementissimæ Cornelius Duplicius Scep-perus perpetuum monumentum. Anno MDCXXVI.*

Among many verses we transcrib'd these following, viz.

*Dania me coluit, pulsam Germania videt, Primum ortum dederat terra Brabanta prius;*

*Nulla harum poterit monentem cernere, sed quæ*

*Ganda habuit mentem, nunc quoq; corpus habet.*

*Tempora si quæris, quæ me rapuere sub umbras?*

*Accipe, & in memori scripta recondere sinu, Pectore sub medio, Phœbum cernebat Aquarius.*

*Marque horam tenuit, sed Venus ipsa diem.*

At the *English* Jesuits college, a mean *English* building, we discours'd with one *Greene* a Jesuits. father: the rector's name is *Bennet*. They expect a removal to a better place.

There are four gilds in this city, 1. of Gilds. guns, 2. fencers, 3. hand-bow, 4. cross-bow.

In the *Friday* market-place, on the pedestal of a pillar whereon the statue of *Charles V.* stood, is this inscription,

*D. Carolo V. Imp. Cæs. Aug. Pio, Felici, Turc. German. Gall. Geld. Ital. Hisp. Sicil. & Ind. Regi, Flandr. Comiti, Principi. Sac. Imp. Vindici, quietis Auspici D. N. Principi potentiss. victori ac triumphatori perpetuo Magno Max. universi Christiani orbis, bono Deo volente, cælo favente, huic urbi suæ Flandriæ Max. feliciter innato. Alberto Austriaco, Maximiliani II. Imp. Fil. & Isabella Clara Eugenia Philippi II. Hisp. regis filia, Austriæ Archiducibus, Belgiæ P. P. hanc*



*hanc urbem lætiss. civium applausu ingre-*  
*dientibus. Anno salut. Christi 1510 15*  
 xcix. Jacobo de Langlee Eq. Pecqui  
 D'Heyne Barone Præt. Sup. Joanne  
 Bethsant, Triest Merlebequæ D. Coss.  
 SPQG Pos. Posteris conservanto.

town from a virgin; the picture of the SKIPPON.  
 little chamber where ———— was  
 born (which we saw in the ruined palace)  
 and this written on it;

*Currite felici sub tegmine currite fusi*  
 ———— *magnum Jovis incrementum.*

A huge  
 cannon. Not far off lies a huge cannon, the bore  
 whereof is 26 inches in the diameter.  
 St. Jaque's. In St. Jaque's church are good pictures,  
*viz.* the picture of St. Hierom, and one  
 over the altar, drawn by Rubens. The  
 repository of the sacrament hath a stately  
 pyramidal cover of marble, and this writ-  
 ten on it;

*Bone Pastor, Panis Vere,*  
*Jesu Nostri miserere.*

St. Mi-  
 chael. St. Michael's steeple is now building;  
 the church is but plain, but adorned with  
 rare pictures, *viz.* the crucifying of our  
 Saviour drawn by Van Dyke, the picture  
 of Christ's sepulchre, the picture of a  
 pope in a silver monument, St. Thomas  
 putting his finger in our Saviour's side,  
 the ascension, the Holy Ghost descending,  
 &c. On the pillars of the church stand  
 the apostles statues.

The Dominicans church is one stately  
 arch drest with very good pictures. The  
 entrance into the choir is of marble. *His*  
*Belgica tuta. Super & Garantos & Indos,*  
 written underneath two little pictures.

In this city are seven parish churches,  
 about 55 convents reckoned by Golnitz.

The Jesuits have a fair college.

A new school was erecting at this time.

English  
 nuns. There is an English nunnery of poor  
 Clares.

We went up Bellefort tower about 400  
 steps high, having a great chiming wheel  
 of brass, and many bells, among which  
 a very big one called Roland.

stad-  
 house. The stadthouse is a stately great build-  
 ing. In the court we saw what Golnitz  
 mentions; and besides saw this written;  
*Pace cum Gallo pacta.* In a fair chamber  
 hang the pictures of the duke of Saxony  
 and the duke of Cleve; the battle of  
 Pavie; the family of Spain; Charles V.  
 resigning his kingdom to Philip II. Charles  
 V. leading away an African woman cap-  
 tive, having two horns on her head, an  
 elephant's proboscis, and a lion under her  
 arm; the emperor of Germany crowned;  
 Romulus and Remus, with many other  
 good pictures, are in this place. In the  
 magistrates room are these pictures; the  
 son ready to behead his father (their sta-  
 tues we saw on a bridge of the city) whose  
 blade of the sword flew out of the hilt as  
 he was going to strike; the resurrection;  
 prince cardinal receiving the keys of the

The city is of a large compass, which  
 made Charles V. say, He could put many  
 cities into his glove, Ghent in French sig-  
 nifying a glove. There are fields of corn,  
 and large gardens in it. The market-  
 place is spacious. Golnitz says there are  
 thirteen market-places. Before the prison  
 stand the statues of prince cardinal the  
 king of Spain's brother, and the king of  
 Spain.

We were told of a trooper that shot  
 against the picture of the virgin Mary  
 painted on a street wall of a canon's house  
 who belongs to St. John's church, that  
 the bullet reflected back, and shot him  
 dead. This might have happened from  
 any other wall; but because of this picture  
 the accident is turned into a miracle.  
 About five or six years ago the house was  
 burnt twice, and this picture escaped.

There is a large building where many Beguins.  
 women resort and live together in a kind  
 of religious way, being habited somewhat  
 like nuns; but they are not obliged to  
 a perpetual virginity, having freedom to  
 marry when they can get husbands. They  
 are called *Beguins*.

The city is well fortified with an earth-  
 work and trenches full of water. The  
 people are very industrious, and the poor-  
 er sort make profit of the horse-dung  
 in the streets; some get 100 florins, or  
 ten pounds sterling *per annum*. You shall  
 sometimes see three or four striving very  
 eagerly for the dung of one horse.

April 29. Paying first two-pence apiece  
 head-money, we hired places in a wag-  
 gon, and gave 30 shillings sterling for  
 our passage to Brussels. We travelled bad  
 way; and after five leagues dined at Aelst, Aelst.  
 which is not very big, but is well walled  
 and trenched. The Jesuits have a college  
 here. The great church is indifferent,  
 where St. Rochus his statue is kept, and  
 often carryed in procession. In the after-  
 noon we rode bad way mended with wood,  
 the country shaded with trees. Two  
 Spanish soldiers on horseback begged of  
 us. At night we reached Brussels; where, Brussels.  
 on the 30th of April, we walked to the  
 warrande or park, which is a pleasant  
 place planted with many high beeches,  
 &c. This park is between the two walls The park.  
 of the city; a pall-mell, many deer kept  
 here; three fountains. We saw three gar-  
 dens; in the first a corona of dancers  
 5 E moved



SKIPPON. moved by water; in the second garden we saw a comical cap of copper kept up by a stream of water; out of the garden knots the water sprung up in several places, and a ball playing on the top of a stream; in the third garden we saw a *Cupid* shooting water, and a goose putting water out of its mouth; a summer-house supported by pillars over the water, and a water-work in the midst of a labyrinth of arbors. Near the palace lies a good statue of *Mary Magdalen*, the statue of *Charles V.* and a *Hercules* standing against a pillar, and another of *Hercules* struggling with *Antæus*. The riding place is just by, and a gallery where we heard our voices echoed ten times distinctly; the wind hindered, else we were assured we might have heard the echo fifteen times. Organs are here moved by water. We saw at this place two eagles, two white *Muscovy* ducks, and an ostrich which was about an ell high, the feathers of the body black, except the tail and the wings, which were white and little, great eyes and large ears, a long neck, being most of it covered with a whitish down; large nostrils, a broad head and bill; it had short thin blackish hairs on the head, long legs, both legs and thighs naked. It had two toes, and no heel or posticus.

The palace.

The palace is a stately building. In a gallery there are standing the statues of thirteen emperors, viz.

1. *Imp. Cæs. Rodolphus I. Pius Felix Aug.*
2. *Imp. Cæs. Albertus I. P. F. Aug.*
3. *Imp. Cæs. Fredericus III. Pulcher. P. F. Aug.*
4. *Imp. Cæs. Albertus II. P. F. Aug.*
5. *Imp. Cæs. Fredericus IV. P. F. Aug.*
6. *Imp. Cæs. Maximilianus I. P. F. Aug.*
7. *Imp. Cæs. Carolus V. P. F. Aug.*
8. *Imp. Cæs. Ferdinandus I. P. F. Aug.*
9. *Imp. Cæs. Maximilius II. P. F. Aug.*
10. *Imp. Cæs. Rodolphus II. P. F. Aug.*
11. *Imp. Cæs. Matthias I. P. F. Aug.*
12. *Imp. Cæs. Ferdinandus II. P. F. Aug.*
13. *Imp. Cæs. Ferdinandus III. P. F. Aug.*

The royal chapel.

In the royal chapel, over the altar is written on a picture of the wisemen offering,

*Aurum, Myrrham, Thus Regique, Homi-  
nique Deoque dona ferunt.*

At the west end of the chapel is this inscription.

*Anno Domini 1553. sexto nonas Julias, Nos Hieronymus Dandinus Cæsenus titulis Mathæi S. R. E. Pbr. Cardinalis cognomento Imolensis Julii 3. Pont. Max. & sanctæ Apost. sedis ad gloriosiss. & invictiss. Principem Carolum Roman. Imp. semper Aug. universamque Germaniam Superiorem & Inferiorem, reliquasque illius ditiones Legatus à Latere. Piiss. votis desiderioque ipsius Caroli, & utriusque ejus sororis Helleonoræ Galliarum & Mariæ Hungariæ Reginarum, hoc sacellum, & summam in eo aram, Divo Philippo Apostolo, & Divo Joanni Baptistæ, consecravimus, ac omnibus Christi fidelibus, qui hodie eodemve per singulos annos die sacellum hoc religionis adorationisque causâ adierent, Veniæ absolutionisque annos 7 in morem Ecclesiæ solutum condonavimus.*

One side of the court of the palace hath cloisters, and in the middle is a fountain.

The exchange or hall is a large and high roofed place, where are many little shops. Before the entrance into the palace is a piazza environed with stone pillars, whereon are placed but five statues yet.

We endeavoured to see the galleries of pictures in the palace; but meeting with the marquis *Carraceni* (the king of *Spain's* governor of the *Low-Countries*) he commanded us away, and in *French* bid us go out.

We saw the stable, and therein six mules, and two *English* horses much valued. The manger is of free-stone. One of the grooms wiped our shoes; which ceremony was requited with a piece of money. Here we took notice of a sheep brought either out of *Armenia* or *Africa*; it was of a good stature; the tail was as broad as the buttocks, and hung divided, the weight whereof was between 15 and 20 *lib.*

Over the stable is an armory, where we saw *Charles V.* his armour inlaid with gold, his baston, sword wherewith he used to knight men, coat of mail, gun with seven barrels in it, his shield which he used when he visited his mistress in the night; a spear came out of the side of it, besides that in the middle; if any thrust were made at the shield, the sword's point was caught in it and broken; his hunting sword with a point like a spear; another rich suit of armour of his, curiously carved into figures of horsemen, worth 100,000 florins; archduke *Albert's* rich armour, and his fighting armour, his spear, standard and sword; the sword *Henry IV.* of *France* sent him as a challenge to war, which was requited with a suit



suit of armour which the archduke sent Henry IV. the skin of the horse which brought the archduke out of the battle of Nieuport. This horse was then shot thro' the neck, and the mark may be still seen; a year after, on the same day the fight was, this horse died, and hath a Latin epitaph, which we observed to be as Golnitz hath transcribed it. The perspective the archduke used to view the enemy thro'; the armour, spear, and lance of Philip le Bon, two suits of armour of prince Ernest's, two of duke D'Alva's, and two suits of armour of prince Parma; one hath five shots in it; the armour of Leopold, prince cardinal, and Don John of Austria; the armour of one of the house of Lorraine shot thro' and killed; 36 suits of armour of several princes, and the arrows of seven princes; the effigies of Isabella in armour on the horse she rode on when she entered her Brussels; her stirrup. The history of Pyrrhus is curiously carved with a diamond on a shield. A gun that will kill 600 foot distance, the length whereof is indifferent, which was presented by the king of Hungary to the prince cardinal; a spear-head with two little pistols; Indian armour made of whale-bone, and covered with fine work; Indian bow and arrows; the great Turk's quiver; a great sword sent from Nuremberg, from whence, they say, is sent one every year to the magistrates of Brussels.

The stadthouse is a very fair and uniform building, having a stately high tower. We were in several rooms of it, and saw many pictures. One was explained by this inscription, viz.

Erkenbaldo Burbanio Aequiff. Duci, qui graviter ægrotans unicum ex sorore nepotem & heredem ob stuprum Virgini illatum dum judices convivent, propria manu occidit. S. P. Q. Bruxel. dedic. Rogerius pinxit ex Cæsario Heisterbachensi libro, IX.C.XXXVIII.

Another was thus explained.

Hic moriens Eucharistiam postulat; allatam Præsul ei negat, quod crimen interfecti nepotis non esset confessus; ille zelum asserens, episcopo abnuente, divinitus communicat, & revocato sacramentum in lingua ostendit. Vixit Cæsarius An. MCCXXII.

There are two inscriptions under other pictures; the sense of one was, "That pope Gregory seeing Trajan's pillar, and admiring his actions, begged pardon for his soul." The sense of the

other was, "Of a woman begging justice of Trajan on a soldier that killed her son."

A picture of *Ulyssipona Conservata Calais, Ardres, &c.*

We went to the little chapel dedicated to the lady of Succour, and saw there the picture of Madame Minsbul, the English nun at Ghent, who was cured by the oyl of a lamp hanging in this place.

The jesuits chapel hath a fair front.

In S. James's church over the altar, is a picture of the Virgin Mary giving a garment to St. James, drawn by Rubens; her statue is drest with a mantle set with diamonds. Above it is written,

Plus  
600  
Ægris  
Sanitatis  
57  
Extinctis  
Vitæ  
Mediatrici  
Sacrum.

The Carmelites church is fair, having a marble entrance into the choir. About the choir the arms of the Golden-Fleece knights are painted on the wainscot, as in St. Gudula's church. A handsome cloister is now building here. In the middle of the choir, before the altar, is a monument with two effigies on it, and this Dutch inscription on it.

Hier leeght begraven Saligher Gbedenckenissen Die Hogeboeren Vermogen Vorstinne Vrowe Jekanne byder Gratien Gods Hertogine van Lotbryck van Brabant ende van Limborch, Mergravinne des Heylick Rycs oudste doether des derden Hertogen Jans van Brabant ende Vrowen Marien doether Lodewyck Greven Van Eureux Die Zoon was Philipps Coninc Van Vrancryck Welcke Vrowe Jekanne hadde drie Brueders, Teweten Henrick en Janne ende Godevarde die alle drie Hoe waelsy ende el Van Hen Aen Coninche Bloet Te Huwelycken state Waren Comen Aflivick worden Sonder ennige Wittige Geboorte Achter Telaten jerst te manne hadde Willem Greve Van Henegouwe van Hollant, van Zeelant, ende Heer Van Vrieslant ende na dat hy Aflivick was Wencelyn Van Behem, Hertoge Van Luxenborch ende Greve Van chiney Allet byden Levenden Liue Hertogen Jans Haers Vaders Voirscreven ende dese Vrowe Jekanne hadde ou Twee Zusteren, daerof die oudste was geheeten Margariete die Temanne hadde Lodowycke Greve Van Vlan-



*Vlenderen et cet.* Daeraf sy hadde ene Dochter oic Geheeten Margriete die temanne hadde Philips Zone des Coninc Van Vrancyck, Hertoge Van Bourgognen, &c. daeraf sy hadde drie Zonen te waten Janne, Antonys ende Philipps ende Dandere Hare Jongstfuster was Geheeten Maria die temanne had Reynalt Hertoge van Gelre ende starf Sonder wittige Geboorte welcke Voircreven Vrowe Johanne na dat sy Li. Jaer lanc hare Landen in Grooten Eeren hadde beseten en' Geregeert starf ou sonder Eenighe Geboorte Van baren Liue after Telaten int Jaer ons Heeren XCIII. VI. den yersten dach van Decemb.

Hier leeght oic begraven Willem Van Brabant Zoon Anthonii Hertoge Van Lothbryck, Van Brabant ende van Limborch dien hy hadde van Vrouwen Elizabeth Van Gorlitz Synre Tweester Geschynnen die Dochter was Jans Hertoge Van Gorlitz Zoon Karles des Vierden Roemfchen Keyfers ende Conincs Van Behem ende Brueder Wencelyns Roemfchens Seghemonds Conincs Van Hongaerien ende Naemalis Roemfchen Keyfers welcke Willem niet Lange en Leefde ende starf Alsmen Schree diaer ons Heeren Dusent Vierbondert ende Tiene, opten, Thyensten dach der Maent van Julio.

St. Gudula.

Just before the altar in St. Gudula's church, is a tomb with a brass lion on it, made by John de Montfort 1610. and underneath lies the body of archduke Ernest, and this is inscribed.

*Memoriae serenissimi Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae, Maximiliani II. IMP. F. ex Maria Caroli V. Imp. F. Ferdinandi Nep. Maxim. I. Abn. Rudolphi II. fratris, Qui cum regnum Hungariae & finitima loca per Annos XVII fortiter feliciterque administrasset, ad Belgii gubernacula a Philippo II. Rege Avunculo vocatus easdem provincias etsi brevi XIII mensum spatio cum aeterna sua laude & gratia rexit, in avita religione, in pace, in imperio reducendo intentus, in iisque curis mortuus Anno MD. XCV. x. Kal. Martii cum vixisset annos XLI. menses VIII. dies v. posuit Albertus Archidux Austriae, Belgii princeps singulari in fratrem affectu, ejusque corpus ex adverso in tumultu Ducum Brabantiae reliquit, monumentum hic voluit extare.*

Near the altar are buried Albert and Isabella, without either monument or inscription.

Over the seats of the choir are the arms of the knights of the Golden Fleece painted; among the rest one of our English kings, and this inscribed;

*Tres-haut, tres-excellent, et tres-puissant Prince Henry Roy d'Angleterre, Seigneur d'Irlande trespasse.*

And under all the coats of armes, these following words written.

*Beneficio Archiducum Alberti ac Isabellae Ducum Brabantiae, Ducis Arschota, &c. Ducis Brunswic. March a Bergis, March de Lullin, Conte de Beaurjeu, Com. de Bassigny, Praef. Richardot, Cance. Damant, Conf. Dafsionvil, Conf. Salinas, Praef. Vanetten, Coron. Standly, Audient Verrey, Proto de Lalae, Magist. Bruxel. Fabrica D. Gud. P. D. PDM. FA. M. P. Anno 1610.*

On the south side.

*Liberalitate Archiducum Albert. & Isab. Ducum Brabantiae, Ducis Aumaliae, Principis, March. D. Havre, Com. Fonteno, Dominus de Baraffor, Decani Pantini Cantoris, de Mol. Capli. de Gudula, Baron de Tassis, Baron de Bornhem. Magist. Bruxel. Fabrica D. Gud. P. D. P. D. M. FA. M. P. Anno 1610.*

There are 23 seats on each side of the choir, and in the middle hangs a great brass candlestick shaped like a triple crown. Our Saviour giving St. Peter authority to feed the sheep, is esteemed a rare picture. On the pillars of the north isle of the choir, hang three frames with a relation of the Jews stabbing the host written in Dutch, French, and Latin; the last is thus.

*Stupendum supra omnia  
Miraculum!  
Miraculum perpetuum!  
Tres Hostiae sacrae,  
Anno Christi MCCC LXX.  
Ab impiis Judæis sacrilegè surreptæ,  
Et pugionibus (proh nefas!) confossæ,  
Sanguinem effuderunt;  
Nec latuit abominandum scelus  
De Judæis igne supplicium sumptum  
Sacrae Hostiae  
In D. Gudulae Aede principe  
Populorum venerationi expositæ,  
Et prodigiosis in mortales beneficiis inclytæ,  
Mortuis Vitam,  
Cæcis Visum,*

*Claudis*



Claudis gressum,  
Aliis alia subsidia contulere,  
Atque etiamnum supersunt  
Divina Vestigia,  
Et  
Tam Veterum plagarum Vestigiis,  
Quam illæsis post tot lustra specierum formis,  
admiranda  
Bruxellæ adorantur  
M. DC. XXXX.  
S S. Eucharistiæ  
Otho Zylius è Soc. Jesu  
D. N. M. Q. E. P.

Once a year there is a solemn procession, when these hosts are carry'd about, and persons of the best quality will follow bare-foot.

The sense of the relation in French, is, " That Anno 1369. about St. Reme's day, the Jews that liu'd in Brussels entered by night into the chapel of St. Catherine à Molenbegue, near the said town, and then stole six hosts, one of

" which was very great: the Jews kept them till Good-Friday, and on that day they stabb'd them, and immediately blood appeared; which amazed them so, that they immediately sent for one Catherine who was a converted Jew, and hired her to carry the hosts back: but she discovered it to a priest, and he to two more, and they three with Catharine brought the hosts into the church. At last it was publickly known, and the Jews were apprehended, put to the rack, and burnt alive. Three of the biggest hosts are kept in this church, and the other three in the church they were stolen out of." See the printed history in French.

There are 41 stone steps up to the entrance of the west end of the church. Five gilds in this city. On a fair house where two of their halls are, is written this chronogram.

A peste, faMe & beLLO LiBera nos Marta paCIs  
bIC VoiVM paCIs pVbLICæ eLIIsabet ConseCraVIIt. 1625.

English nuns. In this city are many convents; one of English nuns of St. Bruno's order, and other nuns called by some the galloping nuns, because in afternoons they have liberty to go abroad.

At this time there was here a Minnum, a famous preacher, who had a licence to preach before he was 20 years old.

Beguins. There are about 500 Beguins that live together in one place, six in a building, who wear a flat black straw hat, and a black plaited mantle called a byick.

Quefels. The Quefels are maids who vow virginity for what Time they please. They wear great hoets on their foreheads, made of serge. Married women and maids that have not made any such vow, may wear velvet hoets.

Dogs of a mastiff kind draw little wheelbarrow carts with considerable burthens, a porter holding up the end behind. These dogs are frequently thus used, and understand when to stop and turn as carters horses do, and will strive to outgo other dogs that are drawing the same way.

Brussels is a populous city, much frequented by the nobility and others that attend the governor's court. The buildings are very fair, and the streets broad. That side of the city the palace is on, is on a hill.

We observed here waggons with cross chains that hang near the ground, so that when they are filled with wood, &c. they hang down with a long and low belly.

A Brabant ell is equal to 27 inches, and Measures. almost half an inch.

May 2. We travelled four leagues by waggon, and early in the afternoon arrived at Louvaine, where, as soon as we alighted, women-porteres strove who should carry our luggage to the inn. This was the first place we observed storks in.

The government of this city is in the hands of a mayor, two consuls, seven scabini, and eight counsellors. The go-vernment.

The mayor is for life, chosen by the king; the rest elected after this manner. The town is divided into eight companies; each of which by suffrage chuses one deputy, and the eight deputies elect a nobleman, consul, who takes, by his own choice, an assistant out of the number of the deputies; then the deputies present to the king 21 names, part of the gentry, and part of the commonalty, and out of these the king chuses four of the gentry, and three of the other, which are the seven scabini. The deputies also elect the eight counsellors, who are half gentry and half, plebeians.

May 3. Being Whitsunday, Stilo Novo, St. Peter's: we ascended many steps, and entred St. Peter's church, where a scaffold was erected before the choir, and an altar on it, over which the effigies of four apostles beholding the ascension of Christ in the clouds, capuchins performing mass. We saw here a procession; first a banner was carried with two candles borne by two boys.



**SKIPPON.** boys who had red gowns and surplices over them, and little black hoods hanging by strings to the middle of their backs, their heads much shaven; then went singing-men with their heads shaven; after them canons with rich copes; some canons went before them, having only their long furs on their arms, as we had seen them in other places; in the midst of the canons, two singing-boys in copes; after the canons, eight beadles, with maces, in gowns that reach'd not much further than their knees; and many other servants, in the same habit, came before the rector of the university, whose habit was a black gown, with a high collar which was rais'd almost as high as his head; over his shoulder hung a purple hood lined with a white furr on the edges; a priest's cap of a purple colour, which some of the canons also had: after him followed the mayor's servants, and then the mayor, behind whom came three or four halberteers, and one with a long black rod.

In the choir is a monument with a marble statue on it, and this inscrib'd.

*Anno Dni. 1234. Nonis Sept. obiit Henricus 4tus Dux Lotharingæ, bonæ & piæ memoriæ.*

On the edges is written,

*Hic sepultus jacet Henricus Dux Lotharingæ 4tus, cui conjux bina. . . .*

**University** The university hath 43 *Collegia* and *Pædagogia*, which with the founders names are printed in a catalogue. The several faculties are distinguished by different habits, caps, &c. The divinity students have high square caps, each corner whereof is pinch'd into a high peak, and their gowns are shap'd like the rector's. Other students, except at their exercises, wear none.

There are four *Pædagogia* of the aforesaid number, in which only philosophy is taught by two professors, call'd *Primarius*, and *Secundarius*; the *Primarius* reads in the morning, from half an hour after six in the morning to half an hour after seven, then the scholars are at mass till eight; and when that is done, they go to their private studies till 10, and then that professor reads again till half an hour after 11. The *Secundarius* reads from half an hour after one in the afternoon till half an hour after two; he begins again at four, and reads till half an hour after five.

The *Primarius* hath six guilders a quarter of every gentleman, and the *Secundarius* hath two patacoons a quarter of every gen-

tleman; those of an inferior rank pay but half so much.

All the students write after the professors, whose readings are divided into *Disputata*, which are theses or propositions; and *Anotata*, which are solutions of objections. When they are admitted, the first thing required is matriculation, and to swear their belief in all the doctrines of the Roman church.

No students are allow'd to wear swords; they are preferr'd out of the four *Pædagogies* after this manner. The professors chuse 12 out of each who are of two years standing; and these 48 are publicly examined, and about 12 of them are chosen and have burles given them; burles signify their diet, chamber, and a greater or lesser stipend, as the burles are; and it is counted very creditable to be chosen into one of them; he that is first elected hath a bell rung for him in his college 48 hours together; when they are thus chosen they may go into what college they please, and study what they please; these are usually preferred to be professors, canons, &c.

Young students give their names to the president of their college or *Pædagogie*, and for every time they are absent from lectures they pay a stiver; for every time they miss a publick exercise in law or physick, they pay three stivers, and if they be to exercise themselves, 20 stivers.

The degrees are *Bachelor* called *Doctissimus Dominus*; *Licentiate*, in physick called *Peritissimus*; in law *Consultissimus*; in divinity, *Eximius*. Doctors in medicine and law, are called *Clarissimi*; in divinity, *Eximius Dominus*, or *Magister noster*. After two years standing in divinity, they may be *Baccalaurei currentes*, after another year, *Baccalaurei formati*, and seven years after this they may be *Licentiati*. They are seldom doctors of divinity till 50 years of age, unless very eminent and deserving.

Barons are intitled *Illustres*; earls, *Illustrissimi*.

The famous men at this present in the university of *Louvain*, are.

*Gutischovius* Med. & Math. Prof.

*Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius*, Med. Prof.

*Primarius*, call'd *Fortunatus* because he was so happy as to be cut out of his mother's womb.

*Dorlix*, Med. D.

*Sinnichius* Theol. D. an Irishman, who has written several books, viz. *Saul Exrex* 3. tom. *Pauper Augustinus*. *Goliathismus*. This Sinnick (they say) converted one *White* to the popish religion, who was one of the king of *England's* chaplains, and is now a *Romish* priest.

*Pontanus*



*Pontanus*, Theol. D. dean of St. Peter's, and *Censor librorum*.

*Van Verve*, Theol. P. *Primarius*.

*Bradby*, ju. can. D. an Irishman.

*Loyens*, ju. can. D.

*Gulinx* was professor of philosophy here, but he is now turned protestant, and lives at *Leyden*.

*Leon* a carmelite friar, is the most eminent preacher in this place.

There is great jollity at the taking of the licentiate's degree; an invitation is made to a treatment for all the doctors and opponents; to whom gloves are given. The graduate prints his *theses*, and usually adds a jocular question, which they call an *impertinens*; and he is attended from the schools with drums, trumpets, &c. At his lodging a bell is hung up which is rung for a day and a night. The graduate, if he has none before, may chuse a coat of arms, for his degree makes him a gentleman.

Mr. *Fortescue*, Mr. *Plompton*, Mr. *Constable*, Mr. *Short*, and Mr. *Brian* an Irishman, being students here, civilly shewed us many remarkables.

At the schools, we saw the divinity school, a room full of long seats in the middle; and went into the anatomy theatre, a mean place; the law and philosophy schools are like the divinity. In the same building is the *Curia Academica*, where the rector and the senate (which consists of all the doctors and the most prudent licentiates) meet about university affairs. The rector sits at the upper end in a chair, and the rest sit on benches on each side. The picture and arms of the present pope *Alexander VII.* here. And some other pictures. The archives are kept in this place under several locks.

The schools are one pile of building, called the halls, because formerly the cloathiers hall. Under some of the schools are butchers shambles. At the exercises a professor is usually present, who either sits in his seat at the upper end, or walks up and down while he moderates.

The colleges are but indifferent; *Collegium Vandale* is the best. *Collegium Trin.* is a new structure with a very fair front, intended for philologers.

*Collegium Pontificium* was built by pope *Adrian* the sixth, who, they say, when he was a student here, threw up his cap, and promised to build a college as high as his cap flew, if ever he should arrive at the popedom.

The castle. We walk'd up to the castle, which is seated on a hill, whence we had a prospect of the city; in the house lives one of famous *Puteanus* his sons. In a large hall

here, they act plays, two or three times in a year; before the entrance into it is a deep well cover'd with a little house, from the bottom of the well the voice plainly reflected. Great garden places about the castle and house.

Besides St. Peter's there are four parish churches, viz. 1. St. James's, 2. St. Gertrude, 3. *Quintin*; In this we saw two Jesuits about the middle of the church catechizing children; 4. St. Michael, which is over one of the city-gates.

The Jesuits have now almost finished their stately chapel.

We visited the *English* nuns of the *Au-English* *gustine* order, and discoursed with the lady nuns. prioress; the curtain being drawn open, we saw their habit, which is linen uppermost, and woollen next their skin. They rise to their devotions at midnight, and have service five times a day. We heard here a sermon made by father *Johnston*, in *English*, who sat in a chair with his back against the altar; he had a rich cope on; and once he took the host and shew'd it to the auditors. The *English* gentlemen aforenam'd, lodge and diet at this nunnery.

In the chapel is a gravestone, with this inscription.

*Hic sepultus est Thomas*  
*Southwell Anglus Armiger*  
*Pronepos R. P. Rob. Southwell*  
*in Anglia Martyris,*  
*Nuper factus Dominus de Morton*  
*super montem in comitatu*  
*Norfolciæ, qui ex hæretico*  
*factus Catholicus, sponte*  
*Exulavit, piè vixit, Lovanii*  
*obiit 28. April. 1659. Ætatis 42.*  
*Requiescat in pace.*

Another stone over a little lad, *Nicolaus Griffin de M. . . . Warwicensi.*

At *Louvain* is a cloister of *Irish* Franciscans.

At an apothecary's garden we saw rare plants.

*Louvain* is bigger than *Gand* by three rood, and is encompassed with two brick walls; having much void ground. The streets are not handsomely built, and are dirtily kept. The people that fetch water from the wells in the streets, bring their own buckets with them, and let down on pullies that are fastned to the sides of the well.

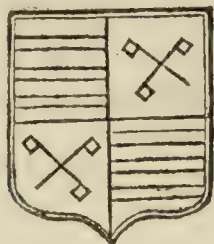
About half a mile from *Louvain* is the Duke of *Croy's* palace; before we came to it we had the pleasure of a broad, streight and level way set with trees on each side, and in the corn fields found growing *Alsine myosotis secunda vel tertia Bauh.* and *Alsine Veronica facie fol. dissecto.* We first

SKIPPER.



SKIPPOV.  
The Celestines  
church.

first went into the *Celestines* convent, and in their church observ'd round the seats of the choir, the duke of *Arschot's* genealogy from *Adam*, to the last duke: At the beginning are a great many descents, in trees that branch out with the names of the family. Afterwards every seat hath the picture of one of the family over it; in the first tree is the pedigree from *Adam* to *Cush*; in the second are 30 names, the two uppermost are *Hemor* and *Boras*, the two lowermost names are *Etbeus* and *Stemines*. In the third tree are 20 names, the pedigree is then continued through several kings of *Hungary*, to *Johannes Marnij*, *Filius Baro de Croy & Aranis*, & *Anthoine*, a great favourite of *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. The arms of the house of *Arschot* are, argent, three bars, gules, quartered with another coat that bears argent, three hatches gules; thus,



In the middle of the choir, is a stately monument with four little statues on the north side, and four on the south side; and over every one of these is a book opened; in the first of the north side, on the left page, is written *Croy*; on the right page, *Crocon*. In the next book, *Lorraine* and *Harquourt*; in the third booke, *Lusenbourgh* and *Lesbans*; in the fourth *Bar* and *France*. In the four books of the south side, 1. *Co-warern*, and *Hamalle*. 2. *Tressegmes*, and *La Laing*. 3. *Merode*, and *Pietresem*. 4. *Wesemale*, and *Rotresem*.

*Charles* duke of *Croy* erected many monuments to several of his family, about the years 1605 and 1606. In the south isle of the church we took notice of these, viz.

1. *Dame Helenne de Croy troisieme*. 1606.
2. *Dame Jaqueline*. 1605.
3. *Dame Charlotte Abbess de Guislinghen au pays de Hainau*. 1604.
4. *Charles de Croy, Evêsq; de Tournay*, mouret 2. Decemb. 1564.
5. *Robert de Croy, Evêque & Duc de Cambray, Prince du St. Empire*, mourut 1556.
6. *Prince Cardinal, Archevesque de Toledo, Primat d'Espagne, Chancelier de Castile*, &c. mourut à Worms. 6. Jan. 1521.

This prince's effigie lies on a fair monument.

7. *Anthoine de Croy, premier prince de Portien, & dame Catherin de Cleves, 2de fille du duc de Nevers, &c. fils unique du Charles compte de Portien, mourut sans laisser generation*. 1567.
8. *Charles de Croy, comte de Seneschem, & depuis de Portien, &c.*

There are many others which we were in too much haste to take a particular account of. In the same isle is a fair tomb with three neat statues kneeling to a crucifix: at one end of it is an inscription.

. . . . *Prince Philipès sire de Croy, duc de Arschot, prince du St. Empire, de Chimay & Portient, conte de Beaumont . . . . chevalier de l'ordre, du conseil d'estat, capitaine d'hommes d'armes, & la princesse Jenne dame heretier des maisons de Hellewin, & princesse Comine, contesse & dame de Dis Lieux, premier Feme & dame . . . .*

Another fair monument with several statues, and this *French* epitaph.

*Cy gissent Ph'les sire de Croy, duc d' Arschot, prince de Cimay, Marquis de Renti, comte de Portient, Beaumont, Senighem, Sr. d' Avefne de Cieures, Haurech, Libers, Quieuraing, &c. Conseillier d'Estat, Cba'bellain Lieutn. Capne. G'nal. Grand Baillii de Hain. premier chef des Finances, Cblr. de la Thoison dor'e, Sable' Dame Anne de Croy duchesse d' Arschot, &c. son Espeuse, avecque Charles de Croy leur fils aisné.*

The roofs of the isles are painted well. In the north isle is this epitaph on a tomb.

*Carolus à Croy, nuper dux Croy & Arschotti, ex magna progenie natus, nunc putredo terræ, & cibus vermiculorum, obiit in Domino expectans resurrectionem mortuorum, anno MDCXII.*

About the walls of this isle are pictured all the founders of religious orders in their habits.

We entred a fair glased cloister, and saw a pleasant garden, delightful walks, and a large fish-pond.

Twenty-four monks belong to this place: their habit is black. One of them shewed us in their vestry one of the pieces of silver our Saviour was sold for. It was preserved like an host in a *pyxis*, being set in a wrought and gilt piece of plate; about the *Numisma* was a crystal: on one side of the money was written *ΠΟΔΙΟΝ*, and a flower



flower impressed; on the other side a man's head.

May 5. Not finding Monsieur *De Bils* at *Louvaine*, as we had been informed, we hired a waggon to carry us back again to *Brussels*. *Brussels*, purposely to visit him; and in the afternoon we found out his lodgings there, and saw his five human bodies conserved by spices; three were men, and two women. Those that are longest done look best, the others being of a blacker colour, which in time, he said, would be of the same colour with those that look best. The hair of the head, beard, teeth, all the viscera, arteries, veins, nerves, muscles, brain, utera's, clitoris, penis, &c. are preserved here in their natural situation. *De Bils* told us, That the university of *Louvaine* hath agreed with him to be a lecturer for 200 l. per annum for him and his son. He understands not *Latin*, but must read in *Dutch* or *French*, and *Gutschovius* is to interpret them into *Latin*. The secret of his art is sealed and locked up in the *Archivi*, and *De Bils* is sworn to reveal his art to none but *Gutschovius*, and he is also obliged by oath to discover it to no person. The receipt of the embalming powder he valued at 6000 l.

This day we hired places in a waggon, and rode pleasant way (above a mile) with trees set in order on each side; then came over a bridge, and travelled by the river-side, passing by *Vilvorden* castle, and went thro' the town, a mean place, yet well fortify'd with a thick earth-work, and a deep trench. At night we lodged in *Machlin*, four leagues from *Brussels*. The great church here is a fair building, having a steeple very high and curiously carved, the top whereof is not yet finished. In the N. isle of the choir we read part of a *Dutch* inscription on a tomb, viz.

*Dit is de sepulture muineberen br. Vrauw van halen here was van Lilloe die starft int jaer M.CCC. LXXV. IX. dach<sup>r</sup> oeqxt an. & Marien de Dochter van deren van Giftele.*

Over the host on the high altar is written, *Tantum ergo Sacramentum Veneremur cernui*. In a little chapel hang the pictures of *St. Carolus Borromeus* and *St. Francis*. On the left side of the altar the present bishop *Andreas Cruzius Mastrichtensis* (who is also bishop of *Louvaine* and *Brussels*) hath erected a fair monument for himself: his effigies is kneeling to a statue of our Saviour not yet finished. At one of the altars in the body of the church, is a rare carved altar-piece. In a little chapel is the Lord's Supper a picture drawn by *Rubens*.

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Apostles statues stand on the pillars of the church. We saw a great iron chest, and within that a silver chest (it stands over the entrance into the choir) curiously wrought, wherein is kept the body of *St. Rumbold* (to whom this cathedral is dedicated) son of an *Irish* king. When the bones are taken out (which is but seldom) it is the bishop must handle them. Over the bishop's seat is written,

Ant. Perrenot. Eps. Sabin. S. R. E. Card'lis Granvellanus Archiepiscopus Machl. ac Bisunt. Ph. II. Indiarum Hispaniarumq; &c. Regis auspiciis regni Neapol. prorex, ac penes eundem summi concilii status senator primarius, rerumq; Italicarum praefect. hujus ecclesiae memor mille aureos legavit.

Franc. Perrenot. de Granvella, comes de Cantecroy ex Thoma fr'e nepos, ac Execut' testamenti voluntatem defuncti explentes arbitratu eorum apud quos sedis Vacantis administratio erat, legatum hoc in hac Chori Stallâ pie memoriae impenderunt Anno Domini MDIOXCIII.

The arms of the golden-fleece knights are round about the seats in the choir, as at *Brussels*.

*Machlin* is neatly built, and the streets very well paved. On the pavement of the piazza, before the stadthouse, is written, *Carolo V. Caes. Semp. Aug.* The prison is a handsome structure. Under a picture of the virgin *Mary* in the streets, is written,

*Praetereundo cave, ne fideatur Ave.*

Many tanners live together, and inhabit two or three streets of this city; and near them live a great many heel-makers.

May 6. After dinner, in three hours time, we sailed in the passage-boat by *Rupelmonde* castle, on the left hand, and two other fortify'd works, and eight leagues from *Machlin* arrived at *Antwerp*.

We went to the jesuits college, a very fair stone-building, when two *English* jesuits, named *Worsly* and *Stanly*, brought us into the library, consisting of four several rooms, which have galleries towards the top: in the first room are the councils, fathers, commentators, &c. in the second, classic authors, historians profane and sacred, civil and canon lawyers, mathematicians and physicians: in the third, books on all subjects, made by fathers of this order: in the fourth are *Italian*, *French*, *Spanish* and *Dutch* books: and in a gallery behind these, are placed books whose authors are *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and all other heretical books, as *Cartesius*, &c.



SKIPPON.

On one side of the outward area are two chapels, one above the other, only for private devotions. The inside of their walls are faced with marble. Several tables hang here with the names of all that belong to that society or college; when any travels abroad, they pull out his name. Opposite to these is the great and publick chapel, a stately structure, the front whereof is very beautiful; the pillars within are marble; two little chapels, one on each side: on the south is our lady's chapel, the walls of which are all marble; in one of the stones is a flower most curiously inlaid; a rich altar here, and rare pictures, some drawn on the marble. The S. chapel is dedicated to *Ignatius*; a gallery over each isle of the chapel, and two chapels at the upper end. On the roofs of the isles are many excellent pictures drawn by *Rubens*. Every quarter of a year they change the picture over the high altar. The pavement is variegated black and white into crosses, as at *Bruges*. In a little room they open'd three or four presses, and shewed us the silver heads of *S. Susanna*, and other saints, set on rich cabinets, their bones being here preserved. We saw also here a piece of the cross, a piece of the sponge, and two or three of the thorns in our Saviour's crown, all fixed within crystals, and richly adorn'd with jewels. In this place queen *Christina* used to hear mass at a window looking into the chapel. We came into the *Sacristia*, and saw many rich embroidered altar-cloths, one of *English* work; in the vestry, a neatly pav'd and handsomely wrought roof'd place. We saw a great quantity of plate, and in one of the drawers, a great many handkerchiefs to cover the chalice. We descended into some vaults, where, in the side walls, are empty spaces proportioned to the size of a coffin, which are mortered up; some of them have brass plates inscribed with the names, &c. of those buried. Here is a little chapel-vault where one *Houtappel* and others of his family are buried. This person left to this college 400,000 *l.* At this altar, two or three times in a year, masses are said for their souls. They were great benefactors, having built the chapel, &c. The jesuits expect much at the death of one of his daughters. In their *Officina pharmaceutica* we observed curious shells, and artificial imitations of nature, a death's head made very exactly of marble, two eyes, &c. several animals hung up, two great silk-cods made by *Indian* worms, an *Indian* idol with a radiant head, a long *Indian* dart, a fair, large, and true concave *speculum*. In the garden were many

good flowers and plants. In this college is a lay-brother that draws fruits and flowers excellently well.

*Plantin's* printing-house is a very neat *Officina* place. Within the court, over the gate, *Plantin*. &c. are the stone effigies of *Johannes Moretus*, and under him is written, *ratione recta*; *Balthasar Moretus* 1642. *Johannes Moretus* *I. F. I. Lipsius*, *moribus antiquis Christophorus Plantinus*, *Labore & Constantia*. This last is over the entrance into a large printing-room, where are 12 presses, most of which employ'd at this time. The old cuts and letters are kept in a large chamber above, and the correctors sit in a great room on the same floor.

In the fish-market, a square place with many fish-stalls well stored with fish of several sorts, we saw the *Vinder-fish* or *Vintz*, *Horn-fish*, *Cods*, *piscis Mai*, i. e. *Alosa sive clupea*, *Barbles*, *Holybutt*, *Hootes*, i. e. *Oxyrynchus*, *Elefs*.

In a druggist's shop we saw an *Armadillo*, a dry'd *Sturgeon*, *Libella piscis*, *Diabolus maris*, *Lacerta Mar. squamosa*, a little square fish having a round mouth, two horns before on the head, and as many at the tail, *Porcus Erinaceus Mar.* *Stella Brasil. spinosa*, *Tatau*. *Crocodilus*, *Alligator Guiana*, *Pristis*. *Crisebay*. *India* idols painted, two unicorns horns, one of which was of whitish colour, eight foot and two or three inches long, a sea spider.

In another druggist's shop we saw a *Greenland* man in a boat like that which hangs up at *Hull* in *England*.

*Vierchaer* is a house where prisoners are try'd. Over a gate near the key stands the statue of *Brabon*, with a hand in his own hand.

At *St. Walburg*, an *English* saint's church, *St. Walburg's church*. is the lifting up of our Saviour on the cross, a fair picture over the altar, drawn by *Rubens*, as others are by the same hand. Twenty steps, having two landing-places, lead up to the choir, under which are two chapels or altars, and a publick paved passage. At the west end is a place where *St. Walburg* hid herself from her persecutors.

The state-house is a magnificent structure built into a square. We went into several of the rooms, and saw some of the inscriptions which were written on the triumphant arches when prince cardinal entred this city. Two of them I transcrib'd, viz.

1. *Potentissimo & invictiss. Philippo IV. Hispaniar. & Indiar. Monarchae Belgar. Princ. Phil. III. Fil. Phil. II. Nep. Imp. Caes. Caroli V. Pron. Phil. I. Abn. Imp. Caes. Maximil. I. adn. pio. fel. Patri Patriae, & Sereniss. principi Ferdinando Fratri*

Rarities.



*Fratri ejus Vnico S.R.E. Cardin. Belgar.  
& Burgundion. Gubernatori auspiciatissimo  
S P Q. Antwerp. pro salute & perennitate  
Augustæ Domus Austriæ. Voto suscepto  
Arcum hunc Philippæum dedicabat.*

2. *Dotales geminos mundi de finibus Indos,  
Austriadum domus auspiciis sortita secundis,  
Sparsaq; regna tenens pariter cum lumine  
solis,  
Mitibus æqua regit famulantem legibus or-  
bem,  
Altius invidia sceptrum hoc cunctisq; ve-  
rendum  
Hostibus & patrio majestas proxima cælo  
Magne Philippe tuo felix in stirpe perennet.*

We heard in St. James's church a Mi-  
nim friar preach a Latin sermon. Before  
the sermon, those that were to receive  
the sacrament the next day, put their alms  
into a box, and kissed the host.

St. Mary's  
church.

At our lady's church we saw the bishop  
of Antwerp enter the choir, having a rich  
mitre on, set with precious stones, two  
or three silver wands, and the *pedum*  
and a book carried before him. While  
he was celebrating the mass, one of his  
attendants did take off his mitre, and  
some of the canons that were employed  
at the service, kissed his hand; and when  
they brought the book to him, they kissed  
his hand. His name is *Jaspar Capello*,  
an Italian born, but of Dutch parents.  
This church is a great building, having  
a very fair tower or steeple; within are  
three rows of pillars on each side, and  
altars against most of the pillars: several  
pictures drawn by *Rubens*, &c. A stately  
marble porch adorned with statues, makes  
the entrance into the choir of this church.  
Over the altar in our lady's chapel, is a pic-  
ture made by a blacksmith (who wrought  
the curious iron-work over a well in the  
piazza near this church.) It is reported,  
That this fellow was in love with a gentle-  
woman who had resolved never to marry  
any but a picture-drawer; whereupon  
this man industriously apply'd himself to  
that art, and attained to so great a per-  
fection, that he drew this picture, which is  
well esteemed. The telling of the num-  
ber of horse-heads in this picture, requires  
a very attentive eye. A large lanthorn  
on the top of the church, and thereon  
great figures of men, &c. which are so  
proportioned, that they appeared in their

natural bigness to those that stand on the <sup>SKIPPON.</sup>  
ground.

See the inscriptions of monuments in  
this church, in *Swartius*.

Without the west end of *N. Dame*, is  
the picture of the aforesaid blacksmith,  
and under his painting-tools this is written,  
*viz.*

*Quintino Metiis  
Incomparabilis  
Artis  
Pictori  
Admiratrix grataq;  
Posteritas  
Anno post obitum  
Seculari  
C10 100 XXIX posuit.*

Under the instruments of his smith's  
trade,

*Connubialis Amor  
de Mulcibre  
Fecit Apellem*

1656. *Cornelius Lanschot* built a fair  
alms-house in this city.

We saw a great procession, which is A proces-  
every year about this time, being a ker- sion.  
mes or fair: it began early in the after-  
noon. First came the several trades, with  
their ensigns carry'd on poles by fellows  
in red mantles. Two ships were carry'd  
before two ranks of seamen: wood-  
mongers, bakers, cutlers, smiths, mil-  
lers, butchers, fish-mongers, skimmers,  
&c. every trade hath its chaplain in a  
surplice and cap. The fools-natural,  
maintain'd by the city, bring up the rear  
of these, who are clad in parti-coloured  
coats. After a good space followed the  
church-wardens and their chaplain, then  
the monks of several orders, 1. *Minims*, No. 2, 3,  
2. *Capuchins*, 3. *Bogaerdens*, 4. *Augustine* the order  
*Eremites*, 5. *Carmelites calceati*, or brothers of St.  
of our lady, 6. *Minnebroes*, 7. *Domini-* Francis.  
*cans* (the bishop of Antwerp is of this or-  
der;) every order had a banner carry'd  
before them. Next came a cross and  
two candles before the canons of St. James;  
and after them a *pedum* was carry'd be-  
fore a mitred abbot and his monks of St.  
*Norbertus* his order; then came the canons  
of *N. Dame*, and a *pedum* before the bi-  
shop. There followed several pageants;  
first, a great ship, on one side whereof  
was written,

*VInCVLa qVæ IMposVIt sCaLDI beLLona reLaXat  
paX IgItVr prors CVrrIt, & It rates.*

On the other side is written,

*RVrsVs eX oCCasV eX ortV properate CarIna  
SCaLDIs & aqVatICæ portVs apertVs erIt.*

The



SKIPPON. The sum of the numerical letters is 3118, which is guessed to be the year of the world when the giant was killed that infested this place. This ship was drawn on little wheels by men who went under the keel, and directed its motion. Many sea-boys stood in it, and three little boats attended, which were also moved by men underneath. Next came a whale, in the belly whereof stood a fellow who squirted water out of the mouth of it. A dolphin followed, and on one of the banners was written, *In beneficii Delphini*; then *Neptune* and *Thetis* in their chariot drawn by two sea-horses; on one of the banners of this pageant was written, *Disso citius*, on another, *Æquora placat*. An elephant came after them, and on his back stood Fortune on a globe inscribed, *Sors omnia Versat*. Wild men ran on each side. *Parnassus* hill, and on its top stood *Pegasus* between two angels, and three muses on each side, and three before *Apollo*, playing on a violin over the last three, and they singing; he was crowned with a lawrel; one sat behind him, who was perhaps *Mnemosyne*: water sprung up out of several places of *Parnassus*. The giant sat a very great height in a chariot drawn by four horses; on either side of the horses went two men with axes in their hands, and just before them went two men carrying two hands upon long poles. On the fore part of the chariot was written,

*Immanes subigit Virtus animosa Gigantes;  
Brabonis reperit fabula prisca fidem.*

Behind on the chariot was written, *An. cio 10 xxxiiii. Petrus Van Ælft Piëlor Caroli V. Aug. Cæs. fecit*. On the giant's left shoulder was a red scarf, and on his right a gilt chain; a huge truncheon in one hand, and his other on his sword-hilt. Eight young giants followed him, four men and four women. After these followed *Brabo*, having a kettle-drum and four trumpets before him, and a man carrying the giant's head by his horse-side; then a young lad on horse-back with his banner: a *Black-moor* carry'd his sword, and after him followed a troop of young lads with banners in their hands, and armed with head-pieces; in the rear came pages, a cook, farrier, &c. a camel led by a *Black*. The virgin of *Antwerp* with many little girls were drawn in a chariot by four horses; over the virgin's head was written *Antuerpia*. She delivers the keys of the city to the governor of the *Spanish* countries when he makes his entrance. The *Salutation*, being a girl

who sits in a chariot reading, while a dove hovers over her head, and an angel appears by her. On the chariot is written, *Deo incarnato*: another chariot representing the *meeting* of the virgin *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; the *Birth* of our Saviour in a stable, the three kings offering, in another chariot, and this written, *Oblulerunt ei aurum, thus, & myrrham, & procidentes adorarunt eum*; the *Circumcision*, wherein the priest, &c. On the top of this chariot is written, *Orbis redemptori*. After these chariots followed a man who carry'd a pole with a board on it, whereon was this inscription in *Dutch*, *Die Aenbidt eenen Godt in persone Dryuuldich Geliick Abraham certiits Heeft Gedaen Woort Rier Gedoot zeer. menichuudich ende sal namaels des Hemels croon ontfæen*. Before this went a chariot drawn by four horses, wherein the three angels that appeared to *Abraham*, and this inscribed, *Tres Angelos vidit, & unum adoravit*: the *Resurrection* drawn by four horses; on the two fore-horses, the sun and moon, and on the two hindmost, a scythe and an angel; in the chariot, the effigies of our Saviour sitting in triumph; death stands at his feet, and many in white seemed to rise out of their graves. *Hell* came next, being a chariot full of ugly horns, hair-crocodiles, &c. drawn by two horses with serpents hanging about them. After a good space came two of the gilds armed with guns, then *St. Michael* leading the devil, and after him follow'd the other four gilds (before every gild the bows, cross-bows, &c. of the gilds, were carry'd) with their chaplains. An hermit in a *Capuchin's* dress, with beads and a cross over his shoulder, came before *St. Christopher*, who was about five yards high, in a red gown, with a white girdle about his middle, and on his breast a round silver plate with a cross. On his shoulders he carry'd our Saviour dressed in a blue mantle full of stars, holding a globe with a cross upon it. Many wild men in habits made of ivy-leaves, and children antickly dressed, went up and down. Towards the close of all came a horse dressed up in a dragon's skin. In one of the banners was a globe pictured, and under it a battledore, and under that is written, *Concilio Themisticlea*; in other banners, the picture of the city and *SPQA*.

We saw the *Easterling* house, a fair and large building.

The *Hessen* house is an indifferent building for merchandizing.

The water-house furnishes all the brew-houses with water. The brewers carry their



their barrels on very long and narrow sledges, and usually one horse draws two sledges at a time.

The *English* burse is a square and little area, having iron bars about it.

The great burse is like our royal exchange, but not so handsomely adorned.

The castle or citadel. We attempted twice to see the castle; the first time we were denied entrance, because, they said, we were *English*; and the second time, the soldiers pretending we were *Germans*, procured us leave of their governor *Don Ferdinando Sorlis*. We first went over two draw-bridges, and saw the works. The figure of this citadel is pentagonal, having two triangular out-works or sconces; a neat stone-wall faced the very thick earth-works, which are planted with rows of lime-trees; a broad and deep trench goes round. Within is a large area, and the governor hath a fair house; uniform rows of lodgings for the soldiers; the inmost is cloistered; they have a chapel here. Under the works are the magazines. Between the citizens houses and the castle, is a great void space, where none are suffered to build.

*Quinque folium fol. lacin. subtus Incanis fl. lut.* found here.

St. Norbertin's monastery. We saw the monastery of *St. Michael*, where an abbot and 63 monks of the order of *St. Norbertus* live, who are esteemed rich, and always entertain the prince of these countries when he comes to *Antwerp*. The monastery hath a fair entrance. Many of these monks have livings in the country, where they sometimes officiate. Their church is handsome, having eight chapels of curious marble-work. Apostles statues stand on the pillars; a fair marble entrance into the choir. Most of the marble-work was made by one *John Van Mildert* (whose monument is in the body of the church) and his son. Over the high altar is a rare picture drawn by *Rubens*, who made it in that place, and had 100 florins a-day for 14 days. He also drew the abbot's picture of that time. There have been 42 abbots here. In the middle of the choir lies buried the heart of *Isabella*, the wife of *Carolus Audax*, and daughter of — king of *France*. Her effigies in brass is on the tomb-stone. *Ortelius* his monument is in this church. See the inscription in *Swartius*.

Under the picture of *Philip Rubenius*, is written,

D. O. M. S.

*Philippo Rubenio. IC.*

*Johannis civis & senatoris Antuerpiæ Fil.*

*Magni Lipsii discipulo & alumno*

*Cujus doctrinam pæne affectus*

Nº. 245. Vol. VI.

*Modestiam feliciter adæquavit*

*Bruxellæ præfidi Richardoto*

*Romæ Ascanio Cardinali Columnæ*

*Ab epistolis & studiis*

*Abiit, non obiit, virtute & scriptis sibi superstes,*

*V. Kal. Septemb. An. Christi MDCLX. Æt. XXXIIX*

*Marito bene merenti de moy*

*Duum ex illo liberorum Claræ & Philippi mater*

*Hoc mæroris & amoris sui monumentum P. C.*

*Phil. Rubenius Phil. Fil. IC.*

*Huic Urbi à Secretis & Senator*

*Decessit*

*Ætat.*

*Bonis Viator bene precare manibus*

*Et cogita, prævit ille, mox sequar.*

The cloister is fairly glazed, and in a window is painted the story of *St. Norbertus* and *St. Bernardus* bringing the true pope to his chair, which another had usurped. In their library is a press where they lock up heretical books. Here we saw a curious manuscript of the bible, full of fine pictures, written by one *Conrade* of this cloyster, *Anno 14.*

When prince cardinal was here, the monks entertained him with the baiting of a bull.

We saw another procession. First came A procession the several trades; after them came the gilds. The master of the cross-bows company had a gilt parrot hanging at his breast, and another sitting on a staff he carried in his hand, and a bow and arrows hung at his back. This master was made so, because he shot the parrot off a pole. After the gilds were past, the people threw herbs in the streets, and then came the friars of the several orders, and after some distance a great many citizens in two ranks, with wax-torches lighted in their hands; and we observed poor boys going along by them, catching the drops of wax, which they sell to the chandlers. Many of these that carry torches, give somewhat yearly to the cathedral, for which they have torches allowed them in this procession; others that go out of a more sudden devotion, buy them at this time: the wafer and chalice is painted on every torch. Next came the canons of *St. James*, &c. and after them, musicians and singing-men, and the canons of *N. Dame* before the bishop (over whom was carried a canopy) with the host in his hand. The church-wardens followed, and the magistrates of the city, with a black wand and halberts behind them.

*Antwerp* hath two burgomasters, a magistrate, a scout (like our attorney general) and 18 magistrates, nine of which are chosen every year: but first the king confirms them, or commands a new election;

The government



SKIPPON election; the margrave and scout are for their lives.

It is a custom here, if a stranger marries a wife in this city, she is to have all her portion again, if her husband dies first; and if she dies first, leaving no children, the portion returns to her friends.

At Minheer *Happaert's*, a cannon of *N. Dame*, we saw very rare pieces, being first draughts of the best painters, which he purchased with 6000 florins at the auction of *Rubens's* goods; who ordered by will that they should not be sold 'till 14 years after his death, lest it should be discovered from whence he had his best designations. This canon told us, that *Rubens* had most of them from *Julio Romano*, who was excellent for invention and designing. We saw also some of the draughts of *Raphael Urbin*, *Titian*, *Mich. Angelo*, *Polydore*, &c. Among the pictures we saw *Charles the Fifth's*, and *Philip the First's*. This canon was very civil, and very ingenious in drawing pictures of flowers, fruits, &c. In his garden we met with the bishop of *Antwerp*, whose hat was lined underneath with green, and over his *Dominican* habit he had a cloak; his attendants were two priests, and a servant: here, and in *Franciscus van Steerbeek*, a priest's garden, we saw many rare plants.

This city is most neatly built with fair brick houses, none being suffered to repair those built of wood. The streets are broad and well paved. In the chief street called the *Mere*, and other large streets, the ladies, in summer evenings, make their tour *a-la-mode* with their coaches; and sometimes they ride on the walls of the city, which in some places is planted with rows of trees. The earth-work, and the other fortifications, are neatly faced with a good stone wall; and without is a deep and broad trench of water. Curious winding bridges, with iron rails on each side, lead into the city. The country about it is low, and the river *Scaldis* runs by the side of it. One hundred fifty cuts of famous picture-drawers, made by *Vandyke* and printed at *Antwerp* by *Giles Henricks*, are sold for five stivers apiece.

*Hevartius* the historian lives here. We met with Mr. *Coleman* at *Antwerp*, who was lately of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*. This *Coleman* was since executed at *London* for high treason.

At this place, *Louvain*, *Mecklin*, &c. we saw dogs draw little carts, as at *Brussels*. "If you would not have a man hanged, let him be a prisoner at *Antwerp*," is a proverb.

1

May 15. The passage-boat being gone, we hired at the *English* key, about ten in the morning, a little boat, and with a good wind sailed by several forts on each side the river *Scaldis*, and overtook the passage-boat about three leagues from *Antwerp* at *Lillo*, where we had our things searched by the states officers. Thence we had a double gale and good tide (tho' sometimes our vessel struck on the ground) and saw many fortifications on each side the river, which in some places is very broad. At eighteen leagues from *Antwerp* we came to the isle of *Walcheren*, and past by a block-house called *Ramekins*, and then entered a strait channel which brought us to *Middleburg*, a City well built and fortified, and much privileged by an imperial charter; they say no citizen of this place can be arrested elsewhere. We walked into a handsome market-place, and viewed the stadthouse, which is adorned on the outside with statues of dukes, &c. Here we saw two eagles which the charter obliges this town to keep. There are four channels of water run through as many streets, which is a great conveniency for traders. We searched in two of the biggest churches, but could not find the tombs of *William* earl of *Holland* and *Adrianus junius*.

The musket gild is a fair house. The poor work in a spin-house. A castle is the arms of the town. About 20 churches here. The round church is a pretty building.

*Lutherans* and *Anabaptists* have liberty of conscience here; and the *Jews* have some indulgence; the *French* have a church; and we heard Mr. *Spang* a *Scotch* minister preach to the *English* congregation in a little chapel; the reader first read two chapters, and rehearsed the belief, every one being then bare, and set a psalm; then the minister began his first prayer, made a sermon, and in his last prayer prayed for the king of *England*, the prince of *Orange*, states general, and the magistrates of the town: the women sat together on benches in the middle of the church; and the men, at the naming of the text, were uncovered, as we observed in *Scotland*.

The inhabitants here seemed much more devout than we observed afterwards the *Hollanders*, and other protestants in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *France*; having a more serious sense of religion than any we could meet withal out of *England*, and observing the Lord's-day with great respect.

With relation to this town, I shall add the following from *Stat. Fœd. Belg.*

Medio-



*Medioburgi constitutum est tribunal Flan-  
dricum vacans negotiis feudalibus, tum etiam  
reliquis causis quæ per modum appellationis  
ex iis locis quæ ord' subegere, illud devol-  
vuntur, ad quod præter præsidem & septem  
senatores, advocatus, fisci superintendens feu-  
dorum & procurator generalis cum graphia-  
rio pertinent.*

Rarities.

In one Cliver's house we saw these ra-  
rities, viz. a rattle-snake's skin, sea-  
horses teeth, a whale's penis, a trumpet  
made of the bark of a tree, *Guaiana* cro-  
codiles, unicorns horns, *zeloo* a fish, jaws  
of a sea-cow, sea-hog's head like that of  
a dolphin's in *Bellonius*, sea wolf, sea por-  
cupine, sea carp, ostrich egg with faces  
carved on it, twelve dodecaedrons of ivory  
one within another, king's crab, a cir-  
cumcision-knife made of a blueish stone,  
dragons teeth, i. e. the petrified teeth of  
a shark, an *Indian* axe made of stone,  
many curious shells, &c.

At the exchange, being only a cloister  
of three sides, we met with one Mr. Hop-  
kins an *English* merchant, who civilly  
lent us twenty pounds, tho' he never saw  
nor knew us before; which is not usual  
for merchants to do, who seldom trust  
those that bring them bills of exchange  
and letters of credit further than their va-  
lue extends.

One day after dinner we walked a cu-  
rious paved and shady way, which was  
marked at four equal distances by stones;  
the middle stone had 1654 engraven on it.  
We passed by the country houses of *John  
van Everson* vice-admiral of *Zealand*, and  
*Minbeer Lambson's* one of the states ge-  
neral; over the gate of the last was writ-  
ten, *Fiat voluntas Dei*. After an hour's  
walk we passed over two draw-bridges and  
entered *Flushing*, and viewed the fortifica-  
tions, which towards the land are thick  
earth-works handsomely pallisadoed and  
well strengthened with a broad trench full  
of water, which is kept up higher than  
the level of the country. Here is an in-  
different market-place, and a little square  
for a fish-market; many large and hand-  
some channels with broad keys within the  
town.

The stadthouse is a neat, compact and  
square building. The streets are not  
so large and the houses not so fair as at  
*Middleburg*. There are two land-gates.  
The arms of the town is a pitcher. With-  
out the walls is a long house where they  
make cable-ropes.

An *English* church here.

In the evening, paying three stivers a  
man, we came on a paved road in a wag-  
gon to *Middleburg*.

Another day after dinner, walking an hour in a strait paved way, we came to *Veere*, fortified with a strong work and a large trench of water. The town is but small; it hath a broad and fair market-  
place, a stadthouse, and a great church; two fair channels and broad keys within the town; but one land-gate, and a little postern, which we went out at, and walked on a high bank by the sea-shore, which is raised to defend the country from the encroachments of the sea, and hath all along, where the tide beats, a strong kind of mat fastened into the ground to keep the shore from being washed in. Much land hath been lately recovered and banked in.

We returned through *Armuyden*, a little place consisting of a street of houses, den-  
trenched about; formerly it was conside-  
rable for trade; and passing by many salt-  
houses, half an hour's walk from *Armuy-  
den*, brought us back to *Middleburg*.

This island hath a council sitting at *Middleburg*, called the *Staten van de Ey-  
landen van Walcheren*, consisting of a de-  
puty from the prince of *Orange* for the  
nobility, and five delegates, one from  
*Middleburg*, one *Flissing*, one *Veere*, and  
two chosen by the landed men of the  
island. They have a secretary.

May 20. About five in the morning  
we took boat, past by *Ramekins*, and in  
sight of *Tergoes* and several islands of *Zea-  
land*, and by *Romerfwal*. About half an  
hour after ten in the morning we sailed by  
a strong sconce and entered the river *Zoome*,  
which brought us up to *Bergen op Zoome*,  
about eight leagues from *Middleburg*.

In the great church we viewed several  
handsome monuments, and writ out some  
of the epitaphs, viz.

*Monumentum honorandi Domini  
D. Anthony à Bergis illustrissimi  
Hispaniarum Regis Philippi ac  
Caroli 5. Caesaris primarii sacellani, &c.  
Ob. 1540.*

*Æternæ Memoræ  
Generis nobilitate, rebus militia domi forisque  
gestis perillustri D. Carolo Morgano Equiti  
Aurato, uni generosorum Cameræ privatæ  
Reg. Mag. Brit. Legionis Anglicæ pede-  
stris in fœderato Belgio primum Tribuno,  
mox difficillimis temporibus Regi M. Brit.  
in Saxonia inferiori necnon Regi Daniæ  
copiis in eadem provincia Generali Præ-  
fecto, denique rebus ibidem feliciter gestis  
& pace factâ, in Fœderato Belgio Op-  
pidi Bergæ ad Zomam quod ante à summo  
Duce Spinolâ obsessum, fortiter defenderat  
Gubernatori. Anno Ætatis 67. Extincto.  
Filia Unica Morgania è nobilissima ejus  
unicâ*

SKIPPON.

Two Eng-  
lish chur-  
ches here.The go-  
vernment  
of Wal-  
cheren.Bergen op  
Zoome.Great  
church.

Flushing.

n Eng-  
th  
urch.



unicâ Coniuge Elizabetha summi Viri Philippi Marnixii D. S. Aldegondii filia prognata cum liberis suis Thomâ & Elizabethâ à D. Ludovico Morgano ejusdem nobiliss. famil. Equiti Aurato marito ipsi relictis, optimo Parenti mæsta mærensque posuit. Obiit è morbo in Viridi adhuc Senectâ, 1642.

Tibi

Ludovice de Kettale Dynasta  
De Rittove, qui primariis in  
Equestri militia dignitatibus defunctus  
Vitam cum Urbis hujus regimine  
Amisisti, cujus Virtutem admirantur  
singuli, prudentiam omnes, mortem nemo.  
Uxor mæsta. H. M. P. Obiit Anno 1631.  
Vitam longam speramus  
Felicem optamus  
Æternam credimus.

On the same is written,

Nobilissima Domina Amerensia de  
Ravensway fragilitatis humanæ exemplar  
Patientiæ invictæ speculum, morbosum  
Vitæ suæ cursum confecit. Anno  
Æræ Christianæ, 1634.

Deo Opt. Max.

Æternæ Memoriæ Marcelli Baxii Bergarum ad Zomam Gubernatoris fortissimi, Equitum Tribuni, turmæ Equ. Præf. cujus insuperabilem in bello virtutem Patria memorat; Hostis expertus est. Historia loquitur. Uxor mæsta pos. CIODCXVIII.

Many escutcheons carved about this monument, and names underwritten, viz. Morgan, Cumvy of Cardycan. Kadwall, Herbert, Carlion, Meredeth oue Demicie. The arms of this is a lion rampant within a border indented. Flumming, Kary, Marnix, Bailleul, Ameriecourt, Crispe.

On another monument is inscribed;

Ordo rerum Anima

Nobilitate & Virtute conspicuus Gulielmus de Riied dictus de Broeckem Eques Auratus, Dominus de Westwesel equitum legioni præfectus, ejusdemque unius Cataphractorum turmæ Capitaneus, Satrapa hujus Urbis & Ditionis Bergensis in honorem lætissimæ Conjugis Dnæ. Judeth de Aeswiic in sui ac posterorum memoriam hoc monumentum erexit.

Virtuti Fortuna comes. Fortuna invidia. Fumus & Umbra. Humana Vana. Siste Viator & huc respice. Adversamini Vitiis. Colite Virtutes. Non frustra sunt in Deo positæ spes

precesque quæ cum reetæ sunt inefficaces esse non possunt. Dulce meum terra tegit. Domina Juditha de Alffzoin de Brokel Domina de Westwesel & Westdoren hic sita, pie in Domino defuncta, 1625.

Behind an effigies on another monument is a death's head; and this inscription on the tomb:

Hic situs est Edwardus Brusius Baro Kinlossiæ juvenis egregia forma, natione Scotus, qui Antiquorum ejusdem gentis Regum nomine & stirpe nobilis sub Henrico Walliæ Principe (quem pauco tempore supervixit) honorato loco acceptus & à pueritia educatus, honore Equitis balnearum in Anglia insignitus, comitate & perpolititis moribus unicuique carus, omni virtutis genere laudabilis, præsertim vero magnanimitate & fortitudine præstantissimus Gloria Cumulatus obiit die . . . . Mensis Augusti Anno ab Incarnatione Verbi 1612. Ætatis suæ . . . Mater lætissima Fæmina filio bene merenti marmoreum hoc monumentum una cum Statua lugens posuit.

Heroum de stirpe & avito nobilis ortu

Hic ingens animi Brusius ossa locat.

Ne pudeat (quamvis cogaris) terra, fateri

In te nulla tegi pectora fida magis

Promissi si forte tenax, si fidus Amico es

Hæc lege & extincti dilige saxa Viri.

There is a tombstone over D. Paulus Baxequitus Eques Auratus, who was governor of this town 15 years, and died Anno 1606, Æt. 54.

A fair organ here.

An English, French, and another church besides this. An English church.

The day we came hither was kept as a solemn publick fast, all shops shut up, and the gates not opened till three in the afternoon.

The town hath two or three streets well built, and a handsome square market-place: the streets are not kept clean. We walked the works, which are strong and high, encompassed with a trench and defended by horn-works, half moons, &c. the most remarkable, is that which Morgan defended against the Spaniards. Here are in garrison 12 companies of foot (two of which are English) and two troops of horse, under the governor (whom we saw well attended with lacqueys) prince Fred. de Nassaw, brother to prince Maurice. His sister is lady marquis of Bergen op Zoome, and is of the popish religion; the duke of Bologne's son, a Frenchman, married her daughter lately.

The



The go-  
vernment. The magistrates are two burgomasters  
and a stadtholder.

The inhabitants have four companies of  
soldiers. Every night there are guards of  
soldiers in the hornworks, where there are  
watch-towers.

May 21. We hired a waggon drawn by  
three horses a-breast, which carried us  
fandy way, and brought us then through  
*Rosendael*, a large village indifferently  
built, consisting of a long street: we then  
came through a village called *Sumdert*,  
whereabouts we killed a bird *Aldrovandus*  
calls *Lanarius minor tertius*. We observed  
rows of trees in many places planted on  
each side the road; and we passed through  
another little village having a handsome  
church in it; and about an *English* mile  
further we passed over five draw-bridges,  
and through two gates, and entred *Bredah*,  
eight hours distance from *Bergen op Zoome*.  
After we had given the soldiers an account  
whence we came, &c. we went to the  
great church, a stately structure, having a  
handsome high tower, and saw several  
monuments, viz.

1. The effigies of grave *Henry of Nas-  
sau* and his wife; over them his pieces  
of armour supported by four soldiers,  
like *Sir Francis Vere's* monument in  
*Westminster* abbey.
2. Grave *Englebert's*, having eight fair  
statues, among which a cardinal and  
a monk.
3. Grave *Horne's* and his two wives, an  
ancient tomb.
4. *Fredericus à Remesse* and his wife, he  
died 13 kal. Jun. 1538.
5. *Minheer Vanderleeke* and *Van Bre-  
da*, who built this church, Obiit  
MCCCXCIIII.
6. *Job. Teneramundus, D. de Borginval*,  
*Carol. V. à machinis bellicis. Ob. Cal.*  
*Maii 1536.*
7. *Heere Van Assandelse.*

An Escutcheon hangs up for *Sir Tho.*  
*Ayleberry*, bart. and another for *Ancient*  
*Ashly*.

In the same place where grave *Henry*  
lies buried, is preserved a picture drawn  
either by *Julio Romano* or *Raph. Urbin*.  
When *Spinola* took *Breda* he would not  
suffer prince *Henry's* monument to be de-  
faced. Here is a curious brass font; and  
a fair organ, with this written on it, *Deum*  
*colite in organo*. Here are also two chro-  
nograms mentioned in the history of *Spino-  
la's* siege of *Breda*; and at the west  
hangs this inscription, wherein the nume-  
ral letters of the five last words make the  
year of our Lord when this city was re-  
taken by the states.

VOL. VI.

*Auxilio*  
*Solius Dei*  
*Auspiciis*  
*Confederati Belgii*  
*Ferdinando Austriaco*  
*Hispan. Infante*  
*Cum ingenti exercitu*  
*Frustra succurrente*  
*A. XXIII Julii*  
*Obsessam*  
*A. XIIIX Augusti*  
*Oppugnatam*  
*Fr. Henricus Princeps*  
*AraVsIVs*  
*BreDaM eXpVgnat*  
*SeXto oCtoBrIs.*

We saw the castle, and were in the The castle.  
prince's palace, an indifferent building.  
A neat cloister on two sides of the court.

We walked the fortifications of the  
castle, which are very strong, having a  
deep trench about, and were shewed the  
place where the turf-boat entred, which  
covered 70 men that surprized the castle  
for prince *Maurice* 1590. The story of  
it was thus related to us; that when the  
boat was admitted in, the skipper made  
the guard drunk, and employed porters  
to carry some of the turfs away, but  
would not suffer all to be removed 'till the  
soldiers were ready, who then came out  
and killed the centinels and guard; and  
immediately fired the bridge towards the  
town, and planted pieces against it, entred  
the palace, and took the governor's son  
prisoner (the governor being absent) who  
had a letter in his pocket which discovered  
the whole design, which he durst not  
break open, because his father was once  
much displeased with him for opening a  
letter in his absence: prince *Maurice* lay  
not far off with his army, and upon notice  
given made his approaches, and the next  
day, *March 4. 1590*, took the town.  
This boat was kept 'till *Spinola* gained the  
place 1625, and then it was hewn in pieces  
and burnt. Over the gate is a fair cloi-  
stered walk. The garden is neat, and set  
with many mast trees.

The prince hath a pleasure-house not  
far from *Bredah*.

We viewed the city walls, which are  
very strong, having two trenches of water,  
one of which is very broad, and without  
them half moons, &c. Here are 17  
companies of foot, and four troops of horse;  
two of the companies are *English*, under Two  
*Col. Killebrew* and *Capt. Read*; the go- Companies of  
vernors name is *Howtoest*, who has been English  
governor near 20 years. Every morning soldiers.  
the horse soldiers come to the market-  
place, stay for the keys of the gates,  
5 I which



SKIPPON. which are returned again to the stadthouse.

When any boat enters the haven with any merchandize, &c. they search it and stab a spit in several places.

The streets of *Bredab* are well built.

May 22. We went by waggon, and passed in sight of two sconces, and after three leagues riding, went over two drawbridges, and came into *Gertrudenburg*; which is indifferently built, having two or three streets, one very large, set with trees on each side. We walked the works, which are strong and well trenched about, and at every platform observed a little wooden house pitched over, where the cannon bullets, scowlers, &c. are kept. From the walls we had a prospect of a mast-wood. Here are three companies of foot, one of which is *English* under Capt. Doleman, and one troop of horse.

Reed sparrows observed here.

About noon we went into the passage boat, and after six hours (the wind being not very favourable) we came to the beginning of the river (that runs to *Dort*) and went ashore, whence we walked an hour and an half to *Dort*, where the *English* merchants have great privileges, and keep a court. Here are two *English* churches, and a *French* church. The streets are neat, handsomely built, with tall houses, not inferior to those in *Antwerp*. The exchange is over a channel of water between two very long streets; one side of the exchange is a cloister: the streets are paved with stone in the middle, and on each side with brick set edge-ways. We observed the houses here, at *Middleburgh*, *Bredab*, and other the states towns, to have their upper stories bending more forward than the lower, being designed to hang over so, that the rain might not easily beat in. One of the water-ports is a pretty building; the key is fair, having a platform near it. The great church is very large and handsome, having double isles on each side the choir: a pinnacle was designed to be built on the steeple, but the workmen perceived the ground not firm enough to bear so great a weight: off the steeple we had a good prospect of the country and city, saw *Bredab* steeple, and several parts of *Brabant*.

We were in one of their doels or gilds, belonging to the gunners, and in a larger upper room or hall where the synod sat, 161 . . . The seats are still remaining.

We saw the forges where iron is melted and shaped into anvils, anchors, &c. the bellows and hammers are moved by four mills, which are turned by horses.

Over the entrance to the mint-house is written *Divo Car. V. Cæs.* and *Moneta*.

Another doel called *St. George's*.

Every time boats go off to *Rotterdam*, &c. a little bell is rung at the port. Here we saw many great and long boats which come down the *Rhine* with wine, &c.

May 23. About three in the afternoon we went in the passage-boat, and in five hours we reached *Rotterdam*, three leagues from *Dort*: when we landed, a porter crowded our luggage in a little cart or barrow to our lodging.

The great church is dedicated to *St. Lawrence*, and is a large brick building; in it are two organs, and a monument with this inscription;

*Meritis & Æternitati  
Wittenii Cornelii de With  
Equitis.*

*Qui magnitudinem suam eidem elemento debuit cui præcipuam hætenus Hollandia debet, totum terrarum ambitum circumnavigavit, utramq; Indiam, Nauta, Miles, Præfatusq; Nautarum ac militum vidit, expugnato speculatorio Navigio cum viribus ipse multum inferior animo major esset, Argentiferæ Classi Americane capiundæ viam patefecit, innumeras variarum gentium naves cepit, incendit, submersit, per omnes gradus militiæ navalis eluctatus Proprætor Patriæ classes & expeditiones maritimas annis xx rexit, decies quinquies classibus cum hoste conflixit, raro æquata clade plerunque Victor ac Triumphator è præliis rediit, restabat magnus tot belli facinoribus imponendus dies viii. Novembr. Supremum Virtutis opus edidit, ibi primus in prælium ruens, Prætoriam Suecorum invasit, afflixit dein proprætoriam ac prægrandes aliquot eorund' alias armis, viris, animis instructissimas sola proprætoria sua rejecit, afflixit, submersit, donec à sociis undiq; desertus, ab hostib' undiq; circumfusus, discerpto globis corpore bellatricem animam cælo reddidit, corpus ipse Rex hostis generosa fortitudinis hostilis admiratione splendide compositum, in patriam remisit. Sic redeunt quos Honos ac Virtus remittunt. Vixit annis LIX.*

*P. Ryon fecit.*

His effigies, and a sea-fight, is well carved in the marble. Off the steeple (where many little bells hang that chime every quarter of an hour) we had a view of the city, which is of a triangular figure. The chiming wheel is great and made of iron.

Nigh this church is a little house where *Erasmus* was born: the upper part of the house is a school, and a grocer's shop is underneath. *Erasmus's* picture is over the



the door, where these *Latin* and *Spanish* verses are written:

*En esta Casa es nacido Erasmo Theologo  
celebrado,*

*Par Doctrina Sennalado, la pura fee nos  
a revelado.*

*Ædibus his ortus mundum decoravit  
Erasmus*

*Artibus ingenuis, religione, fide.*

*Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus  
At Desiderium tollere non potuit.*

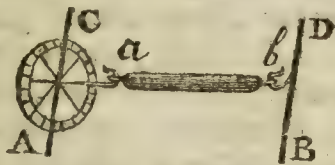
In a large area, or market-place, stands his brass statue, turning over the leaf of a book.

An Eng-  
lish  
church. The *English* and the *French* have churches here; the latter is a pretty square building with an organ in it.

The streets of this city are fairly built, and well furnished with tradesmens shops; and they are paved in the middle with stone, and each side with brick set edge-ways. The fish-market is a convenient place, made like two cloisters one before another. The exchange is a square area, having one side cloisters. The stadthouse is indifferent.

The town is well walled and trenched, and without the trench are walks of trees.

An engine  
to rince  
linen. We observed the laundresses since their linen after this manner:



The wet piece of cloth is at each end fastened to the two iron hooks *a b*, and the washer-woman or laundress turns the wheel *A*, and the hook *a*, which wrings the cloth as much as you will: *A C* and *B D* are the posts the hooks are joined to; the hook *a* passes through the post *A C*. Many pieces of linen may be thus wrung together.

The gates of the city are handsome. In a shop belonging to *Christopher vander Mullen* we saw *Brazilian* spiders teeth, rattles of *Indian* snakes; the rind of an *Indian* apple: *Bagadis* taken in the *Old Maes* in *May*, common in *Scotland*. We saw also three sorts of *Simiae*, one of them had a great head and long face, bigger than the other two; another sort having long black hairs, which was the handsomest and very loving; it smelt of musk.

Most of the Inhabitants live upon trading at sea.

e go-  
ment. *Rotterdam* is governed by fourburgomasters, and 24 magistrates or *Vroetschap*,

who chuse all officers, viz. the four burgomasters out of themselves (each of these burgomasters is president for three months). The *Vroetschap* continue for life, and when one dies they elect another out of the citizens.

By a law of *Maximil.* and *Mary*, 1574, the 40, i. e. *Vroetschap*, 29 Apr. every year chuse with white and black beans, or by such kind of suffrage, seven (by late laws reduced to five) who are sworn impartially to chuse immediately without eating, &c. 18 (but none out of themselves) out of the 40, or other citizens: the names of those 18 to be sent to their prince, or in his absence, to his governor and council of *Holland*, and out of them the prince is to chuse two consuls or burgomasters, and seven eschevins annually (the consuls always to be out of the 40); if the prince does not within 14 days chuse, then the two first named, and the seven first named, to be *Judices*, i. e. eschevins. *Grot. Apologet.* c. 9. p. 181, 182.

May 25. About six in the afternoon we took our seats in the passage-boat, somewhat like our pleasure-barges on the *Thames* (such a boat goes off every hour of the day) and by one horse were drawn in two hours time, two *Dutch* miles to *Delft*. *Delft.*

In this passage there was a collection made by the boatmen among the passengers for the poor.

*Delft* is a large city very fairly built, having channels of water running through many of the streets: the exchange is a neatly paved area (paved with brick) having one side and a half cloistered. We observed a cryer in the streets, who before he spoke, struck a piece of a brass, and made a noise like the sound of a tinker's kettle, which was instead of ringing a bell, used by the cryers in *England*. The market-place is a fair square, where the stadthouse stands; a neat building adorned with a curious gilt front, and a handsome statue of justice; on it is written

*Hollandia*

*Anno Domini cxcicccxx*

*Iustitia*

*Delpensum Cura reparata M.CÆ.*

Over the door is written,

*Hæc Domus edit . . .*

1530.

Two large churches in this city, each having two organs. In that church near the market-place, is the monument of *Hadrian Berkbout* I. V. D. and in the middle of the choir is a stately tomb, viz. *The new kirk.*

A



SKIPPON.

A marble arch over two statues, one represents prince William lying along, the other sitting in his armour; at each corner are four handsome figures for Christ, justice, liberty, &c. with this inscription;

D. O. M.

Et

*Æternæ memoriæ**Gulielmi Nassovii**Supremi Arausionensium principis,**Patris patriæ**Qui Belgii fortunis suas posthabuit**Et suorum.**Validissimos exercitus ære plurimum privato**Bis conscripsit, bis induxit. [pultit:**Ordinum auspiciis Hispanicæ tyrannidem pro-**Veræ religionis cultum, avitas patriæ leges**Revocavit, restituit**Ipsam deniq; libertatem tantum non assertam**Mauritio principi**Paternæ virtutis hæredi filio**Stabiliendam reliquit**Herois vere filii prudentis, invicti:**Quem Philip. II. Hisp. R. ille Europæ ti-**[mor, timuit,**Non domuit, non terruit;**Sed empto percussore fraude nefanda**Sustulit.**Fæderat. Belg. Provinc.**Perenne memor. monum.**Fec.*

Many chiming bells hang in the windows of the steeple.

The Oude  
Kirke.

In the old church, a large building, within the choir, is a monument like De With's at Rotterdam, thus inscribed,

*Æternæ Memoriæ**Qui Batavos, qui virtutem ac verum la-*  
*[borem amas.**Lege ac luge.*

*Batavæ gentis decus, virtutis bellicæ fulmen hic jacet, qui vivus nunquam jacuit & imperatorem stantem mori debere exemplo suo docuit: amor civium, hostium terror, oceani stupor, Martinus Harperti Trompius, quo nomine plures continentur laudes quam hic lapis capit, sane angustior, & cui schola oriens & occidens mare materia triumphorum, universus orbis theatrum gloriæ fuit, prædonum certa perniciēs, commercii felix assertor, familiaritate utilis non vilis, postquam nautas ac milites durum genus paterno & cum efficacia benigno rexit imperio, post L prælia quorum dux fuit aut pars magna, post insignes supra fidem victorias, post summos infra meritum honores, tandem bello Anglico tantum non victor, certe invictus X Aug. anno Æræ Christianæ CIOIOCLIII. Ætat. LVI.*

*vivere ac vincere desit. Fæderati Belgii Patres Heroi optime merito M.P.*

Over his arms is this distich.

*Urbs Phæbi cineres jactat, sed currus honores*

*Ingreditur quoties egrediturq; mari.*

On another monument are these following verses.

*Illustri serie longæq; ab origine gentis*

*Morgani hic conjux Elizabetba tegor*

*Maximi soboles quod non nescitur in orbe*

*Nomen & invito tempore semper erit*

*Virtutum satis est uni placuisse marito*

*Quod pro me loquitur tam preciosus Amor.*

In the same Church is this inscription over a Sea-General, viz.

*Deo Opt. Max. & Æternæ Memoriæ Sacrum.*

*Lugete fæderati mortuum quem præclara in Remp. hanc merita non sinunt esse immortalẽ Petrus Heinius Archithalassus Brasiliæ, mari Mexicano, Lusitanis, Morinis fatale nomen hic jacet, cui fortitudo mortem, Mors vitam dedit, Delphorum portu sub septentrione editus natalis soli famam reportatis è portu Matanæ ad occidentem opimis spolijs gemino orbi intulit parentum humilem sortem Animi magnitudine & rerum gestarum gloriâ transcendens non nasci semper Heroes docuit sed audendo fieri per ineluctabiles fortunæ terrâ mariq; casus numinis favore eluctatus, Indiam, Hispaniam, Flandriam, captivitatis suæ mox libertatis ac Victoriæ testes habuit, sine temeritate intrepidus, sine fastu magnanimus disciplinæ navalis tenax non sine severitate ut obsequij primum omnis patiens sic imperij postmodum omnis Capax. Anno CIOIOCCXXIV præfeli vicem gerens Urbem Salvatoris in Brasilia inter primos exscendens Lusitanis ereptum ivit Anno CIOIOCCXXVII classi Præfetus naves hostium sex & viginti sub ejusdem Urbis mœnibus stupendo facinore expugnavit diripuit exussit alios insuper tres incredibili ausu ad Maream insulam aggressus præmia belli spectante hoste abduxit Anno CIOIOCCXXVIII classem navium viginti auro, argento mercibusq; pretiosissimis gravem ad Cubæ littora felici occurso offendens feliciore marte superavit & novus Argonauta è novo novi Orbis Colchide aureum Hispaniarum Regis vellus Principibus, Europæis formidabile non in Græciam sed Fæderatorum terras nullo hætenus exemplo transvexit & Societati Occidentalis Indiæ immensas opes Hispano inopiam, patriæ suæ robur, sibi immortale decus*



decus paravit, Tandem maris præfecturam quam foris meruerat domi adeptus, dum navali prælia cum Morinis decernit, navium hostiumq; post cruentam pugnam victor ipse machina majore ictus fatalem metam sine metu gloriose adivit. Ejus fame Virtutisq; ergo ex ill. & præp. Ordinum decreto rei maritimæ Præfecti Senatores, Mon. hoc pos. Vixit annos LI. mens. VI. dies XXIII.

Τὸ μὲν Δαυὶδ ἐκ ἀποχρῶν ἀλλ' ἀρχῶς Δαυὶδ.

In some cooks shops here we saw many birds neatly stuffed and set up; and some skeletons of animals.

At one Jean Vander Mere's, an apothecary, we saw a museum, or cabinet of rarities, and observed these particulars, viz. Zebra, or civet-cat, dens hippopotami, cornua hirci bezoardici wreathed, cornua & pedes alcis, Lutra, dentes phocæ, cornu gazellæ, costa syrenis, cornu cervi Americ. cervus Groenlandicus, vulpes ex novo Belgio, cauda elephantis cum sitis rigidis & nigris, lacertus squamosus. 4. Species acus piscis, a piece of a rhinoceros's skin, the head of a dolphin, a giant's tooth, an elephant's tooth, caput leporis cornuti, Soland geese out of Groenland, tatou, os petrosum balenæ, a young whale, morfi caput, Guaiana, a fish from the island Mauritius near Madagascar, piscis triang. cornutus & non cornutus, petimbuaba or tobacco-pipe fish, guacucuja, abacatuaja, guaperua, orbis echinatus, cancer Moluccanus araneus marinus vulgò corallium nigrum, mustela Africana, several sorts of Indian bread, the cup prince William of Nassau last drank out of, the idol Isis, another idol being a brass heron on a tortoise, Indian dice mark'd and shap'd thus

⋮⋮⋮⋮ ⋮⋮⋮⋮ &c. penicillum Chin. a

Japan letter written to the Dutch governor being very oddly painted, a sparrow from Brazil, pluma pavonis Americ. tomingo or humming bird, a feather'd garment from the Magellan straits, Vicia Americ. siliqua arboris sacciferæ; Nidus avis ex Surat. Cancer Americ. Mantex Africa, many sorts of tobacco-pipes from novum Belgium, a dart from fretum Davis wherewith they kill fish, a locust of the kind St. John Baptist ate, onocrotali caput, rostrum rhinocerotis avis sive corvi cornuti of Bontius, a cassawry's egg, pelican's skin and bill, many weapons from Brasil, one with a handle like an ax, and a round bowl of wood at the end; India goose eggs, a shell call'd cor veneris, a shell somewhat like a Nerites without any perforation through the Middle, the mouth of it upwards; a turbo with a long lingua; several sorts of lapis ceraunia, acores ex Africa,

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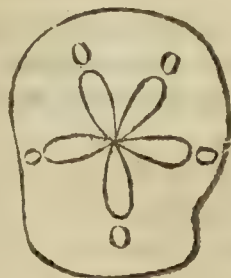
viciæ petrescæ, star stones from St. James of Compostella; the brains of a sea-cow petrify'd. 4. Spec. echini marini, corallii diversæ species; lac lunæ ex Islandia; ligna petrescæ; lobus cartilag. sive phaseolus Brasil, I. B. Faba S. Thomæ; siliqua betulæ Americ. castan. Brasil; anda, fructus reticulatus; fructus pegrinus triangularis; avellana Indica; yeotel, a fruit within a cortex, that is like a pine apple; cola, which hath a delicate taste, and is eaten by the great Turk; silver ore from Potosa, and from Brasil which was much purer; a mineral found in the hill Kessel near Lovain; a leer mouse; putonius Africanus with spotted hairs like to the quills of a porcupine; a silver medal of Otho, with this inscribed, IMP. OTHO CAES. AVG. on the reverse SECVRITAS. We met with a gentleman of Grave here, who shewed us three fair gold coins, one of Nero, the second of Vespasian, with this inscription, IMP. CAES. VESPASIANUS AVG. on the reverse COS. VII. The third of Anton. Pius, thus inscribed, ANTONINVS PIVS PP. on the reverse TR. PO. COS. III.

This Apothecary hath a garden of rare plants, which he was not at leisure to shew us.

We went to the chirurgions anatomy theatre, where every Wednesday are lectures; on one side of the lowermost seat is written Sedes Poliatrix & Præfectorum; above that, Sedes Magistratum & Patriciorum.

On the other side of the lowermost seat, Sedes Medicorum; above that, Sedes Chirurgorum.

Here are several rarities; the skin of a rhinoceros; lobus ingens; variety of corals; the foot and leg of a man, cut off in this city, and preserved like mumia; lacerti squamosi species alia; avis paradisi; a flying cat or squirrel with membranaceous wings and tail; the skeleton of a dolphin; the tail of an Indian peacock; the head of an elephant. 4. Human skeletons; the horns of a hare; a head with two long tusches on the upper jaw, and two horns that grow out a little above, and turn up towards the eyes; the skeleton of a Groenland deer; a very long and large skin of a snake; a Groenland man in his boat; a star fish with five radii on a convex shell, shaped thus;



5 K

Over



SKIPPON. Over the street gate stands a pyramid  
with this underwritten,

*Decrescit dum crescit.*

And under that is inscribed,

*In usum civium & hospitum urbisq;  
Adeo hujus ornamentum  
Theatrum Anatomicum  
Publico ære heic extrui.*

C. C.

*Ampliss. Coss.  
Geraldus Welbouck.  
Theodorus Vander Duffe.  
Everhardus Van Bleiswick.  
Albertus Vander Graeff.  
Jacobo Delft. Ædili  
Theodoro I. F. Valensi  
Protopoliatro atq;  
Collegii Chirurgici  
Decano.*

*Mors sola fatetur  
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.  
Anno MDCLVII.*

Πτερόεις ὁ βίος καὶ ἀσάθης.

An Eng- On the 28th of May was a great fair for  
lish cattle, &c. Delft is noted for making  
church. earthen ware. An English church here.

The go- 1 Scout or Prætor, 2 Burgomasters, 7  
vernment. Scabini, and 40 of the Vroetschap rule this  
town.

Hague. May 28. In an hour's time we went by  
boat to the Hague, a town well built, with-  
out walls; the streets are handsomely built,  
near the palace are stately houses, in one  
where the Russian ambassadors were lodged,  
was written,

*Dotavit Fr. Henricus D. G. Princeps Au-  
riacus Pater Fundavit, jacto primo la-  
pide, Pr. Gulielmus Filius 11 Decemb.  
1636.*

On the house where the Spanish embas-  
sador was lodged, was also written,

*Memoriæ servandæ causa, ad loci ornatum &  
posterorum commoditatem Ædibus vetustate  
collapsis Gerardus ab Assendelft domestico ære  
novam hanc faciem induit quod ut scires  
hospes voluit. MDCLIII.*

The great In the great church we saw a great many  
church. escutcheons, and two organs, on one of  
which, that is at the west end, are these  
two inscriptions,

*S. P. Q.  
Hagiensis  
Immensi  
Erga patriam*

*Beneficii*

*Immortali Deo*

*Laudes immortales*

*Voce, manu, pectore,*

*Accenturus*

*E. C.*

*Singula quæ per se Batavi bona verba lo-  
quuntur*

*Una tot ambivit vocibus Haga loqui.*

*Anno mirabili*

*CICIDCXXIX.*

*Quo de*

*Classe Hispanica,*

*Capta.*

*Vesalia*

*Occupata.*

*Sylvæ ducis*

*Expugnata.*

*Hoste fugato*

*Triumphatum.*

*Victorici patriæ cælo victore triumphos  
Accentura sacris relligiosa modis.*

The inscription over 1. Doufa, Fil. is  
in Hegenitius his itinerary.

An Englishman made a fair carved tomb-  
stone over Gerard Vander Aa. the first cap-  
tain of the prince's guard kill'd at the bat-  
tle at Neuport.

The monument of Johan. Joachimus à  
Rustorf Archii Palatinæ Domus Consiliarius  
Jus. Ob. 27. Aug. 1640.

On a pillar of the church is a marble un-  
der a woman's picture, with this inscrip-  
tion,

*Barbara Duyckia hic sita marito optimo,  
ac nobiliss. Dudleio Carletono Annos  
diuturnos suos pariter meosq; precor  
obiit 11 die Jul. Æt. xxiv. parte sa-  
lutis CICIDCXXVIII.*

May 29. We went to the palace where The pa-  
the states sit, and where at present resided lace.

Gulielmus Henricus prince of Orange, about  
..... years of age, whom we saw at  
dinner with many persons of quality; we  
had a free admision, no body stopping us  
with jealous questions, whither go you,  
&c. The hall of the palace is a great  
high roof'd room, having many colours  
as tokens of victories hanging up, and  
round about are shops, most of which are  
booksellers. The centinels at the gates  
stand always in a ready posture, being well  
armed with back, breast and head-piece,  
and their muskets on their rests. The  
duke of Lunenburg was at this time in the  
Hague.

Every fair evening the tour à la mode of  
coaches is in this place.

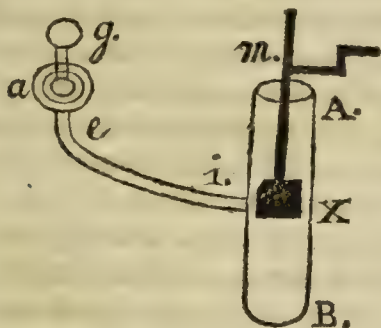
Here, and in other places of Holland,  
we observed the tops of chimneys covered  
with



with a wooden or iron frame to keep storks from building on them. The inns and publick houses of entertainment have bells at their doors, which ring as any one goes in or out.

Monfieur Hugenius.

We made a visit to monfieur *Hugenius* his house, having a letter of recommendation to his second son *Chriftianus Hugenius*, a learned aftronomer and virtuoso, who was at this time in *England*; his elder brother shewed us great civility, and brought us up into a room where his brother had erected a pneumatick engine.



A. B. is a brass cylinder, the handle is fastened at *m.* to the sucker which brings the air first out of the cylinder, and then out of the canalis *e. i.* where at *i.* a valve being opened, the air comes in from the glass *g.* fix'd in a cement made of an equal mixture of turpentine and wax that fills up the circle *a.* where the mouth of the glass stands; the canalis ends at the middle of the cylinder, that the entrance of air may be hindered in the space within, between A. and X.

We were also shewn a perspicillum of his invention, which was of three planoconvex glasses, without any concave; thus made.



a. b. c. is the prospective tube, placing your eye at the hole *i.* and looking downwards upon the speculum (made of metal) *v.* which is set obliquely, the species appear clearly, and not inverted, the reflection from *v.* restoring them to their true posture.

We staid one night the longer in the *Hague* to observe through *Hugenius* his telescope, the *limbus Saturni*, which he first discovered, but the cloudiness of the sky hindered us the sight of it. He was also the inventor of the pendulum clocks.

In his father's library, well furnish'd with books, we saw many of *Lipsius* his MSS. some written with his own hand, and three volumes of letters sent to him from the learned men of that age.

In a gallery and closet we saw many curious pictures, and a little figure of a

man and a woman made by *Rubens*, and the several positions of the hand shap'd in plaister.

Half a *Dutch* mile from the *Hague* we had a pleasant walk through a wood to the prince of *Orange's* pleasure-house, which is a compact octogonal building and uniform, tho' plain on the outside: a rising ground, and some steps brought us into a little entrance, where are the four handsome statues of 1. Prince *William*. 2. Prince *Maurice*. 3. Prince *Henry*, and 4. Young prince *William*. In one of the rooms fairly gilt, are the pictures of the marquess of *Brandenburg*, prince *William's* wife, prince *Henry*, young prince *William*, and the princess royal. A picture of the virgin *Mary*, with a garland of fruits and flowers, drawn by the lay-jesuit at *Antwerp*, given to the prince, who in requital sent a pair of rich beads, and a picture of *Vandyke*. In the middle of the house is an octogonal room, the roof whereof reaches up to the top of the house, where is a large cupola, or lanthorn, on the roof of which is the picture of prince *Henry's* wife, grandmother to the present prince, and this written,

*Amalia de Solms vidua inconsolabilis Marito incomparabili P. Fr. Henrico Princ. Araus. ipsum sese unicum ipso dignum luctus & amoris aeterni monum.*

On a book is written, *Nomen, laudesq; manebunt.* A gallery is round the inside of the cupola, whence we could look down into the octogonal room or hall, which is curiously painted with remarks of prince *Henry's* victories; in one place is written, *Hac ivit*; in one side, *Ultimus ante omnes de parte pace triumphus*; and on another side,

*Fr. Henr. Nassovius  
Auriacus*

*Nasc. Delf. IV. Cal. Feb.  
CICIDXXCIX.*

In other places, these cities, &c. taken from the *Spaniards*, viz.

1. *Sylva Ducis expugn.* 1625.
2. *Groll expugnata.* 1627.
3. *Mosetraject. expugn.* 1632.
4. *Rhenoberga expugn.* 1632.
5. *Breda expugn.* 1637.
6. *Gennera expugn.* 1641.
7. *Saxum Gandevense.* 1644.
8. *Hulsta expugn.* 1645.

In the corners of a window hang bridles, spurs, swords, &c. painted so exactly, that it is easy for one on a sudden to mistake



SKIPPON. take them for real ones. The floor is planched with walnut wood inlaid. The garden is very neat, having two fair arbours and four statues of goddeses in the middle; at the beginning of each of the four walks are two pyramidal figures of wood. Some of the box work is cut into this figure,



Which letters are in many places of the house; which is well water'd about, and pleasantly seated among shades of trees and walks.

Laufdun, where the 365 children were christned. We went by waggon about an hour and a half to a village called Laufdun, famous for the burial of a countess of Holland and her 365 children born at one birth; in the church are preserved the two brass basons they were baptized in, and under them is a Dutch and Latin inscription printed in *Henricus* his intinerary, and these verses;

*Fœmina adulterii rea dicta à principe partu  
Pignora bina uno quod sibi nata forent  
Protulit hoc votum, caro servasse marito  
Pollicitam nescis? O Deus alme fidem  
Huic mihi quæ tantum scelus objicit effice  
partu*

*Pignora quot lucas tot ferat annus habet.  
Audiit orantem celfo Deus Æthere & ecce est  
Tantarum princeps facta parens sobolum,  
Quæ \* Divæ sunt hoc tinctæ baptismate  
templo*

*Et periere uno cum genetrice die  
Res hæc mira fidem superat res verior ulla  
Non est, si antiquis credimus historiis  
Hujus ab exemplo facti maledicere nulli  
Pluraq; quam scimus discite posse Deum.*

*Henricus Mirouleus Pharmacopæus Frank-  
enthalensis hæc cecinit & scripsit.  
Magne DeVs peLLe hostes iVos.*

In this church is a marble thus inscribed,

M. S.

Richardus Harding

*Anglus armiger antiqua & nobili familia  
regi Carolo secundo ab interiori cubiculo  
& privatæ (ut vocant) crumenæ dispen-  
sator & custos, Ver perspectæ probitat'  
& fidei & cui ad caetera ornamenta mo-  
rum elegantiam acer sensus pietatis accessit,  
postquam Regi suo Domino in calamitosis  
temporibus summa cura inserviisset summa  
constantia adhaesisset, fractus tandem mor-  
bis & senio vitam clausit ut vixit christianè  
& post longi exilii errores hic requiem in-  
venit & meliorem patriam. Ob. 24 Aug.  
Anno 1658.*

From Laufdun we went to Riswick, a village well built, where we saw another of the prince of Orange's pleasure-houses, a long and handsome stone building; the lower rooms of it are neatly pav'd with variegated marble. In the hall hang two pictures of sea-fights, one at the streights of Gibraltar, the other with the earl of Bossu, the king of Spain's admiral; the chambers are richly guilt, and the planchers are of walnut wood; we observed here these pictures, viz. The duke of Buckingham, earl of Leicester, countess of Essex, cardinal Richlieu; prince Henry, this prince of Orange his grandfather; the king and queen of France; king Charles I. and queen Mary, drawn by Vandyke; the king and queen of Bohemia; the emperor and empress of Germany; Ludov. XIII. of France; Charles V. prince Cardinal; the king of Spain. The gardens are very neat, having two large fish-ponds in them; curious shades are about the house, and other handsome dwellings situated near it.

There was a fair round church building at this time at the Hague.

The English have a church there.

The states general and provincial sit at the Hague, where it is convenient to take notice of the government of this commonwealth, which is now the most considerable in the world.

Anno 1555, 25 Oct. Charles V. made a voluntary resignation of his government to his son Philip II. of Spain, who not observing the conditional oath he took, but endeavouring to bring the 17 provinces under the power of a Spanish tyranny and bloody inquisition by force of arms, contrary to their liberties he had sworn to defend, Anno 1572, 19 July, the states of the province of Holland at Dort did declare war against the duke D'Alva, and in the year 1576, 8 Nov. all the 17 provinces united against the Spaniards in the pacification at Gant. 1579, many of the provinces withdrawing from that pacification, the union at Utrecht was made by some of the provinces now called the united; and they declared in the year 1581, 26 July, that the king of Spain had forfeited his government. Into this union first entred, 1. Gelderland. 2. Zutphen. 3. Holland. 4. Zealand. 5. Utrecht. 6. Friseland Omlandica, then joined. 7. Gant. 8. The nobility of Nimmegen. 9. The nobility of Arnkem. 10. The lesser cities of Velow. 11. Most of the Greitmans, and the chief cities of Friseland. 12. Antwerp. 13. Ipre. 14. Breda. Afterwards 15. Overysse. And 16. Groningen, 1594, 23 July. At the union 1581, 26 July, they agreed upon 21 articles;

but

Another of the prince of Orange's pleasure houses at Riswick.

An English church. The government of the 7 united provinces.

\* Vivæ.

1610.



but in the year 1583, the 13th article was altered, and the reformed religion only permitted in publick. Before that time, the protestants and papists were suffered as the provinces and cities were inclined.

The several provinces now properly called the *United*, are 1. *Gelderland*, 2. *Holland*, 3. *Zealand*, 4. *Utrecht*, 5. *West-Friseland*, 6. *Overyssel*, and 7. *Groningen*.

The  
states ge-  
neral.

Each of the provinces, from the year 1587, consented, that the management of greatest affairs should be in the hands of the states general, consisting of delegates representing the several provinces. Some provinces send two, some three, some more, elected for two years, three years, some are chosen for six years, and few are continued for life; and their votes are taken not *per capita*, but *per provincias*. Most votes of the seven provinces prevail, unless in the greatest matters, wherein all must consent, and nothing can be determined by the states general without order first from the respective provincial states.

The president of the states general is changed every week, the chief delegate of each province presiding by turns; who, when he gathers suffrages, first takes *Gelderland*, 2. *Holland*, 3. *Zealand*, 4. *Utrecht*, 5. *West-Friseland*, 6. *Overyssel*, 7. *Groningen*.

When the states general have concluded a matter, the secretary draws it into a writing, which the president and the secretary subscribe their names to.

1. They give audience to (and send) ambassadors.
2. They manage war by sea and land.
3. They give their stadtholder or general an oath.
4. They appoint delegates to attend him, who is to attempt no great thing without their counsel and consent.
5. They have delegates in the *East* and *West-India* companies.
6. They chuse their general.
7. They give passports to foreigners.
8. They appoint laws for importing and exporting commodities.
9. From them exiles have leave to stay in the country.
10. They exercise full authority over those places in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, &c. which were reduced by arms.
11. They take care to maintain a right understanding among the provinces.

Their title is, *Illustrious*, and *High* and *Mighty*; *Illustres & Præpotentes*.

The  
states pro-  
vincial.

The states provincial are chosen by the cities every three years, where the vroetschap elect in the greater cities, one, and the lesser are joined two or three together

in the choice of one; so that out of one province there may be 20 or more delegates, who can act nothing prejudicial to the freedoms of the respective cities; for they are to be acquainted first with the business, that instructions may be sent before a conclusion is made.

Their title is Noble and Powerful, *Nobiles & Potentes*.

The council of state consists of the stadtholder or general, and these 11 delegates from the seven provinces, viz. two from *Gelderland*, three from *Holland*, two from *Zealand*, two from *Friseland*, one from *Utrecht*, one from *Overyssel*, and one from *Groningen*; and their votes are taken *per capita*.

The governor of *Friseland* may be present, and nominates one in his absence.

The general is president, and in his absence every one presides by turns.

The treasurer and the receiver general sit in this council, but have only a deliberative (not a definitive) vote.

They may consult of the same matters that the states general do, but usually they debate of lesser affairs. When the result of their consultation is drawn in writing, the stadtholder or president and the secretary subscribe their names.

Sometimes the council of state assembles with the states general, and if the stadtholder be present, he sits in the uppermost place, and stays after the council of state is dismissed, among the states general.

The chamber of accounts is a council of delegates from the seven provinces, who take care of the publick monies mention'd in *Cap. 19. Stat. Fœd. Belg.*

If there be 100,000 florins to be levy'd in the seven provinces, they pay after this proportion, viz.

|                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>Holland</i>        | 62000   |
| <i>Zealand</i>        | 9000    |
| <i>West Friseland</i> | 11000   |
| <i>Gelderland</i>     | 15000   |
| <i>Utrecht</i>        |         |
| <i>Groningen</i>      |         |
| <i>Overyssel</i>      |         |
|                       | 3000    |
|                       | 100,000 |

In these provinces there are usually about an hundred thousand soldiers that swear fealty to the states.

*Holland* hath three colleges of the admiralty, one at *Amsterdam*, one at *Rotterdam*, one at *Horne*, which is sometimes at *Enchusen*; each college consisting of four *Hollanders* and three others.

*Zealand* hath a college at *Middleburg*, which consists of four *Zealanders*.



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*W* *Friseland* hath also a college at *Harling*, formerly at *Dockum*, consisting of four *Friselanders*, and three others.

Each college's deputies are chosen and sworn by the states general, and they have a secretary and a treasurer.

Delegates are sent from the several colleges to the *Hague*, where they consult with the states general.

These colleges name the captains of ships, and the admiral elects one out of the number nominated. The admiral is president of the college, and in his absence, the lieutenant general.

In the navy courts there is no appeal under the sum of 600 florins.

*In hisce curiis sola secunda replicatio quam vulgò duplicem vocant litigantibus partibus est permessa.*

Of what is taken at sea, a fifth part belongs to the states, a tenth part to the admiral, and all the rest is distributed among the seamen, &c.

A court of appeal for the cities, &c. in Brabant.

The *Bosch*, *Bredab*, *Bergen op Zoome*, *Mastricht*, *Grave*, *Steeneberg*, *Eindhoven*, *Hellmont*, and several villages in *Brabant*, may appeal in trials about titles, to a court constituted at the *Hague* 1591, which consists of seven assessors, a secretary, a treasurer, and a solicitor. Those places have no place in (but are under the government of) the states general.

The government of Drent.

*Drent* chuses a governor, and concurs with the seven provinces in the laying and bearing the impositions, and hath an ambulatory or itinerant court (from whence is no appeal) called the *Lottinch*; it hath delegates, which attend matters of money and injury at the convention usually held at a village called *Assen*. The deputies are one nobleman and four others. *Coword* and *Meppelle* are in *Drent*.

The states provincial of Holland and West-Friseland.

In the states provincial of *Holland* and *West-Friseland* are about twelve noblemen, and the delegates of 1. *Dort*, 2. *Harlem*, 3. *Leyden*, 4. *Amsterdam*, 5. *Goude*, 6. *Rotterdam*, 7. *Gorcom*, 8. *Schoonhoven*, 9. *Brill*, 10. *Alcmar*, 11. *Horn*, 12. *Enchusen*, 13. *Edam*, 14. *Monekedam*, 15. *Medemblic*, 16. *Puremerend*: and if there be war, peace, tributes, &c. to be debated, there come some delegates from, 1. *Woerden*, 2. *Gertrudenberg*, 3. *Narden*, 4. *Muden*, 5. *Oudewater*, 6. *Huesda*, 7. *Wesop*, 8. *Worcom*.

The delegates are for the most part burgomasters, to whom is joined a *Scabin*, a civil lawyer who is called a *Pensioner*. These states are called the *Vergaderinghe van de Heeren Staten Van Holland ende W. Friseland*.

In the absence of these states there is a committee or another council, which takes

care of most affairs, except the monies, and calls the states provincial together upon great occasions: it consists of one nobleman, and delegates from the cities. This is called the *Ghe committee de Raden van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt end W. Friseland*.

In both these the pensioner or advocate of *Holland* is president, and takes the votes.

The states provincial of *Zealand* consist of the prince of *Orange* (who is marquis of *Vere* and *Flissing*) or his deputy, and six deputies from, 1. *Middleburg*, 2. *Zirizea*, 3. *Goes*, 4. *Tola*, 5. *Flissing*, 6. *Vere*; to whom is joined the pensioner and secretary.

The states provincial of Zealand.

The government of the cities in *Holland* consists of a *Scout* (*Quaesitor*) who accuses criminals before the *Eschevins*, and hath no stipend.

The government of the Holland cities.

A council called the *Vroetschap*, or *den Breden Raden*, consisting of 40 in *Leyden*, of 30 in some cities, &c. according to the number of the chief and wealthy citizens, who are chosen for life. They assemble when the states provincial are called, to consider things that they are to offer up to the states debates.

Out of the *Vroetschap*, by most votes, are elected four, in some but two, consuls or burgomasters, who take care of the government, and stifle controversies, by sitting every day an hour or two to arbitrate between the inhabitants and prevent trials before the *Eschevins*.

Out of the *Vroetschap* are also chosen the *Scabini* or *Eschevins*: in some cities they are seven, in others nine, who sit three or four times in a week to decide controversies.

In the country villages causes of fifty florins value are adjudged; in towns, 20 florins, in the lesser cities, 150 florins, and in the greater, causes of 300 florins are determined. But an appeal lies, in greater sums, before inferior judges called *Curia Hollandica*, and then before the chief senate, and to a double number of that senate, if the plaintiffs are not satisfied: but there is a penalty of 40 florins in *Curia Hollandica*, 75 florins in *supremo Senatu*, and of 200 florins, if there be no fault in the first sentence.

Courts of judicature.

For the ending of suits under 60 florins, some of the richest and better sort of citizens are chosen, before whom differences between masters and servants are brought, an *Eschevin* sitting president; and if any one is unsatisfied with their judgment, there is an appeal to the *Eschevins*. This court is called *De Commissarissen op de cleyne sacken*.

The



The pensioner assessor or syndic, is like a recorder in *England*, whom the *Vroetschap* consult with.

See, for farther particulars of the government of the towns in *Holland*, *Grotius's Apologeticus*.

No beggars are permitted to wander, but are, if discovered, presently carried away to the work-houses.

The East-India company. The *East-India* company was begun in the year 1602, and is govern'd by the *Bervindt-hebbers*, or curators, which are nominated by the adventurers, who are called the *Hooft Participanten*, that first put in a stock above 6000 florins (in *West-Friseland* the adventure of 3000 florins makes a *Hooft Particip.*) the rest being excluded that adventured less; and they are elected in some places by the states of the province, in others, by the city magistrates.

There are fourteen curators or governors in the college of *Amsterdam*, twelve in *Zealand*, fourteen in the college of the *Meuse*, and fourteen in *West-Friseland*: and on great occasions each college sends a certain number of delegates to an extraordinary, or the chief assembly held either at *Amsterdam* or *Middleburgh*.

1602. The first stock of this company was 66 tons of gold, and increased in six years time, at 1608, (besides a distribution of some gain among the adventurers) to more than 300 tons of gold.

For the value of five florins they bought above 100 florins worth of *Indian* commodities; the yearly revenue of each man at last being near half the value of his stock; which is not much to be wondred at, when it is certain, that the *India* commodities are worth, every year (being imported) above six millions of gold, or 6,000,000 florins.

At *Batavia* in *East-India*, is a governor chosen every three years, and a council that manages war, &c. and another that decides causes, &c. There are also two supreme officers, one over the soldiery, and the other that oversees the trade-affairs; to whom are joined two censors.

See more particulars in the *Status Fœder. Belgii*, concerning this republick.

The universities of the united provinces, are, 1. *Franecker*, 2. *Groningen*, 3. *Leyden*, 4. *Utrecht*, 5. *Nimwegen*.

At *Amsterdam* and *Harderwick* are *Illustres scholæ*.

May 31. In the evening we went from *Leyden*. the *Hague*, three hours by water to *Leyden*: at the half-way sluice we chang'd our boat, and took notice of a post, every furlong distance, marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

The great church at *Leyden* is dedicated to *St. Peter*, having double isles, or church. two rows of pillars on each side the nave. We read here the inscriptions printed in *Hegenitius*, viz. *Epitaphium chronosticon*, and what are on the monuments of *Boukenbergius*, *Heurnius*, *Bontius*, *P. Reinerus Bontius F.* a physician, *Erpennius*, *Bacchærus*, *Dodonaëus*; and I transcribed these following,

D.O.M.

Et

*Erwaldo Screvelio*

*Adriani trigesimo Hagæ quæ Batavorum aula est consulatu gesto insignis Filio An. CIOICLXXV. Ibidem nato Senatori & Medico, dein Medicinæ in Leidenf Academia Professori primario & Rectori magnifico singulari doctrina, Virtute & pro . . . in omnes Comitatus clarissimo, cui in vita nihil carius quam aliis eam velut dare, nihil in morte jucundius fuit quam ad meliorem & immortalem transire. Anno CIOICXLVII denato, Maria Van Swaenswiick uxor marito & liberi Parenti dulcissimo desideratissimo maxiffimi H. M. P.*

*Sit tibi, qui nemini gravis vix isti terra levis.*

In the choir is a grave-stone over *Antonius Thyfius*, qui obiit 7mo. Novemb. 1640. annos natus 75, & menses 3.

On another, *Domina Abbatissa Joanna de Does*, &c. and this inscription over *Festus Hommius*, viz.

*Hoc tumulo conditur vir celeberrimus Festus Hommius, S.S. Theologiæ Doctor Ecclesiæ Leidenfis pastor. Coll. Theol. Regens, docuit ecclesiam hanc annos 40. rexit coll. annos 20. Vixit annos 66. menses 6. denatus 5 Julii, 1642.*







ex antiquissima & nobilissima Kerchoviorum Gandavensium familia in Ecclesia Gallo-Belgica Dordrechtana annos xx pastoris, in Academia Lugd. Bat. doctoris & professoris primarii annos xxxv. octies Rectoris magnifici & xxiii synodi Gallo-Belg. praesidis, hic pietate, prudentia, probitate, morum suavitate, liberalitate, animi moderatione, pacis & concordiae amore, nemini secundus, omnibus gratus & charus, nulli gravis, in docendo perspicuus, in disputando promptus, in concionando facundus, memoriae & judicii incomparabilis, eadem quâ vixit tranquillitate placide supremum diem clausit in fine Rectoratus sui octavi CIOIOCLXVI. IV. Febr. aetatis suae LXXVIII. Joannes à Kerchoue Heenulietae dominus saltuum Hollandiae praefectus filius unicus moerens posuit.

In the French church we saw the monuments of Josephus Justus Scaliger, and Carolus Clusius, whose inscriptions are in Hegenitii Itiner.

The university.

We went to the Academia or schools, being one pile of brick building, having at the entrance an inscription printed in Meurs. Ath. Bat. The divinity school is a large room; the professor's seat is at the upper end, and the students seats in rows (being the same in every school). This and the philosophy school are below; over them are the law and physick schools, and above these is the Officina Elzeviriana, as well as below in the court, where we saw several presses at work. The professors names, and what subjects and books they read on, are printed in a catalogue.

professors.

We heard a lecture of D. Job. Van Horn, professor of anatomy, and these following, viz. D. Job. Antonides Vander Linden, who discoursed de Tussi, that the causes of it are crudities arising within the stomach, which stimulate the superior orifice, and so the motion is communicated to the diaphragms, and then to the lungs. This he discover'd as a new thing to his auditors.

D. Jacobus Golius, Prof. Math. on Gassendi Astron. in the physick school.

D. Dan. Colonius I.V.D. & Prof.

D. David Stuartus Log. &c. professor on metaphysicks in the philosophy school.

D. Anton. Thyssius Eloqu. Professor, on Pomponius Mela.

D. Allardus Uchtmannus, Hebr. Ling. Prof.

D. Steph. Merchant I.V.D. a Frenchman.

D. Jo. de Raei. L.A.M. MD. & Philos. Prof. a learned naturalist.

D. Adolphus Vorstius, Med. & Botan. Prof. who in the evenings demonstrates plants in the garden, where we heard him

name the plants, and pointing to them in their beds. The plants he shewed at one time, were in two beds (the 11th and 12th in order) were these; 1. Laurus, Fumaria claviculata, Valeriana fl. albo, Mentha Castaria Hisp. Ranunculus nemor, Armerius Anglicus, Reseda Ital. Martagon Vulg. Ranunc. Gram. fl. lut. Ran. Pyreneus, Crocus, Ononis non spinosa minor fl. purp. Consolida reg. Valeriana minor, Pimpinella hircina saxifraga, Narcissus vulgaris, Herniaria, Tithymallus characias, sive esula serrata, Gentiana major, sive aloe Gallica crescit in montibus Valesiae, Tapsus barbatus, Aloe Americ. aculeata in insula Zocotora propè Africam Ranunc. angustif. & latif. Polygonum. 2. Cytisus verus maranthæ, Colchicum majus, Aristolochia Vera, Rubia minima, Juniperus Vulg. & baccif. Pulmonaria fl. albo, Hieracium quintum Clusii, viola pentagonia Belg. sive Onobrychis, Onobrychis prima, Gladiolus, Sonchus hieracites, Trachelium sive flos Afric. Lychnis sylv. Iris Persica, Lychnis Constantinop. fl. eleg. Stachys lychnites spuria Flandr. fl. sublut. Auricul. Ursi species variae, Myagrum monospermum, Thlaspi fol. . . . Rosa Turcica sive Austriaca fl. coccineo, Lychnis hirs. min. repens, Calamintha montana praestantior, Eruca Monsp. semine quadrang. Hyacinthus serot. pyreneus flo. obsol. Atriplex fragifera, Phalaris, Psyllium annuum, Carduus Mariae, Acanthus Sativus Marmorea dicta, quia marmoribus olim insculpta, Clematis Urens sive Flammula Batia, Smyrnium, Yucca foliis Aloes.

At another lecture we heard him discourse concerning the Faba Veterum; that in N. Holland they give suffrages with beans, and are therefore called boonmen; and that the fruit of the Ficus Indica breeds an insect which makes the Indian cochinele; and that in Italy (which we observed most in Sicily and Calabria) they use the pith of Ferula Galbanifera instead of tinder; and so he interpreted that in Hesiod, ἐν κοίτῃ βάφειν, &c. how that Prometheus brought this fire from heaven in the hollow of a ferula.

At the schools some professors wear gowns, others only their cloaks; and when they begin to read, they turn up an hour-glass, and conclude usually with that time.

In the divinity school we saw their Publick manner of performing a publick exercise. At the school gates stood a beadle without a gown, having a silver staff, where he stay'd for the coming of the professor, who was in his gown, and the respondent, who was in his cloak; then the beadle ushered them into the school, where the professor took his seat, and the respondent his under the professor. The printed



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*Theses* were some of them dispersed the night before at the printing-house, and now by the respondent, who distributed them in his seat. After that he made a *Latin* prayer, and read the beginning of his *Theses*. Immediately an opponent, first craving leave of the professor, argued against them. After him two more earnestly contended who should oppose next, till the professor commanded one of them to be silent. When three opponents had done disputing, the respondent concluded with another prayer, and then thanked the company for their presence and patience. The opponents were not taken off, but of their own accord pass'd from one argument to another; and when they had done, they gave the professor thanks for the favour and leave. The opponents sit in no certain seat, but any where among the auditors. If any professor of the university comes in during the disputation, the beadle brings him to his seat; and when all is done, he attends the professor of the chair and the respondent no further than the school gate.

The anatomy theatre.

We saw the anatomy theatre, which is not so handsome as that at *London*, but furnished with a great many curious things, viz. variety of skeletons; *Sciurus*; *Hepar Virginis 17 annorum*; *Scarabeus corniculatus ex Ind. Orient.* *Skeleton infantis à matre in ipso partu enecati*; *Brechma in infantibus*; *Tatou*; *Larus S. eene Mewwe oft Zeekoute*; *Isidis effigie insignitus cippus sive operculum loculi Ægyptiam Mumiam vetustiff. continens*; *Ventriculus & universa intestinorum fistula*; *Mumie Variæ fungus lapideus*; *Lapis ceraunia*; *Caput porci fluviatilis ex Brasilea*; *Ala Hirundinis marinæ ex Oceano Orientali*; *Cirrus Gammari Æthiopici*; *Thus fossile Moravicum*; *Capula Chinenfis cum capite animalis partim cervinam, partim porcinam naturam representante ex insulâ Celebes Indiæ Orientalis*; *Niduli crustacei ex cautibus regni Jehovæ, & à Sinensibus &c. in deliciis habentur*; *Folium Betle sive Siri*; *Faba Ægyptia sive Bonamicie*; elephants skulls; horses, cows, dogs, bears, &c. skeletons; *Guandur formicas vorans*; *Myrenceter*, which is bigger than an otter, having a long snout, long crooked claws, coarse bristly hair, and a long brush tail, with hairs as stiff as a hog's; *Gralle sive Calopodia Norvegica*; the picture of a man that swallowed a knife; skins of men and other animals; the skin of a *Tartarian* prince, executed here for ravishing his sister; a *Polyedr.* figure over all these rarities, and a great many more, and on the sides of it are pyramids of different sizes; a fish with two feet, a broad and round tail, the

skin black, and bill sharp; *Capriscus Rondeletii*, having four teeth and *spinæ* like a porcupine; the skeleton of a man on the back of the skeleton of a horse, having pistols before him: the horse had teeth very great in the lower jaw, two directly forwards, between which, two others bended over quite up, and on each side without, one that bended also up, but not so high; a pelican, white all over, being as big as a heron; *Lampas sepulchr. Rom. eruta in agro Leydensi*; *prima & secunda Vertebra colli Rhinocer.* the skeleton of an ostrich; two letters written in the *China* language; *Isidis effigies*; *Tigris capta in regno Jacave*; the skeleton of a frog and a hedgehog. Under the theatre lies a great skeleton of a fish we guessed to be a whale. We observed in it nine ribs, 39 *Vertebræ*, four great bones in the upper jaw, two of which make the *Mandibulum superius*; and between them are two other bones that are sharp: in the lower mandible are great crooked bones bigger than those in the upper. The *Scapule* are like those in quadrupeds. See *Hegenitius* his *Itin.* who enumerates more particulars.

The *English* church is underneath the publick library, which is joined to the theatre, but is very indifferently furnished with books; and these that were there, not in order, nor well kept. These three places make together a handsome building. Over the street gate is written, *Porta ingressus ad Bibliothecam & Anatomiam An. 1648.*

At *Leyden* we visited Mr. *Newcomen*, minister of the *English* congregation, who told us, The states allow him about 75*l.* per annum; but they promised him to bear all his charges of removing out of *England*. He went with us to the publick library. In the middle of it is a long table made shelving on each side to lay books on. The books are ranked under these heads: *Theologi*, *Jurisperiti*, *Medici*, *Historici*, *Literatores*, *Philosophi*, *Mathematici*. Here are preserved the manuscripts of *Joseph Scaliger*, *Bonaventura*, *Vulcanius*, &c. also the oriental books which *Golius* the professor brought out of the eastern parts at the expence of the publick. Round about the room hang the pictures of prince *William*, prince *Maurice*, *Erasmus*, *Fr. Junius*, *J. Lipsius*, *Joh. Heurnius*, *Dan. Heinsius*, *Bonaventura*, *Vulcanius*, *Joh. Doufa Bibliothecarius*, *Janus Doufa Pater Academ. Curator*, *Josephus Justus Jul. Cæs. F. Scaliger Ætatis LXIII. Anno Christi MDCIII. Eps. Roffensis*, and others.

We visited Dr. *Van Horne*, the professor of anatomy, who entertained us with

An English church.

The publick library.

Dr. Van Horne Anat. prof.



with great kindness and civility, and shewed us a skeleton curiously whitened, and set exactly together by his own hand; a very thick skull of a footman; many skeletons of embryo's, wherein were clearly discerned the disjunctions of bones, which are afterwards not to be observed, the intermediate cartilages hardening into bone.

Another large skeleton of a man, curiously coloured with black and white. The white signifies the insertion of a muscle, and figures and characters are placed where every muscle ran; an exact and curious scheme of all the *Vasa* in the lungs, and two schemes of those in the liver, one of which is like that in Dr. *Glisson de Hepate*; the muscles of the hand preserved like Monsieur *De Bils* his bodies, which *Van Horne* esteemed not much of: by the same art, he said, he hath preserved the *Intestina in situ*. A scheme of the spermatick veins, *testes*, &c. the bones found in the *glandula pinealis* of men, which were very small; the *Labyrinthus*, *Cochlea*, *Tympanum*, *Malleus*, *Incus* & *Stapes*, being the instruments of hearing; two books with figures of the several members of a man, expressing in colours the true figures of the muscles, &c. which were drawn by his own direction; the bones of the ear in a child, which differ little from those in a man; the *Vertebrae* of a *fetus*, which manifestly consist of three bones. Dr. *Van Horne* told us his opinion, That the blood returns not by veins into the spleen, but transfuses itself thro' the *parenchyma* of the spleen, and at last enters the passage of the *Vena Splenica*, the *Fibrillae* serving only for support. He said, he could never observe any *Anastomoses* between veins and arteries, but between the branches of several veins.

The burg.

We went to the burg described in *Meurs. Ath. Bataviae*. It is a round hill, having a high wall about the top of it, from whence we had a prospect of a great part of the town. In the middle, upon the top, is a labyrinth of narrow walks, and a well here, wherein, they say, fish were found that did relieve the city when it was besieged. Over the gate of the burg (which had a pleasant ascent by stone steps curiously shaded with an arbour) is this written,

*Arcem hanc cum fundo  
Vetustissimam illustrissimae gentis  
Wassenariae haeredum cum Burgravii  
Titulo omniq; jure ei annexo à Principe  
Lignaeo Wassenariae Domino  
xv Kalend. Maii Anni MDCLXI in jus  
SPQ Leydenfis Aere Civitatis publica,*

*Translatum  
Hac inscriptione  
Vrbis Coss.  
Guil. Paedis.  
Paul Swanenburch.  
Jac. Vandenberg.  
Corn. Buylevert  
Publicè testatum voluerunt  
Anno Domini MDCLXIII.*

*Burgi Prosopopoeia.*

*Arx ego Bellonae bifido circumflua  
Rhenos  
Wassnarae fueram gloria prima do-  
mūs.*

1203. *Arx invicta fame victam nisi fata  
referret  
Cum tutam nostro separat Ada sinu.*

1204. *Post in Vicinos nimis imperiosa penates  
Hollando Cogor subdere colla jugo.*

*Quodq; olim in Cives fueram, jure  
exuor omni  
Cum lupulo & Gratis nuda relicta  
meis.*

1651. *Quae nunc jura suo cum vindicet aere  
Senatus.  
Illius arbitrio me quoq; trado lubens.*

*Leyda supervacuus alii mercentur ho-  
nores  
Tu sapias & cives quo tuearis emis.  
1658.*

Nigh this burg is a fair large church Church. of a cathedral building, having long and great wings. Here is this epitaph on a monument;

*Pii Nepotes  
Hoc Avo marmor suo posuere Petro Hadri-  
ani Wervio qui multa obivit pro salute  
patriae pericula, quem Leyda Vidit con-  
sulem bis sexties, bis ordines Hollandiae  
dignum sui membrum Senatūs cujus hoc  
constantia debet sub ejus Consulatu civitas  
obsessa bis quod Cantabrum, pestem, fa-  
mem, tumultuanti Cive, plebe, milite do-  
nec fuit soluta fortiter tulit. Natus est  
Leyda MDCLXXIX. denatus Anno MDCLXIV.  
Uxorem habuit Mariam Dyissa Voorhout.*

Another monument of one of the house of Nassau, colonel of a Walloon regiment, admiral of Zealand, 18 years general of Holland and West-Friseland, &c. 25 years governor of Breda; he died 26 June 1631. *Aetatis 72.*



SKIPPOON.

*W* *Ossa Baronis Radislai à Webynitz & Tet-  
tau; obiit Anno 1660. 26 Jun. Æt. 72.*  
This man set the crown upon the prince  
Palatine's head when he was crowned king  
of Bohemia.

Colleges.

Two colleges in *Leyden* built by the  
states, one for the maintenance of poor  
French students, the other for poor Ger-  
mans.

The Dutch college is somewhat like  
those at *Louvain*, where there is this in-  
scribed over the gate,

Anno CIOIOCXV  
Collegium  
Theologorum illustr.  
Ord. Hollandiæ &  
Westfrisiæ.

And this distich,

*Sacra Deo Domus haec studiisq; dicata juventae  
Nemo sacrum violet dedecoretve locum.*

Also this written on one side of it, viz.

S. P. Q. Amstelredamensis  
Sibi & suis in collegio  
Theologico F. C. An. MDC.

*III Viri Collegii literarii quod est Delfi con-  
sensu Coss. ejus urbis hanc suis in collegio  
hocce Theologico alumnis Domum F. C.  
Anno à Nato Christo CIOIOCXVI.*

The students are governed by *Præfeti*,  
and have lectures read to them every  
day.

The pri-  
son.

The prison is a fair building. In a  
little yard by it stand two pillars, over  
which they lay a beam whereon they  
execute malefactors, who are (after they  
are dead) removed, and hung on a gal-  
lows without the walls, where the bodies  
remain till they are consumed.

The hospi-  
tals.

There are three fair hospitals; one of  
them is for sick persons, who are very  
carefully looked after, and visited often  
by the physician, who brings with him  
students to instruct them in the practice of  
medicine. Another hospital is for youths,  
who are habited in red.

Twenty-seven alms-houses.

The stad-  
house.

The stadthouse is a handsome building.  
On the tower of it, every night, is a  
trumpeter that sounds every hour; and  
when any fire happens, he sounds an alarm.  
A guard is kept here every night of 30  
soldiers, and at every gate are 10 sol-  
diers.

Every hour of the night a fellow goes  
up and down the streets, and makes a  
noise with a rapper, and with a loud voice  
tells what it is o'clock.

The prince of *Orange* hath a palace here,  
an indifferent building, not far from the  
schools.

The clothiers hall is a handsome neat Clothiers  
structure, adorned with figures of sheeps hall.  
cloathing, being one of the chief trades  
of *Leyden*. Grograms are made here.

The streets are large, fairly built, and  
neatly paved, channels of water running  
thro' the midst of most of them. The  
houses here (as in most other cities of  
*Holland*) are covered with gutter-tiles, and  
the roofs are made very sloping, purposely  
that the rain-water may the better fall  
into a channel or trough which conveys  
it into a cistern, where it is kept for use.

Very winding entrances at the city-  
gates; a large trench round the wall,  
and another trench within, at that part  
of the town where the new buildings are,  
which are many, and are most of them  
inhabited by weavers. A pall-mall, and  
pleasant walks of tilia or lime-trees, with-  
out the walls.

Sledges are used here, and little carts  
with a long beam, drawn by one or two  
men, and crowded by another behind.

The arms of *Leyden* are two cross-  
keys.

Many students live up and down in pri-  
vate lodgings, who wear no gowns. When  
they are admitted to be of the university,  
the *Rector Magnificus* gives them a seal,  
which excuses all payments of excise.  
The professors have each of them about  
300*l.* sterling per annum. If any student  
desires to have lectures read to him in  
private, he goes to a professor, who runs  
thro' a whole faculty, which is called *Col-  
legium instituere*; for this a gratuity must  
be given. Any one that takes a degree,  
makes his own *Theses*, and is to defend  
them against all opponents. Other dis-  
putations are upon *Theses* made by the  
professors, who compile a whole body of  
divinity, philosophy, &c.

The rector is chosen every year out of  
the professors.

The curators are like our chancellor in  
*Cambridge*.

*Liberalium Artium Magistri & Doctores*,  
are the only degrees taken here. *L. A.*  
*Mag.* are strictly examined.

Two vacations in a year in this uni-  
versity; one in the spring; the other for  
40 days in the summer, about the dog-  
days.

All the ministers are free from excise.  
Whilst we stayed at *Leyden*, we hired The ma-  
a waggon which carry'd us thro' several king of  
country villages situated in a fenny moorish  
foil, where we observed the great industry  
of the people in the making of turf.  
They fish up mud from the bottom of  
the



the channels of water (which are cleared by these means) with a net at the end of a pole, and load large boats with it, and then scoop it out upon an even piece of ground, to a competent thickness, and flat it; so it lies till it is almost dry, and then either men or women, having boards fastened to the soles of their shoes (which keep their feet from sinking in) divide all the mud with a kind of a spade, into long square turfs like bricks, and then set them up in long ranks to be further dry'd: at last they house them in thatch'd barns, the sides whereof are not clos'd up with a wall, but made of wooden broad bars, equally distanced one above another, that the turfs may lie upon them to be fully dry'd.

Most of the houses the country people hereabouts live in, are thatch'd with reeds, and almost every one hath a bridge which may be turn'd on one side towards the house when any boats pass.

Four leagues from *Leyden* we came to *Sevenbuysen*, a village (where we lay this night, being the fifth of *June*) consisting of a strait pav'd street, with small houses thatch'd with reeds. It is under the jurisdiction of *Rotterdam*, and is govern'd by a scout, seven magistrates, and a secretary, and hath a publick messenger to send upon any occasion, as other places have.

At this place we went in a boat to a most pleasant wood, well described in *Hegenitii Itiner.* and saw a multitude of *Scholfers*, i. e. *Graculi palmiped.* *Lepelaers*, i. e. *Platea*; *Quacks*, i. e. *Ardea minor*; *Regers*, i. e. *Ardea*; which birds have their nests upon trees in several distinct quarters of the wood. Ravens, wood pigeons, and turtle-doves build also their nests here. They shake down their young ones by a hook fasten'd to a long pole. The baron of *Pelemberg*, who lives at *Lovain*, lets out the profits of these birds, and the grass, at 3000 guilders *per annum*.

*June 6.* In the afternoon we went by boat in four hours from *Leyden* to *Harlem*, which is a pleasant city, wall'd and trench'd about, having channels of water running thro' many of the streets. The market-place is handsome, and the streets are well built. The stadthouse hath a large room or hall, where are pictures of princes, &c. Over the door is written,

S. P. Q. H.  
Hanc sacram Themidos  
Domum Senatus  
Sedem ne temerato  
Civis unquam  
Anno 1630.

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The prince of *Orange's* court or palace is near the stadthouse, where we saw many good pictures, viz. an altar-piece representing the slaughter of the innocents; the middle part of it was painted lately by one *Cornel. Harlemensis*, the wings or shuts of the picture by *Martin Hemskerke*: a map of the *Nassovian* family; a curious picture once bought at the *Hague* for seven pence; the picture of some knights of *Jerusalem*. The garden belonging to this palace is well furnished with curious flowers, and a summer-room at the end of it, where there is a *speculum* of 35 glasses. At this place we saw the picture of *Laurentius Costerus* in a furred gown, holding the letter *A* in his hand, and this inscription,

M. S.  
Viro  
Consulari  
Laurentio  
Costero  
Harlemensi  
Alieri Cadmo  
Et artis  
Typographicæ  
MCCCCXXXX  
Inventori  
Primo.

His statue and the inscription mention'd in *Hegenitius*, were lately removed from hence.

It is reported, the first book that ever was printed, is kept under lock and key by the magistrate.

Many little figures of birds in several places of the garden; and in an old cloister is a *Dutch* inscription, signifying the monument of a man 121 years old when he died, who married a woman of 22 years of age when he was 111, and had one child, a daughter, by her, that died in the *Carthusian* convent at *Amsterdam*. The old man's name was *Dirck Jansen Blefer*.

The butchery is very handsome, being the first publick building we observed to be leaded since we left *England*.

We saw one of the hospitals, a very fair Hospital building, having a neat court within, and observed many women, boys, and girls clad in blue coats, with one sleeve red and the other green, and some only with one sleeve red and green stockings.

The great church is large, having three organs in it. The monuments are not considerable.

A fair new church in this city.

The gates are handsomely built of stone.



SKIPPON.

We observed a great fish-market round the great church.

A large hog-market.

Weavers.

We visited the weavers of holland, tiffany, camlet, damask, (at the damask weavers we saw a very rich table cloth, having the *English* arms, and many curious figures in it; it hath been three years making for the prince of *Orange*) diaper, silk damask, tape, velvet, and saw the pressing of stuffs, &c. whereby a gloss is given.

A *Gymnasium* at *Harlem*.

Without the walls towards *Leyden* are very pleasant groves.

About an hour's walk brought us to the sandy hills, where we could find no new plants, but only observed the rushes to grow in a quincuncial order. These sandy hills occupy a large space of ground, and run along the *Holland* shore, being counted a great fence against the sea. From them we had a prospect of *Harlem*, and could discern *Amsterdam*, and the adjacent country.

*June* 8, in the evening we took places in a boat, and after an hour we removed into another, passing by two great meres, and in another hour came to *Amsterdam*; before we entered it we went over two draw-bridges, and passed by two armed centinels, one that stood within and another without the gate.

Amsterdam.

The passage boats in Holland.

Most people travel by water in *Holland*, in boats which are boarded over, and covered with a pitch'd canvas, whereon are sprinkled pieces of cockle-shells. There is a fixed rate set upon all these boats by the magistrates, who do appoint commissaries to see how many passengers go in them every time; the magistrates receive all the money, out of which they pay the boatmen or skippers a certain stipend; the boat and horses, &c. belonging to the magistrates. If any one passenger desires to be carried off without delay, he must pay the freight of the whole to the commissary. Every time a boat goes off a bell is rung by the commissary. At some cities the boats go off every hour.

The stadthouse.

The first building of note we visited in *Amsterdam* was the stadthouse, a very magnificent structure, being large and high, the outside of the walls is of free-stone, but the inside is filled up with bricks. Upon the ascent to the stadthouse stand always two soldiers in a ready posture, and within is a guard.

On one side is this inscription, viz.

IV Kal. Nov. CIOIOCXLVIII.  
Quo compositum est bellum  
Quod Fœderati inf. German.  
Populi cum tribus Philippis

1

Potentissimis Hispaniarum  
Regibus terra mariq; per  
Omnes fere Orbis oras ultra  
Octoginta annos fortiter  
Gesserunt asserta Patriæ  
Libertate & Religione  
Auspiciis Coss.

Pacificatorum optimorum  
Gerb. Pancras. Jac. de Graef  
Sib. Valckenier. Pet. Schæp.  
Consulum filii & agnati  
Jacto primo fundamenti  
Lapide hanc Curiam  
Fundarunt.

A court of justice here having brass gates; within it *Solomon's* justice, &c. is described in marble figures, over the seats of the scout and the nine scabini, who try malefactors that are always brought within the brass gates; the scout condemns them, and the . . . . reads the sentence.

Above are two chambers which have four great windows that look into this court of justice, where the four burgo-masters stand (one at each window) and hear the judicial proceedings.

On the gates is written this verse,

*Discite justitiam moniti & non temnere  
Divos.*

An area or void space before this stadthouse, and another building (where there is a sentinel) used by the merchants to weigh their goods in.

Behind this court is a handsome ascent which brings up into a fair hall curiously adorned with marble work; at each end is a statue, viz. Of *Antwerp*, &c. The four elements are well described in the pavement of this hall; also two hemi-spheres of the terrestrial globe exactly done between a projection of the cœlestial sphere, wherein every figure of the constellations, &c. was represented from the north pole to the tropic of capricorn.

On each side of the hall is a little court, and about them stately arch'd walks even with the hall floor, fair pictures at the ends made by *John Lieuens* of this city, and one *Jordaenes* of *Antwerp*; all the walls that were finished were covered with marble, divided into large panes by curiously-wrought square pillasters. Over the doors of several rooms are written,

Schepenen Kamer.  
Justitie Kamer.  
Burgo-masters.  
Burgo-masters Vertrecke.  
Thesaurie Ordinaris.  
Secretarii.  
Thesaurie Extraordinaris.

Com.



*Com. Van Kleine Saken*; i. e. Court of conscience.

*Schepenen Extraordinaris.*

*Reken Kamer.*

*Desolate Boedels Kamer*; i. e. Court that administers goods of such as die in debt, &c.

*Affurantie Kamer.*

*Wees Kamer*, i. e. Court of orphans.

*Raedt Kamer*; i. e. Council chamber.

*Com. Van Huwelyck suken en injurien*; i. e. Court for differences between man and wife.

*Commissarissen Vander Zee saken.*

*Kamer der Roedragen boden*; i. e. Serjeants Chamber.

All which chambers are fair; where the *Vroetschap* sit is a canopy over all their seats; among the pictures is one of the old stadthouse, burnt down in three hours time 7 June 1651.

Below stairs are many arched walks, and a dungeon. One *Quelinus* is the architect of this place. It is said the foundation cost 100000*l*.

*Amsterdam* hath four burgomasters, nine eschevins, and 36 of the *Vroetschap*, and a scout. (*Quaeslor*.) The *Scabini* are thus chosen, 14 persons are elected by the *Vroetschap*, and out of the 14 the burgomasters take seven, and two more out of the eschevins of the last year; these are judges in all cases.

The *Vroetschap* continue for life, and when one dies the rest vote another into his place, but never any nigh related to any of the *Vroetschap*, neither son, brother, &c. till beyond the cousin german. See *Grot. Apologet. c. 9.* where is mentioned this government settled by law, by *Maria Burgund. 1476.*

All that have been eschevins can only chuse the burgomasters.

None formerly could have been burgomaster except his father was a freeman at least a year, and six weeks before he was born; but of late they have made a constitution, that he that pays 500 gilders shall be free, and seven years after is capable of being burgomaster.

Any one may be also privileged as a citizen for fifty gilders, but then shall not have the capacity of being made a burgomaster.

The convoy house. The convoy house, or admiralty, is a handsome building with fair rooms in it.

Hospitals. Over the doors of the several hospitals are written, *T'mannen huys. T'Vrouwen Gasthuis. T'soldatenhuis. Hen. Ouwde Mannen Gasthuis. Het oude Vrouwen Gasthuis.* 116 women in the old womens hospital, two lodge in every chamber; and in the old mens hospital two men also in a

chamber. These two hospitals make a square cloister, the men and the women have each their dining hall, and both sexes employ their time in several works.

All the hospitals are neatly kept, the sick people lie in cabbins on each side of a fair walk, and in the middle is a pulpit where their ministers preach to them.

The *Raspelbuis* for rogues hath over the entrance written *Castigatio*; here some men of better quality are kept more private from the view of all comers.

The *Raspelbuis* for whores, &c. the common whores in one part, those of the better sort in another, and in a third division are disorderly women that are kept more private, being put in by their parents.

Many children habited half black and half red, who diet and lodge at the hospital, but work the rest of their time at several trades under several masters.

The eleemosynary houses are fair buildings.

*Het Dolhuis* is an hospital for mad people, who are lock'd up in dark rooms, having a hole in the door to look out at; a pretty garden in the middle of the cloister. Another court, where are kept the maddest folks.

The *Exchange* is like ours at *London*, but not so handsome, and it is not an exact square, being longer than it is broad; here are 36 niches, but not statues in them. Here we also took notice of several maps of houses to be sold, which were hung up and down the pillars, &c. Men of several nations resort hither, but the most frequent strangers are the *Jews*, who fill one walk of the *Exchange*, and live in one quarter of the city together, in fair streets, they are reckoned to be about 20000; they oftentimes meet with affronts in the streets, and lose much time in their publick traffick, viz. from seven in the evening on *Fridays*, all *Saturday* and *Sunday*.

We went to their synagogue, a large place above stairs; the women are not seen in it, but have a gallery round the top with lattice windows; they wear no such stuff (like a *Scotch* plad) as the men do over their faces, and hats which they never pull off in their synagogue. He that reads stands in a great desk, and makes a tone in his reading; the people also read either in the *Hebrew* or *Portuguese* bible in a singing tone; some men that were married the day before came to the reader, and spoke something to him which our interpreter said was what they gave to the poor, which he presently published: Their law, and some parts of the old testament were folded up in rolls, within an embroidered covering, the tops of the umbilicus or stick they roll'd them on, were covered with

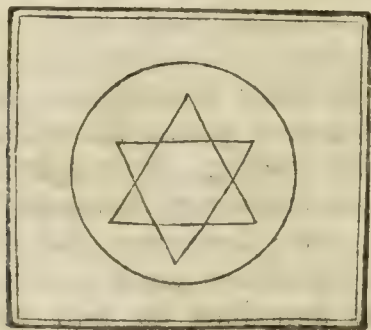


with silver, and had silver bells hanging at them; the bridegrooms came from that end of the synagogue where they are lock'd up in presses, and brought them severally to the reader's seat, where they were untied, and all this while there was great singing among the people; then the reader or rabbi read somewhat, and the bridegrooms return'd to their places. Towards the latter end of their service, the reader and all the bridegrooms went round to shew themselves, with the law, &c. untied in their hands, and the boys were very earnest to touch the covering with their hands and faces, and all this time the whole company made loud singings; when they came to the presses they put in the law, &c. and then one said somewhat in a tone, and lock'd them up. The rabbi, while he was reading, had a little silver rod in his hand; at one time, for a good while, read at a table. This devotion was begun early in the morning, and lasted till noon; after dinner they began again. We observed some of the Jews to bow at times, (*quæ*. whether at the name of *Jehovah*?) they seemed very careless, discoursing and laughing with strangers in the midst of the service; when they were dismissed, many of them went down singing till they came to the street. The minister or priest hath his seat under the reader.

The bride was attended only by women. Maids wear their own hair, but after marriage they cut it off and wear locks.

On the Jews sabbath (*Saturday*) the same thing is read seven times over together for every day in the week. Lamps hang up in this synagogue.

Every Jew wears within his breeches or doublet a square piece of parchment with a Hebrew benediction in it, &c. It is of this figure, with a circle about two triangles, having at each corner the name of an angel, *viz.* *Michael, Gabriel, Raphael* and *Uriel*.



At their .... they cover themselves; within their synagogues hang little strings in which is woven the word *Jehovah*.

The men are most of them of a tawny complexion, with black hair; some have

clearer skins, and are scarce discernable from the Dutch, &c. They carry much perfume about them.

*Amsterdam* allows them great freedom, some of them are rich, but most are very poor. In one of their houses we saw a past-board model of *Solomon's temple*, the priests offering sacrifice, &c.

The new church is a fair building; at the west-end is a stately organ supported by marble pillars, the entrance into the choir is of brass. Here is a handsome monument inscribed thus:

Generosiss. Heroi  
Johanni à Galen  
Essensi

*Qui ob res fortiter & feliciter gestas, sexies uno anno, Dunkerkanorum prædatorum navem captam & à Barbaris opima spolia reportata, Ordinum Classi in mari Mediterraneo Præfectus, memorabili prælio ad Livornam, Deo Auxilante, Anglorum navibus captis, fugatis, incendio & submersione deletis, commercium cum dicti maris accolis restituit, Idibus Mart. Anno CIOIOCLIII; & altero pede truncatus, nono die post Victoriâ, annos natus XLVIII obiit, ut in Secula per gloriam viveret Illustriß. & Præpot. Fæderati Belgii Ordinum decreto, Nob. & pot. Senatus Archithalass. qui est Amstelodami M. H. P.*

In this church we saw two men carrying swords before two women.

We saw in this city a tragedy called *Tamerlane* well acted in a convenient play-house; in the cockpit the ordinary people stand for four-pence apiece; places in the boxes are ten-pence a place. The actors cloaths were very rich, and habited like the nations they represented, the commanders of armies were on real horses. Between every act the musick played, and after all the tragedy was ended, began a farce or ridiculous actings and jestings. These comedians are two days in the week at this city, and two days at the *Hague*, being allowed by the state; part of what is received the poor have.

The *Athenæum* or *Gymnasium* hath a large school, where we heard *Klenckius* read *Logic* to a very small auditory. The names of the professors, and the times of reading in the summer, are,

1. D. Gerardus Leon. Bloßus M. D. &c. Professores horâ octavâ.
2. D. Arnoldus Senguerdus L. A. M. Phys. Prof. primarius, die Lunæ, Martis, Jovis & Veneris, horâ nonâ.
3. D. Janus Klenckius L. A. M. Eques Odesseii Dns. Phil. Prof. Logicam docebat, horâ decimâ. This person was knighted



knighted by king Charles II. and one Davison a Scotchman married his sister.

4. D. Johannes Christienius IVD. & Prof. die Lunæ, Martis, Jovis & Veneris Jurisp. docebit, horâ undecimâ.

5. D. Robertus Keuchenius IVD. Eloquentiæ Prof. die Lunæ & Martis, Justinum; Jovis & Veneris Florum Interpr. horâ duodecimâ.

6. D. Alexander de Bie, L. A. M. & Matheſeos Prof. die Lunæ; Martis, Jovis & Veneris, horâ tertiâ, post meridiem.

A physick garden.

We saw the physick garden, neatly kept, and well stored with rare plants. It is without the walls near the beast-market, which is a large place set with many ranks of trees.

In this city are two labyrinth gardens, where drink, &c. is sold; in the middle of yards belonging to them are statues, out of which water is surprizingly forced.

Over a school gate is written, *Disciplina Vitæ Scipio*.

From the old kirk steeple we had a large prospect of the city and river where ships lie, which hardly exceed in number those in the Thames about London. Two organs in this church, and some of the painted windows are still preserved; at this steeple we saw one play on the chimes, (somewhat like the organists) but he used his feet as well as fingers, which had thick pieces of leather to defend them from hurt in playing with a great force.

One Solomon Verbeake lives near this church, who hath invented a new kind of musical instrument, which he sells for 80 gilders.

Glauber the chymist lives in Amsterdam, but being now very sick, we could not see him.

The magazine.

The magazine is a fair, large and new building, where the stores for war are kept from the sight of strangers; many of the ships of war lie near it.

The long-house, where they make cables, is nigh the new wall which compasses in a great space of ground that is designed for new streets.

In Amsterdam are 24 ministers pensioned by the magistrates.

Two English churches.

Here are two English churches, one of which belongs to the Brownists.

The Lutherans have also a church, and the Papists are tolerated.

If any are permitted to have their liberty of conscience in churches, and are not of the states religion, they are prohibited to erect steeples and the use of bells.

Many of the streets in this city are spacious and fairly built, having channels of water with rows of trees planted on each side.

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The foundations of the houses usually cost as much as the super-structure, because they build on piles of wood which are driven in a great depth into the oufy ground.

Most of the best houses belong to merchants, who have great irons that fence the lower windows from the violence of weighty commodities which are haled up to the upper rooms.

No coaches are suffered to be used here except such as come for a visit from abroad; but instead of them sedans almost as big as coaches are drawn upon sledges by horses.

Mr. Chapman was my English merchant here; and I had recommendations to one signior Parenzi, an Italian, and one Tielens, a Dutchman. Dams and one Thierry were merchants to the rest of the company.

June 16, at seven hours distance from Utrecht. Amsterdam we came by boat to Utrecht, a large city, having about it a thick and high wall, and a deep trench; some of the streets which are latelier built are fair and handsome, the rest are but indifferent.

Deep channels of water run thro' many of the streets, which lie much higher than the water; several poor houses which have their chimneys peeping up a little above the level of the streets, which are sometimes much annoyed by the smoak of those chimneys.

The earl of Zylichim, uncle to the prince of Orange, is governor of the garrison, which consists of eight companies; one of them is English, who have a church here dedicated to S. Mary.

One English company of soldiers, and an English church.

The city is ruled by an upper and an under scout, seven scabini and four burgo-masters, two of which are chosen yearly.

The hospital boys are clad in suits half white and half blue.

Near the Domo, or cathedral church, are three sides of an old cloister, where the schools are for university exercises; the mathematic and physick schools are fair and arched, the divinity is a handsome small room above stairs, where we heard part of a theological disputation, Voetius sitting professor; we were told that he that keeps an exercise sine Præsidio, is to defend his Theses against all opponents.

The Rector Magnificus is chosen every year out of the professors.

One Will. Barbor an Englishman was now ready to take his doctor of physick's degree, and to be created doctor by Regius the physician in the choir of the great church.



SKIPTON.

*Collegium Willeborði* was written on one house of this city.

On an almshouse was written, *Ælemosynæ ende Ambacht Kamer.*

St. Martin's church.

The *Domo* is dedicated to S. Martin, having handsome pillars; the pulpit stands just at the entrance into the choir; an organ here; we went up 460 steps to the top of the steeple (where there is a large cistern of water ready to quench fire) whence we had a view of the town and adjacent country; in this steeple lives a man with his wife and family.

S. Mary's church.

In S. Mary's church that the English use, I transcribed these inscriptions, &c. viz.

*Illustri Viro Theodorico de Benthem D. D. Doct. hujus Ecclesiæ Præposito & Archidiacono, Qui è vivis excesserat anno MCCCCXV Cal. Octob. XVI. pia posteritas posuit.*

And on a picture was written, *Vive hospes dum licet atq; Vale.*

In these verses is expressed a remarkable story.

*Origo Fundati templi.*

*Tempora cum causis templi venerabilis hujus Quisquis nosse cupis metra te subscripta docebunt.*

*Henrico quarto Romani Sceptra regente Imperii, cum jam totam victricibus armis Subderat Italiam soli præcludere sola Urbs Mediolanum portas est ausa rebelles Quam tandem captam spoliis prius auctus opimis*

*Everfit Victor, nec templo flamma Mariæ Virginis abstinuit candenti marmore structo Unde dolens, mentemq; pio succensus amore Instaurare novam venerandi nominis ædem Proposuit quocunq; solo solisve sub axe. Tunc Trajectensis Præsul Nutritius olim Principis & duris semper comes acer in armis Nomine Conradus tulit hoc à Cæsare munus Ut templum sublime loco fundaret in isto Turribus excelsis constructurâq; perenni Adjutus donis & multo Cæsaris auro Quale vides firmis subnixum stare columnis Fornice perpetuo fastigia summa tegente Hoc phanum Præsul venerabilis ipse dicavit Primus & instaurat Præbendos Canonicosq; Canturos laudes tibi Virgo Maria perennes. Post ubi Sacratæ ter sex ab origine templi Fluxissent anni, fatalis venerat hora Pontificis Sacri miseranda cæde perempti Causa necis fuit hæc, nam dum fundamenta Muro*

*Istius Ecclesiæ latomi perquirere tentant Invenere lutum fluidum fixo sine fundo Hoc vitium tardabat opus, nemo sapientum, Huic morbo valuit quantalibet arte mederi*

*Ars mendicat opem miratur nescius artis Artificum Cætus, non artem posse juvare Dum sic ergo rei spes esset nulla superstes En rudis hanc Friso solidam spondit Abyssum Pro quo dum precium sibi posceret immoderatum;*

*Hinc dilectus erat Adolescens Filius; illum Accersit Præsul secrete, suadet ut artem Eliciat Patri, promittit munera, patrem Filius auxilio genetricis inebriat, artem Elicit, elicitam Pastori, clam patre, pandit Continuo surgebat opus, jam tempore longo Post positum, Gaudent omnes supra arte reperta.*

*Ille sed irarum stimulis agitatus acerbis Deceptumq; dolo, tantus dolor urget ut ipsum Jam descendente gradibus, missa celebrata Pontificem ferro trux Friso necaret acuto Ejus in Aprili mortem dant festa Tyburti Anno millesimo nonagesimo quoq; nono. Baldwinus Eps.*

On a pillar of this church is the picture of a bull, and underneath this written,

*Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula nosset Taurinis Cutibus fundo solidata columna st.*

A little grave-stone here, with the figure of a child killed by his father.

On a monument is inscribed,

*Arnoldus Dorstenius Philos. & Grammaticus percelebris hujus phani Canonicus tandem requiem sortitus in ævum hic situs est, nonis Maii 1535.*

This church hath an organ in it, and a gallery over each isle as at the Jesuits in Antwerp. Twenty-seven bear the name still of canons, who have a revenue in land, &c. Any person may buy one of these places, but if he dies within 21 days after, the sale signifies nothing. Two ministers were banished hence for questioning the right of disposing them into layhands.

In the chapter-house is an elephant's tooth made hollow, which was formerly used as a horn to wind and call people to church. A picture of Henry IV. two brass idols with wings, named by the fellow that shewed them *Jupiter* and *Pluto*. The picture of our Saviour going to the place of crucifixion drawn by *Lucas of Leyden*. The old MSS. of the revenues are locked up in a great press; three long unicorns horns for which 30000 gilders have been offered; formerly they were used as candlesticks nigh the high altar. In the library are many old books chained; six large MSS. of the bible fairly written and painted by one man; on the door of the



the library is written this rhyme, *Pro Christi laude, libros lege, postea claude.*

Anna Maria Schurman, a learned woman, lives in this city, who is unwilling to be visited by strangers. She is about 50 years old.

On one of the bulwarks of the town is a physick garden stored with good plants. The gardener pretended he knew their names in *Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Dutch, French, &c.*

In *Utrecht* velvet, taffety, grogram, and ribbands are woven.

June 18. We came by boat in two hours to a village, where we entred another boat which carryed us over the river *Leck*, to *Vianen*, a little walled place trenched about. A stadthouse here, two burgomasters, seven scabini, a scout, and 20 of the *Vroetschap*.

The earl of *Brederode* is lord of this place, where we saw the tape weaving by a wheel, which moves many shuttles at a time. This is forbidden at *Utrecht* under pain of death, and is prohibited in the cities of *Holland*, except *Harlem*.

Here we hired a waggon (the waggoners throwing dice who should carry us) and in three hours arrived at *Leerdam*, a small place walled and trenched about, privileged from taxes, &c. and is under the prince of *Orange*. The government is by a scout, seven scabini, two burgomasters, and 12 of the *Vroetschap*, and a secretary.

Our host at this place brought us in an extraordinary dear reckoning, which, tho' very unreasonable, we could not get any abatement of; whereupon we went and complained to one of the burgomasters, who gave us no relief, but left us to the mercy of the sharking landlord.

We saw an eagle which was lately taken hereabouts. We were here told, That the juice of black currans gives white wine a taste like *Rhenish*.

June 19. We travelled in our waggon, which was drawn by three horses abreast, over a river at the end of *Leerdam*, and soon after passed thro' *Asperen*, a small place walled and ditched about; after three hours riding, we came to the river *Vahalis*, over which we ferryed to another walled town called *Bommel*, a pretty place, having a handsome broad street and market-place before the stadthouse. Here is a scout, two burgomasters, and eight magistrates.

Four companies of soldiers (one of which is *Scots*) garrison this place.

Hence we went and ferryed over the *Mose*, a pleasant stream, and passed by a strong fort called *Crevecœur*, neatly trenched about; and a little further came

by *Engelen*, a little fort, and then rode upon a bank raised in the midst of a country that was very much covered with water.

Where we passed over the *Leck*, *Vahal*, and the *Mose*, the three streams were much of the same breadth.

Some distance before we came to the *Bosch* (four hours from *Bommel*) we passed thro' a water, and went over two drawbridges, and entred this place, which is differently built from the towns in *Holland*, the streets being indifferently paved, and the houses boarded on the outside like the houses in the *Scots* cities, only the boards are placed another way, *i. e.* transversely. This town is upon a little higher ground than the circumjacent country, which is fenny, the greatest part of it being overflowed with water. The town runs out a good way in length, and is encompassed with a strong wall and a deep trench. The river *Dommelt* runs by, and is convenient for the bringing of commodities.

An upper and an under scout, a president, and seven scabini (no burgomasters here) govern the inhabitants.

Twenty-one companies of foot, and four troops of horse garrison this place. *Minheer Beverwart*, who is of the house of *Nassau*, is governor: the earl of *Offory* married his daughter.

*St. John's* church is built of stone, and is like our cathedrals. The porch is handsome, double isles. The entrance into the choir is a stately marble porch adorned with statues, as in *St. Mary's* church at *Antwerp*. The altar pillars of marble are still preserved, and two white marble pillars curiously carved, with the story of our Saviour's birth and ascension. Towards the top of the choir, on a great escutcheon, is written,

*Alberto Austriaco*

1621

*Patri Patriae*

*Sylva Ducis*

*Dicat Consecrat.*

Two organs here; one at the west end is very large.

A curious brass font.

Near the altar is a monument with this inscription,

*Omnia mors aequat.*

*Gilbertus Masius hic jacet quem Bommelia mundo protulit, Ducis Sylva insula excepit, mors virtutibus canisque auctum interceptit, Quid hic triumphas Germana somni? ille tibi reddidit quod debuit, & quod non debuit in patriam transtulit, obiit 11 Julii Anno MDCCXIII.*



SKIPFON.

In the body of the church is a grave-stone over *Johannes Harbordus Brit. juris municip. in medio templo Candid. obiit 1630. 8. Id. Octobris, Æt. 20. pos. Carolus Frater natu maximus.* The whole inscription I had not leisure to write out. This *John Harbord* died here in his travels.

Round the choir are the arms of many of the golden fleece order. Over the upper seats is written,

*Le tres-haut & tres-puissant Prince Philippe dict le Bon par la grace de Dieu Ducque de Bourgogne, de Lotheir, de Brabant, l'an mille quatre cent vingt & neuve en la ville de Bruges à l'imitation de Gedeon Crea & Institua à l'honneur de Dieu, de la vierge Marie & de l'Amour à Saint Andrea Protecteur & Patron de Bourgogne une Compagnie des tres-nobles chevaliers en laquelle on reçoit Empereurs, Roys, Duques, Marquis & autres personages tant des subjects que des strange contree pourveu qu'ils fussent de sang noble & illustre & de bonne renommee & appelle ces seigneurs les Chevaliers de la Toison d'or ausquelles il donna pour chief perpetuell le Ducq legitime qui seroit de Bourgogne & qui auroit le seigneurie des pays bas ne voulut que pour lors ils sourspassassent le nombre de vingt & cinq, le souverain chefis compris & pour les occurrences qui pourroient sofferir à l'ordre il crea quatre officiers honorables à sçavoir le Chancelier, le Tresorier, le Greffier, le Roy d'Armes & pour l'establissement de c'est ordre, il fait de tres-beaux statutes & notables ordonnances.*

Among several other inscriptions we observed these following.

*Le tres-haut & tres-puissant Prince Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Angleterre & Seigneur d'Irlande.*

*Tres-haut & tres-puissant Prince Maximilian par la Grace de Dieu Archiducq d'Austrie, Ducq de Bourgogne, de Lotheir, de Brabant, de Stire, de Karinte, de Karinole, de Limborg, de Luxembourg, de Gueldres, Conte de Flandres, de Tirol, d'Arthoys, de Bourgoigne, Palatin de Haiinault, de Hollande, de Zealande, de Namur & de Zutphen, Marquis du saint Empire, Seigneur de Frise, de Salines, de Malines.*

Endthou-en.

Haumont.

June 20. We hired a waggon with three horses abreast, and passed by two forts near the *Bosch*, called the great and little fort, and at six hours distance came to *Endihouen*, a small walled place; and in four hours more we arrived at *Haumont*, a poor little place walled and trenched

about (some of the works were slighted.) It is a frontier of the bishop of *Liege's* country.

A scout, two burgomasters, seven sca- Govern-  
ment. bini, and 12 of the *Vroetschap* here.

June 21. We travelled over heaths, and went thro' *Roy*, a village where the bishop of *Liege* hath a palace; and soon after (three hours from *Haumont*) came to a walled place called *Bry*, the houses Bry. whereof were old and decaying. The *Augustine* friars have a pretty convent, and are 12 in number. In their chapel, under a picture, is this inscription,

D. O. M.

*In honorem S. Catharinae Virginis & Martyris hujus Arae Patronae Ven'lis. Nob. & strenuus Philibertus Taxis Canon. Bonnen, & Gerardus à Taxis Sac. Caes. Majest. Dapifer ejusdemque legionis unius Germanorum militum Vice Coronellus in memoriam Patris eorum Godefridi Huls dicti Taxis elect. Colon. & Epi. Leodien. Consiliarii hic sepulti Filii Fatres pio affectu posuerunt Anno MDCXXIII.*

Near this town is a woody pleasant country.

After we had baited at *Bry*, we travelled over an open heathy country, and by degrees left the level, and ascended a good height, whence we had a prospect of *Maestricht*, the *Mose*, &c. and seven hours from our bait we came to the out-works of *Maestricht*, where a centinel Mae-  
stricht. rang a bell, and the soldiers examined us, and then lifted up a great beam for our waggon to enter the gate. This town is built like the *Bosch*, and is divided by the river *Mose* into two parts; the lesser side is called the *Wyck*, and is joyned to the other by a strong broad-stone bridge with nine arches.

A strong wall and good trench about the town, besides many half-moons, &c. Part of the bigger side of *Maestricht* is situated on a rising ground, and therefore not so strong as if it were in a level.

The greatest number of the inhabitants are papists, who have their religion publickly tolerated. About 20 cloisters in this place, which at this time made a great jangling with their bells, to put people in mind of their prayers for fair weather.

Two burgomasters, two scouts, 14 Govern-  
ment. scabini and . . . of the *Vroetschap*, half of which are protestants and half papists.

The garrison consists of 31 foot companies (four or five of which are *English* English  
company  
of soldiers. and *Scots*) and six troops of horse. The governor is *Rhenegrave Fredericus Magnus*.

Three



St. Servatius's church.

Three Dutch protestant churches here, and one church used every other time by the English and French.

St. Servatius his church is handsome, and is used by the papists. The choir is raised high, and underneath are chapels. We observed a great number of boys who came from school to hear mass: they kneeled down in ranks, and filled the body of the church.

The canons of this church do not shave their heads, nor perform divine service, but leaving their places, may marry when they will.

In the cloister, over several doors, is written, *Humanitas & Poesis, Grammatica secunda & infima.*

Our Lady's church.

Our lady's church is like the former, with chapels under the choir.

Memoriae S

*Viduae, Clientes, Pauperes, Cives, forum; Astraea, Sophia, Historia, Musarum chori nequiere morti eripere Galenum suum, sic nempe cautum est omnibus restat mori sed vita iustis redditur, malis perit, Jacobo Galeno sibi que Angela Greeftia ut pridem tori sic tandem tumuli Consors PC. obiere ille An. Chistiano c1610cxxxii xii Kal. Febr. Haec c1610c...*

Stadt-house.

A new stadthouse building at this time of stone. It is square and large, and will resemble that at Amsterdam. It hath a walk round the hall, and about the chambers.

Hollanders, &c. customs.

Maestricht was the last place we saw belonging to the united provinces; therefore, before I take notice of any new country, &c. I shall here set down some particulars I observed, viz. That, in those

territories, every notary writes his name over his door; *Ex. gr. A. B. Notarius publicus*: and the doctors of physick and apothecaries have Latin sentences on their houses and shops. The *Hollanders* houses are nicely clean. The entrance before the doors of their houses in cities, is curiously paved with stone; and the neat figured pavements are used about their chimnies, and sometimes round their rooms. Before many of their doors are stone rails to lean upon. Most of their beds in inns are like cabins; and their being short and narrow, makes them inconvenient. The boors or country people come riding to market with provisions in neat waggons drawn by two horses abreast. When waggoners and porters are to be hired, they in most places throw dice who should be employed.

The *Hollanders* of the meaner sort are generally very furly, especially innkeepers, watermen, and waggoners: these last bait themselves and their horses very often; and the true Dutch is always eating when he travels by boat, coach, or waggon. Their usual diet is strong North-Holland cheese, and hung beef dryed in the smoak. At ordinaries the first dish is a sallad, which they call *Sla*. Boiled spinache is a great dish with them, and every meal is usually ended with this variety of cheeses, viz. Cummin-seed, North-Holland, Ingelot, and green cheese. Strong beer, which they call thick beer, and Rhenish wine and French wine are the drink most esteemed. The inn-keepers, in many places, exact according to the rich habit and quality of their guests; for the same ordinary a man of meaner habit and quality shall pay less.





SKIPPON.

## G E R M A N Y.

**J**UNE 22. We went by waggon up a hill near *Maestricht*; at the side of which hill is an arched passage, which runs (as we were told) two hours in length, whence they bring stone from a quarry: this was probably some adite to a mine; for riding further upon the *Dorons*, we saw three or four more such passages, and observed earth cast up, as at the entrance of mines. From these hills we had a very pleasant prospect of *Maestricht*, the *Mose*, and the adjacent country. On the left side of the river we saw *Weset*, a walled place under the bishop of *Liege*, and *Nevan*, a castle of the king of *Spain's*. When we came down into a lower ground, we rode by *Vivenan*, where there is a nunnery; and on the right hand was the first place we saw vineyards planted on the sides of the hill; and then we came thro' *Herstal*, a village (where 500 or 600 boors live) belonging to the prince of *Orange*; and an hour further we reached *Luick* or *Liege* (four leagues from *Maestricht*.) A centinel opening a gate, suffered us to enter the walls of this city, which are on this side very strong and high; also works and a trench of water. Other parts of the city on the hills have a wall not so firm.

Liege.

St. Lambert's church.

We saw *St. Lambert's* church, an old building, having many porches or entrances of stone, much adorned with statues. The church within is handsome, having a large brass crown that hangs down in the middle of it. Under an altar on the left side of the entrance into the choir, is this written,

Anno 1596.

*Imperiale istud altare abs Henr. 4 Romp. Imp.  
Semper Aug. ac Rege Siciliae fundatum  
D. Guilhelmus Licen. ejusdem Rector  
Tab. hac renovatâ suisq; circumpositis illustrata  
Ad majorem Dei gloriam exornabat.*

The figure of this monument is engraven in the title page of *Boissard's* second tome of *Roman* antiquities.

Nigh this hangs another writing, viz.

*Istud est sculptum in feretro Beati Lamberti  
Epi. & Martyris in parva pecia cupri  
reclusa transumptum est de verbo ad verbum  
& de litera ad literam visum Anno  
1469. Christi martyr & Tungrorum xxix*

*& penultimus Epif. hic requiescit, cujus  
sanctissimum corpus hic repositum est à Le-  
odien. Epo. Abberone secundo xiiii Kalen-  
das Januarii anno ab incarnatione Domini  
mcxliiii. post triumphatum autem & re-  
ceptum Builloniae. Anno iii'o.*

*Renovata est haec tabula Anno Domini  
MDLXXXIII sub pontificatu Reverendissimi  
ac Illustrissimi Principis ac Domini D. Er-  
nesti à Bavaria electi Colon. anno ejus se-  
cundo ac Leodiensis quarto.*

In the middle of the choir is a stately brass monument carved and adorned with lions, having low brass rails about it. The monument itself is a square almost a man's height. Upon this is a chest or coffin of brass supported by four legs. At the east end of it is the figure of death creeping out, and holding out his hand. At the west end is the statue of *Erardus de Marca* kneeling against an altar, and looking death in the face. Before him lies a crozier staff, and a cardinal's cap of brass *Habuit de nocte visum similem.*

The inscription is,

*Erardus primus genere de Marka tertius  
mortem prae oculis habens vivens sibi po-  
suit. Arces, Hoiium, Dionantum Stochem,  
Franchimont struxit, Guringiam & Seran-  
nium reparavit & auxit, processionem  
translationis Divi Lamberti fundavit, pa-  
latium postremo aedificavit, praefuit huic  
Ecclesiae annos xxxii menses vi dies xviii,  
vixit annos lxx menses viii dies xvi.  
Anno millesimo quingentesimo xxxviii.*

On the south side of this tomb are three little statues of brass, viz.

The first is *Faith*, with a church in one hand, and a bible in the other, treading upon a *Turk*, and this written,

*Fides Mahumetum perfidum conculcat.*

The second, *Hope*, with an anchor and spade thrusting away *Judas* from under her feet, and this written,

*Spes Judam perfidum conculcat.*

The third, *Charity* treading upon *Herod*, and this written,

*Charitas Herodem lividum proterit.*



On the east side is justice treading upon Nero, and this written,

*Iustitia Neronem iniquum jugulat.*

On the north side are these three brass figures, viz.

1. *Judith* stroaking a lion with one hand, and holding a tower in the other, treading upon *Holofernes*.

*Fortitudo Holofernem superbum peremit.*

2. *Temperance*, holding a lamp in one hand, a book and a globe in the other, treading upon *Tarquin*.

*Temperantia Tarquinium immoderatum extinguit.*

3. *Prudence*, holding a death's head in one hand, and a looking-glass in the other, treading upon *Sadanapalus*.

*Prudentia Sardanapalum mollem suffocat.*

The present bishop and prince of *Liege* hath built a stately marble high altar, behind which is inscribed,

D. O. M.

*Intemeratae Virgini Mariae*

*Deiparae*

*Sancto Lamberto*

*Ecclesiae & patriae Divis tutelaribus*  
**MAXIMILIANVS HENRICVS**

*Utriusque Bavariae Dux*

*Archiepiscopus & Elector Colonienfis*

*Episcopus & Princeps Leodiensis*

*Ernesti & Ferdinandi Bavariae Ducum*

*Episcoporum & Principum Leodiensium*

*Nepos & Successor*

*Sui*

*Et praedecessorum memoriam*

*Ponebat*

*Anno MDCLVII.*

Within the altar are locked up in four silver chests, the bodies of St. *Peter* and St. *Andoletus*, disciples to St. *Lambert*, who were martyred with him, and the bodies of St. *Maternus* bishop of *Liege* and *Triers*, St. *Theodardus* predecessor to St. *Lambert*, and some reliques of the 12 apostles. One of the chests is fashioned like the ark of the covenant, with two cherubims, &c.

Before the altar lie buried *Louis* of *Bourbon*, *Hugo*, and three others bishops.

A stone arch crosses the middle of the choir. At the end of the seats are the statues of the virgin *Mary* and St. *Lambertus*.

Over the entrance into the choir is a large chest of silver, gilt, adorned with

figures and precious stones, whereon is written,

*Tu serves Clerum plebemq; tuoq; sacratum*  
*Sanguine defendas semper ab hoste locum.*

At the end of the coffin is a gold plate with the figure of St. *Lambert*, and the letters *A. W.* on each side. On one side of him his name thus written,

S  
L  
A  
M  
B  
E  
R  
T  
V  
S

On the edges of the chest are pictures of the apostles, about which these letters are written,

|     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A O | A A | X S | A N | N C | N N |
| 6 S | B   | O E | I A | 6 H | I E |
|     | D S | E   | O S | I A | O L |
|     | I   |     |     |     |     |

On a tombstone in the north isle of the choir, is this inscription,

D. O. M. S.

*Gerardo. à. Groisbeeck. S. R. E. Presbytero. Card. Episcopo. et. Principi. Leodien. Administratori. stabulen. Viro. incredibili. prudentia. pietate. ac. facundia. praedito. qui. provinciam. suam. temporibus. difficillimis. Annos. xvi. summa. innocentia. atq; animi. fortitudine. pace. et. bello. non. modo. consecravit. verum. etiam. auxit. atq; ipsis. hostibus. admirabilis. virtute. invidiam. superavit. Curatores. bonorum. ad. leniendum. parentis. patriae. desiderium. monumentum. hoc. optime. merenti. moestissimi. posuerant. quem tegat hic tumulus quondam si legia quaeris. Te sis usq; licet, maxima major erat.*

*Vixit An. LXIII. obiit Anno Sal. lum. M.D.LXXX. IIII. Kal. Jan.*

In the vestry we saw very rich embroidered vestments set with pearls and precious stones; one cope, &c. of St. *Lambertus*, which is worn only upon solemn occasions by the prince.

The singing-boys wear red gowns under their surplices: the canons have purple habits like robes.

There are belonging to this church 60 *Canonici majores*, 12 *mediocres*, and 13 *minores seu parvae mensæ*, and above



SKIPPON. 60 *Beneficiati*. The *Can. majores* must be all of noble extract, excepting some few that are chosen for their eminency in learning. These 60 canons chuse their prince and bishop.

Government. The city of *Liege* hath a mayor put in by the prince, and continues as long as he behaves himself well. The prince nominates his counsellors. He hath a vice-mayor.

... *Scabini* are chosen by the prince.

A senate of 30, answerable to the *Vroetschap* in *Holland*, who are in office for life; and when one dies, the rest elect another.

Two burgomasters are chosen every two years by the suffrages of the several companies or trades.

Note, That all citizens, of what quality soever, are obliged to be of the companies; the prince himself is not excepted, the present bishop being of the colliers company.

When a new law is to be made, or a great tax to be levied, the prince assembles the states of the country; the clergy, gentry, and commoners sending their deputies; for without their consent nothing can be done.

In this city are many convents or religious houses; some told us there were 365.

St. John the Evangelist's church. We saw *St. John* the Evangelist's church, which is round, and built like *St. Sepulchre's* in *Cambridge*. Upon the pillars stand the 12 apostles. The *septum* or screen between the body of the church and the choir, is of marble, and hath over it this inscription,

*Deo Opt. Max. et D. Johanni Evangelistae  
hanc è marmore faciem 4r. Columnis  
suffixam dicabat anno 1659 Adm. Reverendus  
ac Nobilis D. Guinaldas de Nuvolara  
Eques, Prothonot. Apostolicus, Praepo-  
situs Meschedensis Ecclesiarum S. Johannis  
Evangelistae ac Meschedensis Canonici.*

There are several pretty chapels. In *St. Hubert's* is an altar-piece of marble curiously carved. The pavement of that chapel is curious, of marble; the top handsomely painted, carved and gilt; and a neat monument here, thus inscribed,

D. O. M.

*Hubertus Ursinus à Campo I. V. Doctor Pro-  
thonotarius Amplicus, hujus Ecclesiae De-  
canus vivens moriturus, revicturus po-  
suit Anno 1622. obiit Anno 1638. mensis  
Maii 22 die Aetatis 75.*

*Haec qui legis bene apprecare mortuo.*

I

Upon his grave-stone, *Sepulchrum R'di  
admodum D. Domini Huberti Ursini à Cam-  
po Decani hujus Ecclesiae.*

Bishop *Notgerus*, a great benefactor, is buried in this church, without any monument; concerning whom see *Ortel. Itiner.* also the monuments of *Leonardus Vossius decanus, Petrus Rosen, &c.*

*St. Paul's* is a large and handsome *St. Paul's* church: near which is a chapel with this church inscription,

*D. O. M. Consolatrici Afflictorum Divoq; Re-  
migio Pii Eburones Voverunt CIOIOCLVII*

*St. James's* church is the most fair and lightsome of all we saw in *Liege*. The roof is an arch of stone, broad and handsome. All the church is gaudily painted, but not gilded. The entrance into the choir is marble, rarely carved, and curiously adorned with neat statues, and thus inscrib'd,

*D. O. M. Ecclesiaeq; decori & ornamento Re-  
verendus Dominus Martinus Fanchon Leo-  
diensis hujus monasterii Abbas XLII opus  
hoc fieri erigiq; curavit Anno Dom. 1602.*

*Domine Dilexi Decorum Domus tuae.*

*Corde & Animo* is written under his coat of arms.

In the midst of the choir is a handsome marble monument, with an effigies rarely carved upon it; and round about on the edges, this written,

*Baldricus Praesul Leodiensis genere Comes  
Lassen hic quiescit, qui sub Imperatore  
Henrico hoc coenobium inchoavit, verum  
morte praeventus sub eodem imperfectum  
reliquit.*

On the side of the monument,

D. O. M.

*D. Baldrico Leod. Epo. Fundatori N'ro hanc  
tumbam construi fecit R. D. Aegidius Lam-  
brecht Abbas H. L. Anno 1646. erigi cu-  
ravit R. D. Aeg. Docineus successor.*

The three following inscriptions are on grave-stones in the body of the church; the last in the choir.

1. *R. D. Martinus Fanchonus HSE hujus  
monasterii Abbas XLII quem dignitatis sub-  
limitas non magis venerandum quam pietas  
& morum facilis modestia suis amabilem,  
magnatibus carum, omnibus gratum red-  
didit. Aedem hanc pulcherrimis operibus  
adornavit, obiit diutina valetudine Anno  
Dom. MDCXL. x Kal. Decemb. Aetatis suae  
LX. praelat. XVII.*

*Pie Lector quietem apprecare.*

2. *Hic*



2. *Hic jacet R. D. Aegidius Lambrecht hujus  
Mo'rii XLIII Abbas, humanitatis &  
munificentiae singularis, obiit Anno Dom.  
MDCXLVI die 2da Junii, Aetatis suae  
LXXXV. praelaturae XXXV.  
Requiem ei apprecare.*

3. *Johannes Curvimosanus Abbas trigessimus  
o'ctavus nobis ereptus est anno à virgineo  
partu 1525.*

There are also these verses on this grave-  
stone,

*Curvimosone Decus, Flos, gloria religionis  
Siccine nos orbas hic situs ante diem?  
Omnis te sextus, aetas, ordoq; requirit  
Flagitat & patrem Legia tota suum  
Extinctus vivis, comes haec te sacra loquatur  
Auspicio cujus tam bene structa nitet.*

His effigies is well carved on it.  
In the suburbs we went to the Gueli-  
mites cloister, which is an indifferent place,  
moated about. In the body of the church  
lies the tombstone of Sir John Mandevil,  
having his figure on it in a brass plate. It  
was formerly near the high altar. See the  
inscription in *Ortelii Itiner.* In the vestry  
the monks shewed us two great knives  
which were given him by the emperor of  
the Turks, being such as the grand seignior  
himself used. They shewed us also Sir  
John Mandevil's saddle, bridle-bit, and  
spurs.

These Friars had a white habit, with  
black down the middle before and behind.  
Over the gate of this monastery stands  
the statue of St. William, and these sen-  
tences, viz.

*Supervacua de utilibus oratio est quando omni-  
um conspirat ad deteriora consensus.  
Festina lentè.  
Magistratus virum incidat.  
Quod index auro hoc aurum homini.  
Fama, fides, oculus non sunt tractanda jo-  
cosè.*

Under the statue of St. William, is  
D. O. M. & Divo Guelmo Tutori suo.  
The English jesuits have a college in  
this city, which is a pretty building on a  
hill, having 70 steps up to it; every 10  
steps hath a landing-place. Here are hand-  
some gardens one above another. In the  
uppermost is a summer-house whence there  
is a pleasant prospect of the city, river,  
hills, &c. In one garden we saw many  
curious inventions of one Linus of this  
society, who erected several dials, and in  
these following verses, tells the use of  
them, viz.

*Pro caeco.*  
1. *Tange manus Crates à Sextà hic incipit horà  
Perge modo atque horam dicet adusta  
manus.*

2. *Hic quoties horam geminus Sol monstrat  
eandem  
Hora tibi quota sit quam petis inde patet.*

3. *Nulla sit umbra styli veram stylus indicat  
horam  
Sic tibi restà stylo dum latet hora patet.*

4. *Nulla sit umbra styli totumq; stat hora per  
orbem.*

5. *Quando tua in medio speculi resplendet  
imago  
Horarum seriem Solis imago docet.*

6. *Hora non lucente Sole.  
Quæres hora quota est dum Sol latet ecce  
docebo  
Hinc abeundi hora est lector amice tibi.*

7. *Pro situ stellarum.  
Horam præsentem præsentì junde diei  
Quæque hic stant fixæ veræ stant ordine  
stellæ.*

8. *Pro hora nocturna.  
Fixam inter veram stellam visamque locata  
Mansit & ecce dies noctis tibi denotat horam.*

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| O. Cur   | Ma ma         |
| B. Bis   | TA            |
| ade Cead | C pro no no D |
| T        | E ne A mus.   |
| abit     |               |

At this college we heard a philosophical  
dispute, one Odoardus Turnerus respon-  
dent, and Gervasius Montefortius sitting  
professor. The company sat round on  
benches, the middle of the room being  
free from people. Among the opponents  
we observed an antient canon of a church,  
disputing very eagerly according to the  
Jesuits custom.

These disputations are once in a month.  
A mathematick school here.  
Of this society is one Digby, a brother  
of the earl of Bristol.

Thomas Compton Carleton of this house  
hath written a book intituled, *Prometheus  
Christianus.*

The language commonly us'd by the peo-  
ple of Liege, is different from French and  
Dutch, which are both frequently spoken  
here.

We saw the prince's palace, a fair stone Prince's  
building, which consists of two square palace.  
5 Q courts ;



SKIPPON. courts, the outermost is cloistered like our royal exchange, here are booksellers shops; the inner court is kept shut, which is cloistered only on two sides, having a garden and fountain in the middle; the rooms are but mean for a prince's house, and neither well furnished nor well kept.

Many of the women here wear hats.

Armour and guns are made good and cheap at *Liege*.

This city is pleasantly situated by the river *Mose*, and environed almost round with hills, the river divides itself here, and hath several streams running through many parts of the city; here are several bridges, one a very fair one of stone with six long arches, the two middle-most arches are each of them more than 20 yards wide. Nigh the river is a place where sometimes are tilings.

The citizens houses are most of timber, some of the fronts are covered with boards as in *Scotland*, others with slates, the rest as ours in *England*; the streets are not broad.

A convenient key at the river, where are many of those long boats we observed at *Dort* and *Utrecht*.

On the brow of a hill which hangs over the city is the fort or castle that commands the town.

All belly provisions here are cheap and plentiful; in the hills about *Liege* are a great many cherry-gardens and orchards.

The country people are civil, well manner'd and kind to strangers; the women are generally of a dark complexion, and not so handsome as the *Hollanders*; they do a great deal of drudgery, and the poorer fort carry coals and other burthens on their backs in baskets of a peculiar figure, towards the bottom being of a conical shape, wherein they can put a staff and rest themselves standing without setting down their burthens.

We took notice of many poor and beggars every where, but not importunate if denied.

Here they use a sort of firing they call hot-shots, which are round balls made of dirt or clay, and coal beaten small and mixed together, and then dried in the sun; these serve to flake the heat of the fire, and keep coals from burning out too fast.

At *Namure* and this place stone jugs and other pots are made.

A coal mine.

Some distance from *Liege* we came up a steep hill, where we were let down five or six in a basket into a coal mine 150 yards deep; the coal is like our stone coal.

When we came down to the bottom we were each of us drawn in a sledge, by two little boys to a sledge, who fastned their two chains tied about them to the sledges,

and so drew us through a low, narrow and long passage (on each side there being supports of wood) to a large space where we saw many miners at work. A horse turned about an axis perpendicularly fixed, and winding up the rope we were hoisted out of the mine-pit.

June 25, in our two hired waggons or carts, each with a single horse, we went very slowly over hilly and stony way, and had in prospect on our left hand *Franchimont* castle; soon after we had a view of a deep valley, in the bottom of which is the *Spaw*, where we arriv'd this night; it is seven leagues from *Liege*, and is a little walled place with indifferent buildings in it, the inhabitants receive no small benefit from the frequency of strangers who come hither every summer, and drink the medicinal waters so much commended and spoken of in the world. The Spaw Medicinal waters.

In the market-place is a well or spring, the water whereof gives an inky or vitriol taste; the virtues of it are mentioned in this distich written on it,

*Obstruatum referat, durum terit, humida siccatur  
Debile fortificat si tamen arte bibis.*

1. This is called *Bobon*.

2. We tasted (a good distance from the town) the waters at the well called *Geronstifter*, which are sharper and stronger than the former; it is covered with a tiled roof supported by four marble pillars, and hath this inscription;

*Il Reverendissime & Excellentissime Sr. Sr. Conrard de Bourgfdore, grand Chambellaine & premier-Confilier d'Etat, Colonel & Gouverneur General de tous les forts & fortresses du Seren. Elekteur de Brandenburg dan son estat Electoral grand Prevost des Eglises Cathedrales de Halberstadt & Brandenburg Chevalier de l'ordre de St. Jean & Commandeur du Baillage de Lagow, Sr. de Gros, Machenon, Goldeleck, Bouckow, Oberstorff, &c.*

The same is also in *Dutch*.

3. A little off is another well of the same nature.

4. About half an hour's walk brought us to a well called *Saviniere*.

5. Near that is another; all these are of the same nature, but some of them are stronger than others.

At one of them this is inscribed,

*Paulus Jo'es Baro de Groisbecke Archi. Cond. Sere'me sue Gelnier Cancellarius viciantem à vera separabat, Anno 1651.*

6. There



6. There is another well which we had not time to see.

We boiled some of the water, and perceived it then very turbid, and of a reddish colour, whereas it was before very clear, but could not make it curdle milk.

Many rare plants grow wild in the woods hereabouts.

At this time were here one Mr. Howard and Mr. Jones, and two more English gentlemen.

The Spaw is in the country of Liege.

June 27, we hired two waggons or carts, each having but one horse, and went not far from the iron furnace to the iron forge, and afterwards through rocky ways among the hills, to the sulphur and vitriol works nigh Franchimont castle; after this digression we returned into the great road, where some Spanish soldiers beg'd of us very insolently, and stopped our carts because we gave them some liards, which they threw away; but giving the value of three or four shillings they seemed satisfied, and let us pass on to Limburg, three leagues from the Spaw, where the sentinel stay'd us at the gate till he sent in our names to the governor; the walls of this place are very strong, having a deep dry ditch about them; here is one indifferent street, which is but short, though broad: This town is little, and situated upon a hill: on the west side is a steep precipice, and below runs the river Wefer. At one end is the castle. The monuments of some of the dukes of Limburg in the church, were demolished by the Hollanders when they had this place in possession.

Le Conte d'Avendon is governor. About 300 foldiers in garrison now.

After we had refreshed ourselves with a bait, we travelled a road infested with

Spanish foldiers that begg'd, and went thro' a wood; at two hours and a half from Limburg, we came to a little village called Hag-lienstall, where by reason it was night and dangerous to go further, we took up a bad lodging, and lay in the straw on a floor next to the stable.

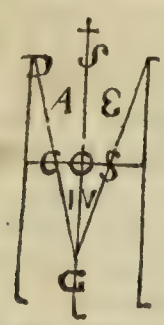
June 28, we pass'd thro' a wood, and in an hour and an half's time arrived at Aken, where the sentinels examined us, and let us enter the gates: This city is of a good length, and hath a double wall about it; the streets are meanly built. About seven years ago a lamentable fire happened, which consumed (they say) 4500 houses; it is reported the Capuchins cloister strangely escaped the flames, all being destroyed round about while the monks were at their devotions, and none endeavour'd to preserve their building from burning.

In the market-place is a large and handsome fountain, with this inscription about the edges of the basin.

Hic aquis per granum Principem quendam Romanum Neronis & Agrippæ fratrem calidorum fontium thermae à principio constructæ; postea vero per D. Carolum Magnum Imp. constituto ut locus hic sit caput & Regni sedes transalpes renovatæ sunt, quibus thermis hic gelidus fons influxit olim quem nunc demum hoc æneo vase illustravit S. P. Q. Aquisgran. Anno Domini MDCXX.

On the top stands a brass statue of Charlemagne.

The stadthouse or curia is a very fair building; nigh the door is this written, The stadthouse.



A.E.I.O.V. 1263  
FRIDRICVS ROR IMPATOR  
RERYM IRRECVPERABILIVM  
SVMA FELICITAS EST OBLIVIO.

The rooms within are indifferent, in one where the magistrates sit is a large picture of the day of Judgment, and there hangs this inscription;

Dum iudicis cessat correctio iudicundorum accumulatur protervitas: Also Haec Domus alit, &c.

Many great old feather'd darts are kept here; in a large room is a great picture of Charlemagne giving a charter to the citizens;

a picture of the present pope set in marble, and under it is written,

Alexandro Septimo Pontifici optimo maximo quod nuncii Apostolici olim munere hic defungens, regalem hanc sedem coluit, dilexit, mox summo admotus fastigio Anno 1656, 2da Maii fatali incendio penitus ferme consumptam misereq; afflictam eximia liberalitate sua erexit recreavit, Senatus Populusq; Aquisgran. in perpetuam tanti beneficii memoriam hoc monumentum erigi curavit Anno 1657.



SKIPTON.  
N. Daine  
church.

Our lady's church is of a round figure like S. John evangelist's at *Liege*, which was built in imitation of this by bishop *Notgerus*; this hath no chapels about it.

Here are kept the gospels written by the evangelists own hands, the iron crown which the emperor is crown'd with, and *Charlemagne's* sword, which the emperor holds at his coronation, and is obliged to wear it by his side three days together, with this he makes his nobles; every coronation they are now sent to *Frankfurt*. The chair where the emperor used to sit when he was crown'd here, the sides of it are ivory, and the bottom is part of *Noah's* ark; this chair was found in *Charlemagne's* grave, in the middle of the church, when his body was taken up intire above 300 years after his burial; he is laid now by the south wall of the church near the choir, and his effigies is placed on a tombstone without any other inscription but *Gloria & Honore Coronasti eum Domine*.

In the middle of the choir is another tomb without any figure or inscription, which they say is over *Otho III. Imp.*

Between the body of the church and the choir, is a little chapel dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, where but seven persons may say mass, viz. The pope and six canons; the bottom of this altar is part of *Noah's* ark; many relicks are kept here in a gold chest, which are shewn off the steeple but once in seven years; one of the most precious and holy relicks is the virgin *Mary's* smock; these following verses hang behind the altar, and mention that and the rest of those objects of devotion;

*Hic Matris Christi Camisia clauditur, isti  
Jungitur & pannus cum quo fuit in cruce  
testis*

*Medius, Salvator hominis lapsi reparator  
Et sunt hic grati panni tibi dico locati  
Cum quibus in stabulo natus mox volvitur ipso  
Pannum Baptiste Domini retinet locus iste  
Mortis momento rubricatum quisq; memento  
Singula prædicta dextra Caroli benedicta  
De Græcis lata nobis fore munera grata  
Que nos & gentes conservet huc venientes.*

The pillars about the church are most of them of fusile marble, the top of the roof within the body of the church is of glass curiously painted and gilt; the glass is consisting of little square pieces.

A wooden case or press covers a very rich pulpit of gold adorned with precious stones, it stands on the south side nigh the entrance into the choir.

The singing boys wear red gowns faced with lambskin, the furr whereof sits about their necks like a ruff. The canons have

one *Cheyney*, an *Englishman*, among them. A dean here.

At the south side is a great pair of brass gates, and one of them hath a crack in the brass, occasioned, as the legend says, thus, "When *Charlemagne* began the building of this church, the devil came and ask'd him what he intended; the emperor told him he designed a playhouse, which the devil being well satisfied with, he departs, and the emperor sets up some altar-tables; and then the devil comes again to him and enquired what those meant; *Charlemagne* replied, they were only for gamesters to play on, which encouraged the devil to give his assistance towards the building, and to bring a great pair of brass gates on his shoulders, which he lets fall, and runs away at the sight of a crucifix, and in that fall one of the gates crack'd." Nigh these gates stands a pillar with a gaping wolf on it, and a hole in the middle of his breast, and it is reported the devil went in at the wolf's mouth, and came out at the hole.

Thirty churches in this city. Eleven nunneries.

The jesuits are building a fair college.

The protestants were formerly allowed their liberty here, but we were told that they endeavoured to settle themselves in the government, and to banish the *Roman* catholicks, whereupon *Spinola* came and restored the papists, and turned out all the reformed.

*Aken* hath a jurisdiction of three hours riding, round every way, and in it are 200 villages.

This is an imperial city, free from impositions of the emperor, only they assist him with some soldiers against the *Turks*.

The women here wear a sort of black plads over their heads and shoulders.

We observed round cakes made of coal and dirt clapt against walls of houses, to dry for firing. Most of the houses which are new built are of brick.

We saw at this place the making of brass and needles, which are the most considerable commodities of *Aken*.

This city is governed by a mayor, two The go-  
consuls, 14 eschevins, and about 120 se-vernment,  
nators.

The mayor presides among the scabins whose sentences he executes; he continues for life, or during the good pleasure of the duke of *Gulich*.

One of the consuls goes off his office every year, and another is chosen by the city, so that each continues two years.

There are 15 companies who elect (eight out of a company) the 120 senators,  
half



half of which are changed every year; so that they continue two years.

One that is not a senator, may be a consul or burgomaster.

Baths at  
Burcet.

A little distance without the walls of *Aken*, on a hill is a great village called *Burcet* where are many bathing-houses, the water generally seems hotter than ours in *England*, being hot enough to boil an egg; the springs are very plentiful, and the water is conveyed by troughs to the several baths; a current of cold water runs close by. The poor people have little straw houses, where they sit and bathe themselves.

*Note*, The pool which receives the bath-water breeds great store of fish, which are put into a cold water for a month or two before they eat them.

At this village live many anabaptists.

Within the walls of *Aken*, nigh the market-place, are more baths of the same nature with those of *Burcet*. The taste of the waters is saltish; at the opening of the covers of the fountains we were told they find *Flos Sulphuris*.

June 29, we hired two such carts as we had at the *Spaw*, and travelled through a wood, and in four hours space came to a small walled and trenched place called *Altenboven* under the duke of *Gulich*; in an hour after we passed through a little river, and this night lodged in *Gulich*; being first examined by the guard.

Gulich.

This is a strong place well fortified with a wall and trench; the town is but small; the citadel is also very strong, wherein is a stately palace, which a *Burgrave* looks to: 1000 soldiers in garrison; the governor is *Baro de Palan*.

Here is a pretty stadthouse at the market-place, which is a little square; the houses are of brick, and most of the streets center in the market-place.

Malting is a great trade in this town.

he go-  
vernment.

The government is in the hands of a mayor, a chancellor, seven scabins, and other magistrates.

*Gulich* was about three years ago in the *Spaniards* possession, they being called in by a difference that happened about the title to it; one family succeeded in the government of it for 900 years, but the last duke of *Gulic* and *Cleve* in his will ordered, that the males failing, the eldest daughter should inherit, and the males being lately extinct, wars arose between the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who married the eldest daughter that died before her father; the duke of *Newburg*, who married the second daughter that was the eldest alive at her father's death; the duke of *Saxony*, who pretended his right from a grant of the emperor, that he should suc-

ceed in case the males failed; and the arch-duke of *Austria* who made his pretences.

SKIPPO

By these competitors the *Hollanders* and the *Spaniards* were called in for assistance; but when the peace was made, it was concluded and agreed that the duke of *Newburg* should have *Gulich* and *Monts*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, *Mark* and *Cleve*.

Every hour of the night a fellow blows a horn in the streets of *Gulich*.

June 30, our carts carried us through pleasant woods to a little walled place called *Berchem*, five hours from *Gulich*; after that we went through another wood or two, and an hour and half's distance further had a prospect of the city of *Collen*, the large valley and country about the *Rbene*, and above two hours more brought us to the walls of *Collen*, where soldiers examined us, and then we went to our lodgings.

Collen.

The stadthouse is a fair building, having a handsome portico in the front, whereon are these inscriptions;

1. C. Jul. Cæs.

*Quod Ubiorum Principes Senatum civitatemq; eor. transrhenanam amplam atq; florentem à finitima Suevorum gente longè maxima Germanorumq; omnium bellicosissima injuriis bellis & obsidione pressam in amicitiam fidemq; S. P. Q. R. receperit & exercitu Romano per geminatos pontes Sublicos à se perquam celeriter confectos ex Treviris transrhenanum in Ubios. Cn. Pompeio & M. Crasso Coss. traducto liberarit. Senatus Populusque Ubiorum.*

2. C. Octavi Cæs. Imp. P. P. Augusti  
Æternæ Memoræ.

*Ob Principes Senatum populumq; Ubiorum ejus auspiciis ex vetere transrhenana sede in hanc citeriorem Rheni ripam per M. Agrippam generum, orbe terra, mariq; pacato feliciter traductos. Senatus Populusque Ubiorum.*

3. M. Vipsanio L. F. Agrippæ, Qui Octavi Imp. Aug. Gener. ejus in pontif. ac trib. pot. Imperioque Collega factus & Successor ab eo delectus, Senatum populumq; Ubiorum trans Fl. Rhenum in hanc citeriorem ripam traduxit urbemq; hanc auspiciis opportunissimamq; à primis fundamentis loco condidit, manibusq; firmissimis cinxit, atq; variis publicis operibus & illustribus monumentis ornavit Cof. S. P. Q. Agrippinensis post tot secula fundatori suo grati.

4. Fl. Val. Constantino Max. Aug. P. F. Constantii F. Imp. invicto quod ad  
5 R                      immortalem



*immortalem imperii R. gloriam ac limitis summam utilitatem & ornatum, factu difficilem lapideum pontem in perpetuum exercitu cum liberet adversus Francos ne in Galliam transfirent traducendo, ipse heic utramq; Rheni ripam Agrippinensem quippe francicamq; conjungendo muniens imposito quasi flumini in hostes jugo construxerit, S. P. Q. Agripp.*

5. *Imp. Cæs. Fl. Justiniano P. F. Aug. Gratiae testandæ quod federatos Quiritibus Agrippinenses præclaris olim juris Italici propter perpetuam in Rom. Imperium Fidem beneficiis donatis id eis fortissimus religiosissimusque Imp. Univerſo etiam Legum Corpore ad ampliore justitiæ Reipublicæ totius orbis reſormandæ cultum à se renovato confignarit. S. P. Q. Agripp.*

6. *Imp. Cæs. Maximiliano Austrio Ferd. F. Philippi Nepotis, Maximiliani Pronep. Frid. Abnep. Augusto Caroli V. Imp. Genero, cum Otho primus cognomento magnus Imp. Germaniæ insigniores Germaniæ civitates, ac Colonienſem inprimis, liberar fecisset, & qui eum secuti sunt, antiquis conservandis, novis insuper privilegiis eam ornarint, auxerintve, tu vero Potentiſſime Imp. omnium anterior Cæsarea auctoritate plenissimè ea confirmaveris, pacem publicamq; quietem Patriæ Pater difficillimo rerum statu paraveris, ea propter gratæ mentis instinctu numini majestatiq; tuæ, cujus stirps longâ antiquaq; Impp. Serie consurgit & invicta virtus sola pietate superata est. S. P. Q. Agripp. hanc tabulam ære publico devotus collocari jussit CIOIOLXXII.*

Under the heads of the 12 Cæsars placed round, are their names thus written,

1. *C. Cæsar Dict. perpetuo.*
2. *Divus Augustus Pater.*
3. *Tiberius.*
4. *C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. III. P. P.*
5. *Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P.*
6. *Nero Claudius Cæsar Aug. Ger. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P.*
7. *Imp. Ser. Sulp. Galba.*
8. *Imp. Otho Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*
9. *A Vitellius Germanicus Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*
10. *Vespasianus.*
11. *Imp. T. Cæsar Vesp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. P. P. Cof. VIII.*

12. *Imp. Cæs. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cof. XII. Cens. Per. P. P.*

In a court of judicature within the stadthouse, we read these sentences, viz.

*Excute manus ab omni munere.  
Partes patienter audi.  
Benignè responde.  
Juste judica.*

In another court (a long arched room) are trials at law, where are statues of men over the bench, and pictures on the walls. On each side of the door of the room the magistrates meet in, are the pictures of two kings; over one is written,

*Instabile est regnum quod non clementia regnat.*

Over the other,

*Parcere subjectis, &c.*

Adjoining to the stadthouse is an old tower adorned with many statues. Within the rooms of it are cross-bows, head-pieces, old shields, &c. Some of the cross-bows or *Balistæ* are very large, and made of whale-bone. With these they used to throw stones and batter walls: and some of the cross-bows arrows are not feather'd, but on each side a piece of wood is shaped like a feather. From the top of this tower we took a view of the city, the river *Rhene*, &c.

We went to the church of the 11,000 virgin-martyrs. In the body of the church are many rude tomb-stones, under which they are buried. In the north isle is a Monument of St. Ursula's effigies upon it; round the edges of it is written,

*Joannes Crane Sac. Cæs. majtis consiliarii  
Imp. Aulicus & Maria Verenoa Hegemil-  
leren Conjuges hoc vivo marmore includi  
fecerunt Anno 1659.*

At the west end of the monument is *Sepulchrum S'tæ Ursulæ.*

At the east end, *Indicio Columbæ detectum.*

The high altar hath a fair picture of St. Ursula, &c. drawn by one Schoot of Antwerp. Round the choir, in several pictures, is expressed the story of St. Ursula; and underneath these following particulars are related in Dutch and Latin: the Latin I transcribed, viz.

*S. Ursula circa annum 220 è Dionetho &  
Daria Regibus in Britannia genita Virgi-  
nitatem*



*nitatem Deo Consecrat. Agrippinus Rex  
missis legatis Ursulam filio conjugem posuit.  
Pactis dotalitiis ab Angelo præscriptis Ursulæ  
rogatu Dionethus Pater annuit.*

*Oblatis & receptis muneribus & pactis legati  
discedunt bilares.*

*Concordi duorum Regum studio undecim millia  
Virginum collecta destinantur ad S. Ursu-  
lam.*

*Exhortatur S. Ursula Virgineum Exercitum  
ad Dei timorem & navales exercitationes.*

*Consensus Anno 237 navibus Eæ coorto di-  
vinitus vento per ostia Rheni ad Littus  
Germanicum in portum Tielensem prove-  
huntur. Tiela Coloniam Classis adverso  
Rheni navigat ab Aquilone Præsule &  
civibus excepta perhonorificè.*

*Colonia Cælesti monitu Romam S. Ursula pe-  
grinationem instituit & ad eam omnes  
animat.*

*Basileæ Virgines relictis navibus cum loci Præ-  
sule Pantulo transcendunt Alpes pedestri  
itinere.*

*Romæ Cyriacus multas earum baptizat, ibi-  
dem Martyrum tumulos piè visunt.*

*S. Cyriacus divinitus admonitus Antero sibi  
substituto Pontificatum renunciat, & cum  
multis è Clero Romæ discedit martyrii cu-  
pidus.*

*Basileæ consensus iterum navibus secundo Rhe-  
no descendunt Argentinam, ubi S. Aurelia  
febri moritur illustrata miraculis. Mo-  
guntia S. Etherius sponsus cum suis oc-  
currit S. Ursulæ, Baptizatur à Cyriaco,  
cunctisque sacra synaxi relictis Coloniam  
navigant; Dum Gothorum & Hunnorum  
Exercitus obvallat Coloniam, Pontifex &  
S. Ursula omnes ad martyrium excitant.  
Sponsus Etherius cum viris & Virginibus  
in conspectu S. Ursulæ trucidatur.*

*Postremo S. Ursula Brachio & Cordè sagitt-  
is trajecta concidit, à S. Michaelè & S.  
Johanne Christo representa.*

In the body of the church is a monu-  
ment with this inscription,

*S. Etherius Koning van Engeland Brutigam  
S. Ursulæ martir. An. CCXXXVIII.*

On the inside of the church, over the  
porch, is this rhyme,

*Sancta Ursula pro nobis ora  
Ut ab hoste in mortis hora  
Liberemur sine mora. 1627.*

In a little chapel are preserved a great  
number of the virgins skulls, bones, &c.  
some of them set in embroidered caps;  
the effigies of St. Ætherius and St. Ursula  
and others, of silver, also many reliques  
and things of value; see the specificat of  
reliques printed in Dutch.

We saw here a piece of the robe, they say, our Saviour was habited in when he was brought before Pilate; some of the thorns in his crown; a piece of the ground he suffered on; St. Ursula's arm; the cup St. Ætherius used to drink out of; one of the stone pots (of white alabaster) in which the water was turned into wine by our Saviour at the wedding in Cana.

We saw the several colleges, in which are many schools for grammar, physick, metaphysick, &c. Over the several gates of the colleges are written,

*Collegium Montanorum.*

*Trium Coronarum Soc. Jesu.*

*Swolgianum.*

*Laurentianum.*

*Ruermondanum.*

Over the law school's gate is,

*S P Q. Agrippinensis*

*Joan. Hardenrad X Gulielmo Haickstam  
IC II. Coss. Joan. Boland III. Joan. à  
Scharp faenstaine peel III. Quæstoribus  
Joan. Thierlhan Lennep II. Petro Oeck-  
houen I. procoss. hunc Themidos aditum re-  
stauravit Frider. Wischbio IC. Juridici  
Collegii istius trium Coronarum rectore pro-  
curante . . . Deo & patriæ.*

We saw the armory, a large house well furnish'd. In the lower room are great cannons, one of which was made Anno 1480. great store of bullets, mortar-pieces, &c. every thing is kept very neatly. We observed one gun of a good length, curiously wrought. Most of these guns are made in this city (we saw the house they call their cannon and bells in.) Here is preserved an old waggon which was brought back with the keys of the town in it, out of a battle the citizens had with the archbishop. On a triangular piece of wood, which could be turned round on an axis set in a frame, were fix'd 42 guns (14 on a side) useful in a lane or street: while one side is discharging, the next row may be charging; for the muzzles of one row are just at the breech of the other. Horse and foot arms enough for many thousands of men.

St. Gereon's is a round church.

St. Gere-

In St. Pantaleon's church are kept the head and bones of St. Alban the English saint.

St. Pantaleon.

St. Mary's church was formerly a pagan temple.

St. Mary's

In the Franciscan church is a very fair pulpit and altar.

About 22 parish churches in this city.

The domo or cathedral is dedicated to St. Peter, and is not yet finished. The body



**SKIPPON.** body of the church hath double rows of pillars, and the roof is no higher than the tops of them. The choir is of stately stone-work without: the steeple is unfinished, but in it is a very great bell. The three *magi* of the east, or the three kings bodies are enshrined here, and kept in a golden chest behind the altar. Over it is written,

*Corpora sanctorum locus tenet iste magorum  
Indeq; sublatum nihil est alibi locatum  
Sunt juncti Cistis Nabor & Gregorius istis.*

These two are kept above. They were brethren born at *Millan*, and martyred.

We were informed, that one *Reynaldus de Daffila*, of the house of *Bavaria*, brought the bodies of the three kings thither, and built up a little chapel, in which, every morning at six of the clock, is a mass and musick. His brass monument is in the middle of the chapel.

In this church are candles always lighted to *St. Willgefert*, and this written,

*Sancta Willgefertis Germanis Vnkemer dicta,  
virgo Regis Portugallie Filia pro christi-  
ane religionis pudicitiae defensione decer-  
tans, cum à Christo sponso suo deformari  
rogasset nè ab Amasio ad Nuptias expete-  
retur, subito illi satis promissa barba ex-  
crevit, in cruce meruit obtinere gloriosum  
martyris triumphum. Martyrolog. Ro-  
man. ita 26 Julii.*

There belong to this place 54 *Canonici nobiles*, eight *Canonici presbyteri*, and these 62 chuse the prince or archbishop. The two consuls have four votes in the chapter-house, and the dean of the cathedral hath two; so that there are 68 voices in the election of their prince.

The present elector's name is *Maximilianus Henricus*.

We were informed, that none can be prebend or canon in any of the archbishop of *Collen's* cathedrals, but such as are of noble extract for eight generations, both by the father and the mother's side. In every cathedral are four which they call prelates, viz. the *Præpositus*, *Decanus*, *Custos* & *Scholasticus*. The *Canonici* have only the *prima rasura*, and perform none of the service.

Govern-  
ment.

This city is imperial and free, the archbishop being not allowed to be in it above three days together. The government consists of

Six burgomasters or consuls, who are for life, two ruling every year by turns, the other four being *Exconsules*. When any of them dies, another is chosen by the 150 senators, who are also elected

for life by the city companies: 25 every half year, or 50 every year, are in authority by turns.

Two of the exconsuls are quæstors, who can do nothing without the consent of four senators, their assistants.

Seven scabini, judges in criminal causes, chosen by the prince for life.

The consuls have maces carry'd before them.

We viewed a pleasant house in this <sup>Earl of</sup> city, belonging to the earl of *Furstenburg*, <sup>Fu-  
sten-  
burgh his  
house.</sup> *Præpositus* of the domo, and lately chosen bishop of *Sirasburg*. He is a great fa-

vourite of the present archbishop, and many think he will succeed him, if he outlives him. The gardens are very neat and pleasant, having three or four aviaries. In the house are many curiosities, as pictures, medals, &c. which we did not see, the steward being absent that shewed them. In the stable we observed <sup>A very  
little  
horse.</sup> a little horse about two feet and 10 inches high.

This city is large: the middle part of it is fairly built with stone houses, but the other streets are poorly built with timber houses. Many vineyards are within the walls; and we were credibly informed, that there is made here a great quantity of wines, many hundreds of tons. Here are two fair large market-places. In the midst of one is a paved area railed about with iron, where the merchants walk *sub dio*. One *Minheer Altenhoven*, a protestant, was our merchant here. We observed in this city and other places of *Germany*, the signs having a cross board fixed at the end, which was painted as the other two sides of the sign. The walls are high, and the walks upon them are covered and tiled. Round the outside of the walls is a pleasant walk of trees.

The *Lutherans* have a church in this city; and in a village on the other side of the river, the reformed that live in *Col-len* have a church.

The *Jews* live in a town called *Dewitz*, <sup>Jews.</sup> on the other side of the *Rbene*, and have a synagogue there.

A *Collen* ell is 22 inches and an half. <sup>Measures.</sup> Twenty-six *Collen* gallons are equal to 40 *English*.

Here we began to reckon by *German* miles.

July 4. We hired places in a boat drawn by three men, wherein we went against the stream of the *Rbene*, three *German* miles to our night's lodging in a small village called *Widich*, on the right hand of the river.

July 5. We came to *Bonna*, a pretty <sup>Bonna.</sup> walled town on the right hand, where the



the archbishop of *Collen* hath a palace he dwells in. The market-place is handsome. On a house here is written,

*Carolus IV Romanorum Imperator Bonnae à Walramo de Juliaco Archiep. Colon. Anno MCCCXXXVII.*

*Fridericus III. Austriacus Romanorum Imperator Coronatus Bonnae ab Henrico Verneburgico Archiep. Colon. Anno MCCCXV.*

*Non bene libertas pro toto venditur auro. Renovatum 1658.*

This night we lodged in *Brisac*, a poor walled place five German miles from *Widich*. At this place we first observed the German custom of having feather-beds instead of blankets to cover us.

July 6. On the right hand we passed by *Rineck* castle; and a mile from *Brisac* we came to *Andernach*, a walled town of the archbishop of *Collen*. On the gates of it are these letters, M. H. C. Z. C. H. I. B. Here we began to reckon by patacoons, copstics, and petersmens.

In the *Franciscan* friars *Cænotaphium* is a crucifix, and this written,

*Effigiem Christi quem transis pronus honora  
Non tamen effigiem sed quem designat adora.*

Over against *Andernach* is *Hamerstein* castle, which belongs to the archbishop of *Triers*. From hence we went by two castles, one on each side: that on the right hand way was well built on a high rock, and hath a cloister of monks in it. Two leagues from *Andernach* we came by *Engers* on the left hand, and in the evening arrived at *Coblentz* (*Confluentia*) a city of the archbishop of *Triers*, where the river *Mosella* runs into the *Rhene*, and is of a great breadth, having over it a bridge consisting of 13 stone arches, and a draw-bridge at the end. And over the *Rhene* is a bridge of boats that leads from *Coblentz* to *Erenbreitstein* castle, situated very strongly on a high rock. Just below it, on the river's side, is a beautiful castle of the archbishop of *Triers*. His cousin, one *Ley*, is governor of the castle.

The present archbishop and elector of *Triers* his name is *Carolus Caspar*.

We visited one *Job. Petrus Sedelmair*, an apothecary, who shew'd us several rarities, amongst which, *Porcus marinus*, *Pullus marinus*, *Stincus marinus*.

*Coblentz* is five German miles from *Brisac*.

Near *Coblentz* is *Helfenstein*, an old ruinous castle; nigh which is an acid spring. At *Antonistein*, two or three hours from *Andernach*, is another where the *Carmelite*

friars who live there, bottle up the water, seal it up close, and sell it.

At *Swallback*, about four miles from *Frankfurt*, is also an acid water. All these waters are sold up and down the adjacent parts, and usually are drunk mix'd with the *Rhenish* wine. They are somewhat purging.

July 7. We pass'd by *Lodestein* castle on the left hand, and *Capelle* castle, belonging to the elector of *Triers*, on the right. Hereabouts is a large island in the middle of the *Rhene*; (under *Lodestein* castle is a walled town of the same name.) A little further on the right hand of the river, is an octogon of seats round the top, supported by eight pillars and one in the middle, and called *Koningsteine*, because built, as the report goes, by a king who travelled this way, and rested himself here. Nineteen steps up to the top. We came afterwards by *Rens*, a walled place on the right hand, belonging to the elector of *Collen*; and a little further pass'd by *Browback* on the left hand, having a castle above it. Hereabouts we took notice of a crucifix with these letters on it, C R V I L B Z R. C L Z R. Four hours from *Coblentz* we had *Boppard*, a walled town on the right hand, and a little further, *Bornbom* castle on the left. At night, five German miles from *Coblentz*, we lodged in *Hertsenach*.

July 8. We came to a walled town on the right hand, called *St. Gewer* (a mile from *Hertsenach*) belonging to the landgrave of *Hessia*, who has here a fair castle built on a rock, which he sometimes lives in. At this place is a tower where is fastened a brass ring given by *Carolus V*. This ring they now make sport with, by putting it about mens necks, and obliging them then to drink wine, or to suffer water to be sprinkled on them.

The *Lutherans* and *Roman* catholicks have churches here, and the *Jesuits* have a college without the walls.

Here are two burgomasters, seven scabin, and a scout, who are all *Calvinists*.

Over against *St. Gewer* is a town and castle called *Wellnich*; and a little further on the right hand, we went by *Wesel* town and castle, belonging to the elector of *Triers*; and afterwards on the left we pass'd by *Cub*, a walled town and castle on the rocks, belonging to the prince *Palatin*. We came next to *Bacharach* (*Ara Bacchi*) a walled town, with many high towers in the wall which runs up a hill: it belongs to the prince *Palatin*, and is noted for the best sort of *Rhenish* wine. At this town, and many others between *Collen* and *Mentz*, our boatmen paid toll: and here, as soon as a boat comes



SKIPPON. in sight, a bell is rung to give notice to the searchers.

Hereabouts we observed great floats of timber, which were guided by several men who moved two long oars at each end, which served instead of rudders: on these floats sometimes passengers will travel.

In large boats we saw great cranes for the raising, &c. of great weights.

In the great boats belonging to this river *Rhene*, are very long stems like oars, which are always on the right side of the boat.

A little distance from *Backarach*, on each side of the river, is a walled town, and castle, opposite to each other. This night, three miles from *Heirtesenach*, we lodged in *Heinbach*, on the right side of the river: over against it is a walled town, called *Lewry*.

Mouse  
Tower.

July 9. We came by *Dreckhausen*, a little walled place, on the right hand, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*; and a little farther we passed by *Aspitbouse* castle, on the same side; and not far from that, another: then we came by *Mouse Tower*, which stands in a little island, and is famous for the story of a bishop's being devoured by rats in a time of dearth, &c. Over against it is a castle; and a little farther, on the right hand, we went by *Bing*, a pretty walled town. Some distance hence, on the left, we had *Rodesheim*; then *Gison* and *Elveldt*, a walled place, and *Wallop*, where we observed storks and their nests on chimneys.

*Ringcow*, famous for wine, on the left hand of the river.

Mentz.

At night we came to *Mentz*.

In this journey from *Collen*, many rare plants were found. The *Rhene* is of a great breadth from *Collen* to *Widich*; but afterwards, to *Mouse Tower*, it is much straightened by the high rocks on each side, whereon are large vineyards, and below, near the river, are large orchards. From *Mouse Tower* the *Rhene* is much wider; and in it are many little islands near *Mentz*, where we stayed the longer in expectation of some satisfaction we hoped to receive concerning a clock invented by *Joachimus Peckerus Math. Anat. et Med. Profess.* in this city, who has written about a dial on a tower nigh the market-place, *Motus Physico-Mechanicus quoad durante materiam perpetuus*: but we were frustrated when we went up and viewed a great machine, and saw nothing to move without weights; however many things in it were worthy observation. At present the design is laid aside; for this invention will never effect a perpetual motion. The *Rhene* about *Collen*, *Mentz*, &c. to about *Basil*, is of a whitish colour and muddy.

Learned men in this city are,

Learned  
men.

*Arnoldus Corvinus, I V D.*

—*Tiel, M. D.*

*P. Arnoldus, Theol. Moral. Prof.*

—*Perlier, Controvers. Prof.*

This city hath a prætor or stadtholder, Govern- two quæstors: the first of them is called ment. *Rentmaster*; — senators.

The archbishop or elector of *Mentz*, is chosen by the twenty-four canons of *S. Martin's*, out of themselves. Those canons are barons and noblemen. When any of them dies, the rest elect another out of the domesticallares.

The present elector's name is *Johannes Philippus à Schaenborn*: he is also bishop of *Wurtzburg*; and within these few weeks was chosen bishop of *Worms*.

The arms of the bishoprick is a wheel; derived, they say, from *Willegefus*, the first bishop, who was a wheel-wright's son, a *Saxon*: and he used to remember his extract, by saying, *Willegefe, Willegefe, recogita unde veneris*.

The buildings of this city are old and indifferent. We were told the present archbishop and his brother intend to build many houses, and make the streets large and handsome, these at present being narrow and badly pav'd. Several great houses of noblemen are here.

The prince's house is a fair building, moated about: a fine structure was erecting now, which is to be joined to it, if they be not hindered by the foundation sinking much. About the city is a strong wall, and many well fortified works. *Anno 1661*, a handsome new gate was built, and the wall eastwards newly repair'd; whereon is inscribed

*Johannes Philippus Mog. Ep. Herb. Fra. Or. Dux.*

Within one of the forts stands the ruin of an old stone tower, said to be *Drusus his monument*, and called by the Germans, *Aglesteine*.

Two towers here; one built by the master, the other by the servant: and the story goes that in their competition who should make the best building, the servant stole the corner stone from his master's tower, which is the reason it stands awry, though it be better work than the servant's which stands streight.

*Jews* are tolerated here.

Our Lady's church is a square building, St. Mary's having many chiming bells in one of its steeples. We were informed there are an hundred cloisters in *Mentz*. The jesuits college is handsome; where are nine jesuits College. ral schools, some of them very fair: in them



them every Sunday mass is performed. In tables are written the names of all that are of the sodalities: *ex. gr.* over the logick school is inscrib'd,

*Logica et sodalitas B. M. V. Purificatæ juniorum opificum.*

These schools are chiefly for grammar and divinity.

The University. Here is a publick university, besides the jesuits college.

St. Martin's. S. Martin's church is a handsome building: the west end is roundish. Against the pillars of the body of the church stand many statues of the archbishops of this place; and underneath them are inscriptions, which are printed in Swertius: most of their names are as follow, viz.

*Urieli de Geminingen ob. 5. Id. Feb. 1414. sedit ann. 4. m. 4. d. 13.*

*Adelbertus ob. 1484.*

*Jacobus de Liebenstein, without date.*

*Bertoldus de familia Hernenberg ob. 1504 pontif. 21. ætatis 63.*

*Albertus Miseraccio. ob. 1545.*

*Sebastianus ab Heusenstein 1555.*

*Daniel Brendel ab Homberg 1582.*

At the north side is a fair chapel, with a monument for George bishop of Worms, *è familia Schonenberg Præpositus Ecclesiæ Cathedr. Mogunt. Sepultus Wormatiæ.* In the wall of the same chapel is a bishop's effigies with this inscription about it:

*Anno Domini mcccxxx decimo nono die mensis Octobris quondam Reverendissimus in Christo pater ac Dominus de — perg Arch. Mog. c. a. v. m. p.*

In the middle of the church is a little chapel, whereon is St. Martin's statue on horseback, cutting off a piece of his cloak for a poor man, having nothing else to give the beggar. In the pavement is a great circle, which signifies the compass of the great bell at Erfurt. St. Joachim's head, the body of one of the children Herod killed, part of Joseph of Arimathea's body, are reliques in this place.

Here is a clock that shews the increase and decrease of the moon, the days and the months of the year; the twelve apostles represent the months, having under them an emblem that signifies the employment of every month.

In the cloister is an old chair, where servants used to be manumitted; and there are many monuments: the principal are of George von Swolback; Burckman; Zugiessen; Georgius à Schiremberg, *Præpositus & Episcopus Wormatiæ*; Henry von Selpont *Vice Dominus.*

On the north wall of the church is a monument thus oddly inscribed:

PASTRADA NA PIA CAROLI CONIVNX VOCIDATA  
CRISTO DILECTA IACE HOC SVB HARMORÆ TECTA  
ANNO SEPTINGENTESIMO NONAGESIMO QVARTO  
QVË NVHERVH HETRO CLAVDORÆ HVSA NEGAT  
REX PIE QVË GESSIT VRGO LICET HIC CINEÆSOT  
SPIRITVS HERËSSIT PATRIE QVE TRISTIA NES CIT

A98

*Quæ eas tradant coram monumento tueris  
Haud isto primum fixa fuere loco,  
Æde sed Albano Sacra cæsisque propinqui  
Martyribus claro vertice collis erant  
Nunc ea quod periit flammis hostilibus  
Mota locis zelo sunt monumenta pio.*

Procession. July 12. About eight or nine of the clock in the morning, began the Carmelites procession. First came two banners; then several men, two by two, before two other banners, and two men, drest antiquely, carrying a saint's effigies; then boys followed,



SKIPPON

lowed, and two banners before another image; after that torches, a cross, several men, a rich silver cross and banner, *Dominican* and *Franciscan* friars, musick, and little boys drest like those that carry'd the images, ringing little bells in their hands; then came the host, carry'd under a canopy by the suffragan bishop, who is deputed by the prince; afterwards followed the image of the virgin *Mary*, attended by many girls and women singing, &c.

We were told this legend here: that near *Mentz* a drunken fellow swearing he would kill the next man he met, a crucifix coming by him, he struck at it with his sword, which made the crucifix bleed, and the fellow immediately sunk up to the knees in the ground; where he stood till the magistrates apprehended him.

The first *Sunday* of every month is the *Jesuits* feast.

The second *Sunday* is the *Augustines*.

The third is the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. Any that are admitted into their fraternity, have their names written in a book, for which they usually give two or three shillings; then they are obliged to say 150 *Pater nosters*, every day, and to fast every *Wednesday*: they of the *Dominican* fraternity are called *Rosycrucians*, and wear a label about their bodies; and they of the *Franciscan*, wear a cord about them. The fourth *Sunday* is the *Carmelites*, who oblige to seven *Pater nosters* every day, and seven *Ave Marias*, and to fast also on *Wednesdays*; if they eat flesh, they must read the matins of the virgin *Mary*: they wear a label about their necks.

All of these fraternities are bound to receive the sacrament on these feasts, being first confest; and if any one dies before the *Saturday* following, he will certainly (as they fancy) be delivered out of purgatory.

The archbishop of *Mentz* is of the *Carmelites* fraternity, in whose church we had a sight of him, the suffragan celebrating mass, his mitre being taken off and put on, as we observed at *Antwerp*. At one time four of the prince's servants came in with torches, and two stood on each side of the altar and made low congees, first towards the west and then towards the east.

The women of *Mentz*, and hereabouts, wear odd kind of caps, which they call *peckerboets*; because bakers used to wear them.

The bridge here over the *Rhene* is of wood, and bends like a bow against the stream.

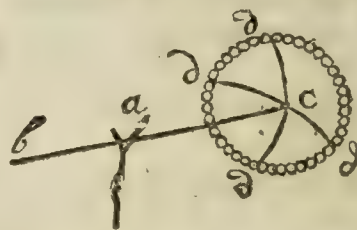
July 13. before we entered the *Frankfurt* boat, near the river lay a rude old stone with these characters scarce legible:

... IRI CATO COS.

I

Cross the *Rhene* we came into the river *Mæne*; and a mile from *Mentz*, on the right hand of the river, we passed by *Ruffelheim*, a handsome fort of the landgrave of *Darmstadt*: a little farther on the left hand we went by *Etersheim*, a small walled place; and three miles from *Mentz*, on the left hand, we came by a walled town called *Hochst*, garrison'd by the electors of *Mentz*'s soldiers: a fair house here ruined by the wars. A mile from hence we landed at *Frankfurt*, *Frankfurt* where soldiers examined us, and wrote down our names; and after we came into our inn we wrote our names ourselves, which were sent to the burgomaster.

The river *Mæne* is very pleasant, and the country between *Mentz* and *Frankfurt* is a level, except some distance on the left side the *Mæne*, where there is a ridge of hills. We observed here, and in the *Rhine*, their fishing nets, which are fasten'd to two bending sticks which cross one another in the middle, where a long pole is fixed to them, and that pole may be moved upon a crotch set upright in the boat, to lift and let down the net.



*a* is the crotch: *b* is the pole fasten'd to the middle of two cross sticks at *c*; which have the net fasten'd to their ends *d d d d*.

At *Frankfurt*, we saw the discalceate *Carmelites* cloister; and went into their church, an old building: over the high altar is a picture well drawn; and just before the altar lies a tombstone, with the effigies of *Nobilis Dominae de Trimberg*. In the north wall of the choir is the statue of a citizen of this place, who was a great benefactor to this convent: he is habited somewhat like a religious knight. An old altar-picture in this church, which is curiously painted, and hath rare carved work about it, relating the story of *St. Anne*: in their refectory, a fair large room, the walls are painted with the story of *Elias*, the *Carmelites* being persecuted from *mons Carmeli*, and of *St. Lewis* his receiving them. Their library is furnished with books of all faculties. Twenty-seven monks dwell here.

We visited the *curia* or stadthouse: above is a large arched room, where a court is kept: in this place the emperor (if he be elected here) dines at a table by himself, and the electors, by themselves, at a table. The room where the emperor is



is chosen is not very great, having a long table in it, with fourteen chairs about it, and seats round covered with green. In this room hang very immodest pictures. By the favour of one of the consuls we saw the *Bulla Aurea*, a written book, having a great gold medal hanging to it: on one side is the emperor *Charles* the IVth's picture, and round about it is written,

*Karolus quartus divinâ favente clementiâ Roman. Imper. Semp. Aug.*

On the other side is the city of *Rome* figured, whereupon is written, *Aurea Roma*; and round about,

*Roma caput mundi regit orbis fræna rotundi.*

In a lower room of the stadthouse the senators sit; on the walls of it are the pictures of the emperors elected here, with inscriptions signifying the time of their election, &c. viz.

1. *Fridericus Barbarossa*, elect. 3. Mart. an. 1152. imperavit annis 38. m. 3. d. 7. ob. 10. Jun. an. 1190.
2. *Henricus* 6. elect. Rex Roman. 1183. imper. ann. 8. m. 3. d. 19. ob. ult. Septem. an. 1198.
3. *Philippus* 1. elect. 8 Mart. 1199. imper. an. 9. m. 11. d. 14. ob. 22. Jun. an. 1208.
4. *Fridericus* 2. elect. an. 1212. imper. an. 38. ob. 13. Decemb. an. 1250. Sum. Mus. *Literarum fautor et restaurator.*
5. *Conradus* 4. elect. rex Rom. an. 1237. imper. ann. 3. ob. ann. 1253.
6. *Wilhelmus* elect. contra *Frid.* et *Conra.* 4. ann. 1247. imp. an. 2. ob. 1 Febr. an. 1255. Sequ. interregn. an. 18.
7. *Rudolphus Habsburgicus* elect. 1. Octob. an. 1273. imp. an. 17. m. 9. d. 15. ob. 16. Jul. an. 1291.
8. *Adolphus Nassovius* elect. 6. Jan. an. 1292. imp. an. 5. m. 6. d. 9. ob. 15. Jul. ann. 1298.
9. *Albertus Austriacus* elect. 25. Jul. an. 1298. imp. an. 9. m. 9. d. 6. ob. ann. 1308.
10. *Henricus* 7. elect. 1. Novem. an. 1308. imp. an. 4. m. 9. d. 23. obiit 24. Aug. ann. 1314.
11. *Ludovicus Bavarus* elect. 18. Octob. an. 1314. imp. annis 33. ob. 11. Oct. an. 1348.
12. *Carolus* 4. elect. 2. Julii an. 1346. imp. an. 31. m. 8. d. 16. ob. 27. Mart. An. 1378.
13. *Guntherus* elect. 2. Febr. ann. 1349. imperav. menses 6. obiit 1. Aug. Anno 1349.

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14. *Wenceslaus electus Rex Rom.* 12. Jun. Anno 1376. imperio abrogatus mense Maio anno 1400. imp. annis 22. m. 2. obiit 1419.
15. *Rupertus* 1. elect. 10. Sept. an. 1400. imp. an. 9. m. 2. d. 8. ob. 18. Maii an. 1410.
16. *Sigismundus* 1. elect. 8. Martii 1411. imp. an. 26. m. 8. d. 1. ob. 9. Decemb. 1437.
17. *Albertus* 2. elect. 1. Jun. anno 1438. imper. an. 1. m. 9. d. 26. ob. 27. Oct. 1439.
18. *Fridericus* 3. elect. 1. Jan. 1440. imp. ann. 33. m. 6. d. 18. obiit 19. August. 1493.
19. *Maximilianus* 1. elect. Rex Rom. 16. Febr. ann. 1485. imp. ann. 25. m. 4. d. 24. ob. 12. Jan. 1519.
20. *Carolus* 5. elect. 28. Jan. an. 1519. imp. an. 38. m. 8. d. 13. abdicat se imp. 13. Mart. an. 1558. obiit 21. Septemb. ejusdem.
21. *Ferdinand.* 1. elect. Rex Rom. 5. Jan. an. 1531. imper. an. 6. m. 4. d. 14. ob. 25. Julii an. 1564.
22. *Max.* 2. elect. Rex Rom. 30. Novemb. an. 1562. imp. an. 12. m. 2. d. 17. ob. 12. Oct. an. 1576.
23. *Rudolphus* 2. elect. Rex Rom. 28. Oct. an. 1575. imp. an. 36. m. 2. d. 13. ob. 10. Jan. an. 1612.

The government of this city is by a Government. prætor, two burgo-masters, fourteen scabini, and forty-two senators. In the senate-house there are three scamna; the first for the scabini, the second for the literati, and the third for the opifices; which last are never advanced higher: but when one of the scabini dies, another is chosen out of the literati. The forty-two senators have the chief government; and the people are not allowed any share, by reason of their rebellion, 1614, against the magistrates. The two burgo-masters, or consuls, are elected yearly by the senators out of themselves.

In that rebellion, the rabble killed some of the Jews: but the chief of the tumult were executed, and their heads were fix'd on the bridge; and the principal leader had his house pull'd down, and a stake set up there *in perpetuam rei memoriam*.

This city is well built with timber houses, which have eaves very much hanging over. Before their doors are pillars of stone. Booksellers have great shops here. In the market, and two other places, are three handsome fountains; the market-place is fair: towards one end of the city, is a large space. The fortifications are very strong and neat, having



SKIFFON. a deep trench round, full of water, and furnished with fish, which none dare take without the magistrates consent: at one of the gates, standing on a draw-bridge, we saw great store of large carps, which expected bread we threw in, and which they strove for, and greedily devoured. Over the river *Mene* is a famous stone bridge, with about fourteen arches, that joins the greatest part of the city to the other part called *Saxenhausen*.

It is a custom here, if a child dies under six or seven years, none but women accompany it to the grave; but if it be more, then both men and women go along with it.

The country about *Frankfurt* is rich, pleasant and woody.

Jews.

The *Jews* are permitted here, and are numerous: they are allotted one part of the city, where they are lock'd up every night. Their houses are very old and mean. Most of the men wear ruffs; and the women are habited with a black mantle: their head-dress is of linen, which sticks out much on either side: several of the women also wear ruffs. All the *Jews* wear a little yellow mark upon their cloaths for distinction sake: they are generally very poor, and use the trade of brokers. At our inn we were much troubled with their importunity to sell us cloaths. They are counted thieves: but if any of them be taken, and executed for theft, he is first choaked, and then hung by the middle and legs. One about two years before was so executed: but his brethren stole away his body, and threw it into the river.

St Bartholomew's.

All the magistrates, and the greatest part of the inhabitants, are Lutherans, and have five churches: the papists have *St. Bartholomew's*, a collegiate church, where the emperor used to be crowned: in the middle of the choir is an ancient monument without any inscription, which we were told is an emperor's tomb.

Here are two convents of men, viz. *Dominican*, and discalceate *Carmelites*; and one cloister of women. The reformed are reputed about one thousand in number, who formerly had a church within the walls, and then just without the town; but that being fired maliciously, they have now one some distance from the city.

Every *Friday* morning, the scholars that are maintained by the city, sing at the magistrates doors; and afterwards the Lutherans have a sermon.

The *English* church that was used in queen *Mary's* days, is much decay'd; and the *English* house is now a granary or store-house.

The house where the emperor lodges when he is crowned here, hath a stone front;

but within the walls are of timber, &c. It belongs to a nobleman.

One Mr. *Francis Balde*, our merchant, was very civil to us. One *Sbeyrer* lives here, who turns ivory curiously: and one *Myrian* lives here, who is a very good picture-drawer. In the druggists shops are several rarities: in one we saw an intire *Lacertus squamosus mar.* which Mr. *Willoughby* bought; in another we saw two cups of ivory, curiously turn'd and carv'd; one represented the hunting of the wild boar. The story of *M. Curtius* we saw in a very curiously carv'd silver plate, which, with the ivory cups, were made by one *Yaeyer* of *Augsburg*. At *Adrian Sonemans* a druggist, among many other things, he shewed us *Crapault de Mer Bellonii*, which he called a *remora*, and was valued by him at 10 ducats.

About half an hour from the city is a pretty spring, called *Pingstweit*, paved about; where the bakers, every *Whitsontide*, come and dance, &c. three days together.

About an hour's distance from *Frankfurt* is a stinking well, and within the city in a brewer's house is another; which are probably the same with the sulphur well at *Gnaesburg* in *Yorkshire*. Tobacco is planted about *Frankfurt*. Stinking Wells.

July 17. We went by waggon about half an hour's distance from *Frankfurt*, through the first pine woods we saw in our travels, which lasted almost to our lodging this night at a village called *Gerresheim*, three German miles, or hours, from *Frankfurt*.

July 18. At two of the clock this morning we set forth and came to *Kernsheim*, a little walled place by the *Rbene* side, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*, where we ferry'd over, and then rode through woods and deep waters, which were occasioned by the overflowing of the *Rbene*, and the late great rains, a great part of the levels with corn, &c. near the river, being now under water. Six hours, or German miles, from *Gerresheim*, we came to *Worms*, where soldiers examined us; then we enter'd one wall, which encompasses a great space of ground round another wall, within which is the city, much ruin'd by the wars: the building old and mean. Worms.

On the outside of the bishop's palace are painted the sybils, and verses under palace. them; and under the bishop's arms are written these verses, after the bishop's name.

*Philippus, D. Gr. electus et confirmatus Episcopus Wormatiensis, Anno Domini M.DC.LII.*

*Sistere*



*Sistere cum lubeat noviterque extructa tueri,  
Sum licet exiguae molis et artis opus.  
Dissimili haud adeo facie tibi forte videbor  
Ædibus à leva contiguisque mihi.  
Constitit illarum numerosis fabrica sæcli  
Amplior à dextris sic prius aula fuit.  
Intus et exterius varia pictura colore  
Reddidit ornatus, cætera sarta recens.  
Ast prima hæc ponit fundamina nostra  
Philippus  
Perfecit et reliquum sedulus auctor opus.  
Utpote Vangionum præsul Delectus a-  
vitum*

*Regia nanciscens quæque nec esse magis.  
Edictis in LVCEM per prisca stipe Poden-  
stein*

*Arma mitra et gentis fronte videnda gero.  
Alma Dei bonitas seros impertiat annos  
Auctori et nobis: sit tibi, lector, idem.*

On the stadthouse are two giants painted, in a lying posture (their spears and great bones lie in a cloister of the cathedral) and great bones hang under the pictures, probably bones of an elephant.

These inscriptions are on the outside of the stadthouse.

*Fridericus III. imp. Aug.*

1493

*Renovata est hæc Basilica MDXCII.*

*Astra Deo nil majus habet, nil Cæsare terra  
Si terram Cæsar, si regit astra Deus.*

*Libertatem quam majores peperere digne  
studeat fovere posteritas, turpe enim es-  
set parta non posse tueri, quamobrem  
Wangiones quondam cum Julio conficta-  
ti, jam tibi Cæsar perpetua fide cohe-  
rent.*

*Frider: 3. Maximil: 1. Carolus 5. Fer-  
din: 1. Maximilianus 2. and Rodolphus  
written on the top.*

*Austriacæ familiæ Heroibus Vindicibus liber-  
tatis patriæ ultra ccl annos amissæ vetustæ  
Vangionum Wormaciæ S P Q beneficiorum  
memor locavit anno MDLXXXI.*

Nigh the figure of a dragon is written

*Draco clavem tenens industria vastas solitudi-  
dines excoli fide et constantia ad decus per-  
venire demonstrat hæc majores Vangionum,  
urbis suæ arma esse voluerunt.*

There is also painted the story of Tarquin, Brutus, Horatius Cocles, Porfenna, and Clælia.

We went to the great church, dedicated to — Behind the high altar are kept

the bones of S. Burchartus: a large figure of S. Christopher is painted on the north wall within. These following bishops monuments were taken notice of by us, viz.

*Georgius Antonius à Ronstein.*

*Gulielmus ab Efferen. obiit 1616.*

*Bernhardus Everhardus.*

*Hugo à Cratz de Scharfenstein, who built up a fair altar to S. Clare.*

*Thomas Broake.*

— *Asseckensen Episcopus* lies in S. Giles his chapel.

In the body of the church, on a grave-stone, is inscrib'd

*Julius Deodatus de Lucca S. Cæsareæ Majestatis Camerarius, Consiliarius, Colonellus et Generalis Vigiliarum Præfetus obiit xxvi mensis Julii anno salutis MDCCXXV.*

This church they say, was built by a sexton about the year 300.

In the middle of the area of the cloister is an hawthorn, reported to be 300 years old: it is shaped into an harbour, which is supported by stone pillars.

A præpositus, decanus, custos, scholasticus, cantor, and 20 canonici belong to this church: the bishop is chosen by the canons. The elector of Mentz is bishop now. The monuments of *Frid. de Domnul* in the great church; also

*Theodoricus de Bettendorf MDLXXX.*

*Philippus in Rodenstein qui ædificavit summum altare.*

In a little chapel on the south side of the church, is the story of Daniel cast into the dungeon painted: this was called by him that shewed us it, *signum Wormatiæ.*

The magistrates of this city are all Lutherans.

Government is by three stadtholders, who govern by turns every year, and 26 senators, ment. two of which are consuls.

A long German mile from Worms we Frankens arrived at Frankendal; where, after some examination by soldiers, we were admitted into the gates: the centinels stand with long staves in their hands, that have on the top a great knob set thick with iron spikes. At our inn we wrote our names, which were sent to the burgo-master.

The situation of this town is in a level, which was at this time much overflowed by the Rhene's swelling over its banks: the water came within the walls of this place, and drowned many gardens. The streets are broad and streight; but the buildings are low and indifferent, and the town

These great letters are written in gold.

Stadt-  
house.

Great  
church.



SKIPPON. town is not large: there is a pretty market-place; and in the middle of it is paved a triangular figure, a triangle stone being the arms of *Frankendal*, which was stamp't on pieces of gold and silver money in the year 1623. when the *Spaniards* besieged the place.

The fortifications are neatly kept, having a broad trench of water about them: in one of the hornworks, towards *Worms*, is a little house, where six troopers watch every night, two of them riding by turns the round of the town; and just under the line, a corporal and two files of soldiers have another little house, who are ready to relieve the others in case of necessity.

Govern-  
ment.

Here are three reformed churches, the *High Dutch*, *Low Dutch*, and *French*; each of which hath four magistrates for life: when one dies, the church he belong'd to nominates three or four, and recommends them to the town of *Neustatt* (a little walled town, five hours walk from hence) and there one of them is elected.

The twelve magistrates chuse a burgo-master every year.

The prince elector palatin appoints a *High Dutch* man scout or ratsheeren, who hath most power, and is in office *quamdiu se bene gesserit*. In criminal cases they send to the prince, who sends them his determination.

An upper lieutenant, whose name is *Wilder*, is governor of *Frankendal*: the garrison consists of five companies, two of which are citizens, who watch, sixteen at a time, every night.

Without the works stands a mark to shoot at; where, upon some solemn times, a silver plate is shot for.

Low  
Dutch  
church.

In the *Low Dutch* church are these three inscriptions (two in escutcheon, and one on a little marble monument) to *Englishmen*, viz.

1. Mr. Stafford Willmot Chevalier Gentilhomme de la Chambre privée de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, lequel deceda le 1 jour d'Abris Anno 1620.
2. Monsieur George Herbert aagé de 30 ans Escuir Anglois mourust en Franquendal le 8 Janvier 1621. estant Lieutenant de son Cousin Gerrard Herbert Chevalier Gentilhomme de la Chambre privée de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne.

*Virtute et Sanguine*

*Occubuere Anno MDCXXI.*

3. In Gratissimam memoriam Domini Generosi Gulielmi Fairfax Anglo-Britanni Honoratissimi Domini Tho. Fairfax de Denton in Com. Eboracensi Equitis

*Aurati Filii; cohortis Anglicani Ducis insignis, quia annos natus circiter 25 post animi plurima edita testimonia invictissimi unà cum fratre suo juniore in obsidione Francovallesi, hic facta irruptione abreptus, ille ictu bombardæ percussus.*

At one *Henrick vander Burg's* we saw a fair collection of *Roman* coins, statues in brass and stones, rare pictures, &c. This man was a servant to the old earl of *Arundel*, and attended *Petty* (whose picture we saw here) who was employed by the earl to collect rarities in *Italy*, &c.

The prince elector hath a palace here, who might make this a thriving place, if the same privileges were bestowed upon it that *Manheim* hath.

Tobacco is much planted hereabouts.

Nigh the afore-mention'd *Neustatt* are a great many almond-trees.

Here we began to reckon our expences by patocoons and wispenies.

July 20. We went by waggon a *German* mile though *Obersheim*, which is a small place, well walled; but hath few houses in it: and two miles and a half farther we came to *Spire*, where soldiers examined us, before *Spire*: we enter'd a wall that encompasses a larger space of ground than the outward wall of *Worms* does about an inward wall.

The buildings of this city are large; but old, and of timber work: water runs thro' the high-street which brings to the cathedral, a strong stone building, and high roofed. In the body or nave of the church are the monuments of several bishops, some of which we took notice of, viz.

1. Marquardus ab Hattstein Episcopus Judex Camerae, &c. ob. 7. Decemb. 1581.
2. Reverendo atq; Illustri Principi ac Domino D. Georgio Episcopo Spiren. ac Co. Palat. Rheni Duciq; Bavariae admiranda clementia, prudentia et pietate undiq; conspicuo ac demum flagrante Anglico sudore immatura morte defuncto pius in Episcopatu successor Philippus à Flersheim hoc monumentum instituit, obiit autem anno salutis MDXXIX. die XXVII. Septemb. qui aeterna luce fruatur.
3. Philippus à Flersheim Episcopus. Ob. 19. Kal. Septemb. MDLII.
4. Dominus Gerbardus de Erenburg. ob. 1363.

The pulpit is very handsomely carved, of stone; having these two inscriptions:

1. Reverendissimus Princeps ac Dominus Restaurator hujus Cathedrae Eberhardus à Dienheim



Dienheim electus fuit in Episcopum 20 Decemb. anno Domini MDLXXXI ætatis suæ XXXIX et in iudicem cameræ solito jramento receptus ultima Aprilis anno XXVII ejusdem ante solenni equitatu in urbem Spirensis esset ingressus anno salutis humanæ MDLXXXIII. obiit anno ætatis suæ — episcopatus.

2. Eberhardus D. G. Episcopus Spirensis et Præpositus Weissenburgensis Imperialis cameræ iudex, &c. Cathedram hanc in honorem Dei omnipotentem et ornamentum celeberrimæ hujus Basilicæ nova hac forma construi et erigi fecit anno salutis humanæ MDXCV nihil aliud optans quam ut posteritas ex hoc loco verbo Dei piè et Catholicè erudita fuis ad Deum precibus semper sui grato animo meminisse velit.

Before the choir is this written:

Nos Matthias Dei gratia Episcopus Spiren. ob honorem Sacri Romani Imperii ac laudem hujus insignis Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Spiren. quæ est principalior Sepultura nationis Alemanniæ Imperatorum et Regum Romanorum Conjugum et filiarum hanc tabulam fieri ordinavimus, in qua nomina in hoc regum choro humatorum in perpetuam rei memoriam conscribi et annotari fecimus, quorum animæ et omnium Christi. fidelium in pace misericorditer requiescant.

1. Conradus rex Romanorum secundus et Imperator primus hujus nominis origine Dux Franconiæ habuit conjugem nomine Gisela de antiquo sanguine Regni Franciæ ortam; hic Conradus Ecclesiam Nemensis sive Spirensis antiquitus constructam in honorem Sancti Stephani Papæ et martyris diruit et amovit, et Ecclesiam quæ nunc cernitur gloriose ædificari fecit primum ponendo lapidem in profesto Sanctæ Margaretæ Virginis Anno Domini millesimo tricesimo in honorem sanctissimæ Dei genetricis Mariæ Virginis superbenedictissimæ consecratum, et hoc Reginbaldo Spirensi Episcopo præidente, et obiit idem Conradus secund. non. Julii Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo tricesimo nono Sepultus cum Gisela uxore suâ pernotatâ in hoc choro Regum.

2. Henricus tertius Romanorum Rex et secundus Romanorum Imperator pius ac niger appellatus filius præfatorum Conradi et Gisela, uxorem habuit Agnetem, Ea erat filia Regis Angliæ. Obiit Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo quinquagesimo sexto, tertio Non. Octob. præidente Episcopo Conrado. Idem Henricus crucem pretiosam in summo altari reconditam huic Ecclesiæ largiter donavit.

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3. Henricus quartus Romanorum Rex et 3<sup>tus</sup> Romanorum Imperator, filius præfati habens uxorem Bertham nomine, hic sepultus cum eadem Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo centesimo 6<sup>to</sup>. septimo idus Augusti et à filio suo successore in imperio incarceratus et in vinculis mortuus. Rudgero Episcopo præidente.

4. Henricus 5<sup>tus</sup> Romanorum Rex, 4<sup>tus</sup> Imperator, præfati Henrici 4<sup>ti</sup> filius Spire sepultus, obiit anno Domini 1125. 10 Kal. Maii. Hi duo Pater et Filius in Porticu Ecclesiæ Spiren. supra januam sunt sculpti imagines, hic sine liberis decessit.

5. Philippus Dux Sueviæ Rom. Rex electus in discordia contra Ducem Brunswicensis hic sepultus, Bambergæ occisus, obiit An. Dom. Incarnationis 1208. 11. Kal. Julii præidente Johanne Episcopo. Sepultus in monasterio Sultzheim.

6. Rudolphus Romanorum Rex origine Comes de Habsburg obiit Anno Domini 1291. hic sepultus.

7. Adolphus de genere Comitum de Nassau Roman. Rex, tempore Friderici de Bolandia Episcopi Spirensis in hoc choro regum sepultus obiit 1298. 6. non. Julii et occisus per Albertum Ducem Austriæ Successorem in Regno.

8. Albertus Roman. Rex Dux Austriæ Filius Rudolphi Ro. Regi Anno Domini 1308. 4. Kal. Septemb. obiit, et à fratris filio Johanne Duce Austriæ occisus et hic sepultus.

Gisela, Bertha, et Agnes cum præfatis 8 Imperatoribus et Regibus in hoc choro Regum et Beatrix in Cryptâ Ecclesiæ Imperatrices gloriose requiescunt, et Conradus, et 3 Henrici præfati non modo Ecclesiam ædificando sed magnis et superabundantissimis privilegiis clenodius muneribus et donis honorarunt. Animabus eorum propitiatur Altissimus.

These following inscriptions are on grave-stones.

1. — A. D. Incarn. MCCVIII. Rex Philippus Babenberg occis. xi. Kal. Julii ☉ —

2. VIII. Idus Octob. Agnes Filia Friderici Imperator.

3. Anno Domini MCCXCVIII Adolphus de Nassau Rex Romanorum. VI. Non. Julii. occis. anno V. regni sui VIII.



SKIPPER.

Pater hic

4. An. D. Incarn. MXXXVIII.  
Conradus II<sup>us</sup> Imperator  
11. Non. jun.

Pater hic

5. Anno D. Incarn.  
MLVI. Henricus III.  
Niger. III. Non. O<sup>3</sup>.

Pater hic

6. Anno Incarn.  
MCVI. Henricus  
III. Senior. VII.  
Idus Aug.

Pater hic

7. Anno Incarn. MCXXV.  
Henricus V. junior.  
X. Kal. Junii.

8. Rudolphus de Habisburg Romanor. Rex  
anno regni sui XVIII. Anno Dom.  
1291. Mense julio in die divisionis  
Apostolorum.

9. Anno Dom. MCCCVIII Kal. Maii Al.  
Rom. rex Rud. Rom. regis filius occisus anno  
seq'ti IIII. Kal. Septemb. V hic est Sepultus.  
10. VI Kal. Januarii Berchta Imperatrix.

The cloyster of this church is paved  
with nothing else but grave-stones, and  
hath many monuments in the wall; in  
the middle of the area of the cloister is a  
representation of our Saviour praying on  
mount Olivet, his disciples asleep by him,  
and Judas coming to betray him to sol-  
diers. It is a curious piece of work in  
stone, and is covered with a fair tiled ca-  
nopy supported by pillars; underneath it  
is a little chapel.

At the west end of the cathedral is a  
large porch, and some distance from it is  
a fountain bason, round the edges whereof  
is written,

*Quæ velit hæc relegas ut lanx carvus iste Cathinus  
Cum novus Antistes Procerum Comitante Caterua  
Urbem hanc intrat Eques huc Bacchi munera fundit  
Virginis Ateilo cleri simul Ecclesiarum  
Terminus et limes stat libertatis Asylum.*

*Et sit Confugium, portus, et ara reis.*  
1890.

The bishop's palace is a fair building.

The Jesuits have a *Gymnasium* here.

The Lutherans have a church.

The go-  
vernment. The government consists of four con-  
suls and 24 senators.

We saw the chamber where *Luther* met  
*Charles V.* in.

The impe-  
rial cham-  
ber. In one of the rooms belonging to the  
imperial chamber, is a throne at the upper  
end for the *Judex Camera*, and in a square  
before were benches covered with cloth.  
The marquis of *Baden* is now judge, and  
in his absence three presidents supply his  
place, appointed by the emperor.

The imperial chamber is a court that  
consists of 36 assessors, each elector and  
every one of the 10 circles of the empire  
sending two delegates.

This court decides controversies (that  
arise between princes of the empire) by  
majority of votes, and the subjects of  
many princes in some cases may appeal hi-  
ther; but that is seldom known; some  
princes have *jus non Appellationis*, among  
which the prince *Palatine*, which he lately  
obtained at the diet.

There is another chamber of equal power  
(they say) with this, at *Vienna*. Tobac-  
co is planted hereabouts, and we observed  
some fields of spelt-corn.

July 21. We went by waggon about two  
German miles and an half, and then were  
stopt by the *Rhene*'s sudden drowning the  
highway, and the meadows thereabouts,  
so that we were forced to stay a good while  
in a little village till a boat came from the  
other side, which carried us thro' woods,  
and over many meadows before we got to  
the stream of the river, which we crossed  
over very safely to *Manheim*, which is a Manheim]  
place neatly fortified, and is advantage-  
ously situated at the meeting of the two  
rivers, the *Rhene* and the *Neccar*; the  
works are of a large compass; the houses  
are new, and are low and little, but the  
streets are designed to be uniform, and all  
the buildings alike in broad and straight  
streets, which are not yet paved; the wars  
destroyed all the old town.

The citadel is very neat and large, ha-  
ving curious works, and a deep trench about  
it, two draw-bridges bring into the area of  
it, where the prince hath a palace, and the  
soldiers uniform lodgings building.

In this town the prince is instituting a  
*Gymnasium*, and hath bestowed many pri-  
vileges on the inhabitants.

The prince *Palatine* takes great delight  
in this place, and visits it very often, and  
was July 22, here; he sent for us, and  
was pleased very familiarly to discourse  
with us a good while; Mr. *Willoughby* de-  
livered him a letter of recommendation he  
brought with him from doctor *Wilkins*,  
who had been the prince's chaplain when  
he was in *England*. We met with several  
of the attendants that spoke *English*.

We observed at the chamber door  
where the prince was, one of his guard  
with a musket standing sentinel, and when  
the prince walked out he had two such  
musketeers went before, and two followed  
him.

The gate towards the *Neccar* hath a  
fair stone front, and this inscription,

*Quod felix faxit Jehovah  
Fredericus III Elector  
Palatinus Rheni Dux Bavarie  
E veteri pago Manheimo  
Ad Rheni Nicriq; confluvium  
Justa spatiorum dimensione  
Nobilem Urbem molitus  
Vallo, fossa, muro clausit  
Portam bonis Civibus aperuit.  
Anno Domini MDCX.*

The prince *Palatine* intends a medal for  
this town, whereon shall be written,

... Et voce blandâ ducere quo vellet.

On



On the other side,

The library is large, and well furnished with many good books.

*Nec flatu, nec fluctu.*

Heidle-  
berg.

Colleges.

This day in the afternoon we hired a waggon, and ferried over great waters, which had drowned a great deal of standing corn we could see under water; after some distance we landed, and rode by a walled town of the prince *Palatine* called . . . . . miles from *Manheim*, and two hours further leaving a castle called . . . . on the left hand (seated on the hills which ran along to *Heidleberg*) we arrived at *Heidleberg*, first passing over a long wooden bridge on stone arches cross the *Neccar*. The bridge is covered on the top, and boarded on each side; at both ends of it are guards which examined us a little; at our inn we wrote our names, which were sent to the governor.

We saw several of the colleges, which are but indifferent buildings, and transcribed some inscriptions written on them, viz.

1. D. O. M. A.  
Serenissimi Electoris  
CAROLI LUDOVICI  
Collegii Sapientiae  
Restauratoris  
Gloriosae Clementiae  
Illustrium Rerum P.  
Tigurinae  
Bernensis  
Scaphusianae  
Pietati Munificae  
Nobilis Ludovici Geeri liberalitati eximiae  
Danielis Tossani Sollicito provisiui  
Sacrum  
Rectore Universitatis Joh. Henrico Hottingero  
Tigur. SS. Th. D. et Professore Collegii Epboro  
P. F.  
Anno salutis reparate  
CICIDCLVI.

On a book is written,

*Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini.*

2. Judae Triumphator Leo  
Tuum Leonem Principem  
Tuere cum . . . .  
Ut Sacra, jus, et literas  
Inter suos custodiens  
Bonos benignus adjuvet  
Malos Severus puniat  
Tibi fidelis serviat.

This is called *Contubernium*, where poor students live very cheap; here is a handsome philosophy school, a square room.

3. *Constanter et Sincere  
Ingenuo labori  
Et Solertia  
D. D.  
Conlegium hocce Casimirianum  
Religionis Orthodoxae  
Doctrinae Exquisitae  
Facundiae sui generis  
Artium liberalium  
Fontem et Seminarium  
Posteris Principib. æmulationis  
Exemplum  
Suiq; Stud. in Academicos  
Munificentiae Studiosos  
Auctari conlati in Egenos  
Testimonium  
Ad æternitatem Palatini nominis  
A fundamento  
Extrui fecit absolvitq;  
Princeps providentissimus  
Eruditorumq; amantissimus  
Joannes Casimirus  
Palatinus ad Rhenum Comes  
Dux. Boiorum  
Friderici IV.  
Tutor ac Reipub.  
Administrator  
Anno Christi CIOIOXCI.*

This college is better built than the rest;

There is another called,

4. *Collegium Principis.*

This prince that now is, intends to erect a new college, which will be called,

*Collegium Illustre, or Lipsianum,*

because *Lipsius* was excellent in all sorts of learning; this college being designed for experiments, &c. as the royal society is at *London*.

The professors names and pictures are printed in a book.

The university of *Heidleberg* is frequented by many students, and any one may be matriculated, paying some fees to the university officers, and then if he marries a citizen's widow or daughter, he is immediately himself a citizen of *Heidleberg*.

The prince *Palatine* is stiled by the university *Dominus & Patronus noster*.

The rector *Magnificus* is chosen by the major vote of a senate, which consists of sixteen professors, viz. Three of divinity, four of law, three of medicine, and six of philosophy, who have their stipends fixed



SKIPPON. fixed by the Statutes of the university, given by the founder *Rupertus, Co. Palat.* and confirmed by the pope and emperor; but four of the philosophy professors are admitted into the senate. This senate confirms or elects anew the philosophy professors every year, the other professors continuing during life, and when one of them dies the senate nominates two, and the prince appoints one of them to succeed in the vacant place. The *Rektor Magnus* is much like our *Cambridge* vice-chancellor in his power.

This senate hath absolute power over the students in criminal matters, &c. yet, after sentence, the prince sometimes pardons. The *Ædilis*, *Præfectus rei Vinariæ*, *Præfectus rei frumentariæ*, *Quæstor*, &c. are chosen yearly by this senate.

A student, a year or two before, was condemned to die by this senate; but being a subject of the king of *Denmark*, and he interceding, he was sent home into his own country.

The *Rektor Magnificentissimus* hath no power in the university; he is always a prince or some great nobleman: the present prince and his son have both had this title. This year the earl of *Wittenberg* is *Rektor Magnificentissimus*, who is not permitted to enter the senate.

The *Præpositus* of the cathedral at *Worms* is perpetual chancellor of this university, and substitutes a vice-chancellor, who at present hath no authority; only in promotions or conferring of degrees, his leave is asked *pro forma*.

The promoter is usually the dean of the faculty the graduate is of; which office of promoting every professor of the faculty takes by turns.

The degrees conferred here are in philosophy *Magistri*; but of these there have been but few lately, not above three the last 10 years; *Licentiati* & *Doctores* in law and medicine; *Baccalaurei*, *Licentiati* & *Doctores* in divinity; of late years there have been but few doctors of divinity created. Degrees are given without any regard to the time of the student's being in the university, who is first examined by the faculty, the *Rektor Magnus* being present; and if he be not judged sufficient, he is required to study for so long a time as they appoint. When that time comes, he is examined by all the professors, the *Rektor Magnus* being also present: (the first examination is called *Examen tentatorium*, the second, *Rigorosum*.) If he be then thought sufficient, he is to dispute publicly *sub Præside*, and after that he makes a lecture in his faculty, and a speech; then he asks the vice-chancellor leave, *ut det facultatem Promotori ipsum Promovendi* (this

is done *pro formâ*, the university not being obnoxious to the vice-chancellor) which being publicly granted, the promoter, in the name of the prince *Palatine*, and by the leave of the vice-chancellor, pronounces him doctor, and bids him ascend *in superiorem cathedram*; then he kisses him, puts a ring on his finger, gives him a book first shut, then open, and lastly puts on his cap. The graduate swears, by touching with his finger the two beakles maces set up leaning one against another, whilst the *Syndicus*, who is register of the university, reads the oath.

After all these ceremonies the professors are feasted by the graduate in a great room called the *Prytaneum*, which is also used as divinity schools; the prince himself, or the marshal of his house, is present at the feast. To save charges, two or three candidates endeavour to be promoted together.

The government of *Heidleberg* city is in Government. four burgomasters and a prætor.

The city is divided into four quarters.

Here are five jurisdictions, 1. *Aulica*, under which are the nobility, the marshal of the prince's house presiding: 2. *Cancellaria*, which comprehends the counsellors, doctors of law, advocates, &c. 3. *Bellica*, the general of the army being president: 4. *Academica*, wherein the above-mentioned senate governs, and the *Rektor Magnus* presides: 5. *Civica*.

The members of each of these jurisdictions may refuse to be tried by any but their own court and judge; before whom the actor must implead them according to the maxim in law, *Actor sequitur forum rei*.

The prince *Palatine* can make laws and repeal them, treat with foreign princes, make war and peace, and impose tributes arbitrarily on his subjects without the consent of any. Many of the princes of *Germany* being limited in their power, can lay no taxes on their people without the consent of the states of their country, as the earl of *Wirtemberg*.

He hath seven councils or courts, viz. 1. *Concilium Augustum*, or his privy council; 2. *Concilium Status*; 3. *Concilium Ecclesiasticum*, consisting of two divines and two laymen; 4. the *Dicafterium*, which judges civil causes; 5. *Concilium feudale*; 6. *Concilium reddituum Ecclesiasticum*. 7. *Camera rationum Ecclesiasticarum*. The prince elector *Palatine* hath thought fit to keep both these last distinct, partly, that he may know how to proportion the ministers allowances, and partly, that in case any of his successors should change their religion (as it is common for princes to



do to and fro in Germany) they may be able to distinguish clearly between their own temporal and the church revenues.

The emperor hath nothing to do with this country subjects, who swear fealty only to the prince, who confers honours; but they are not regarded out of his country.

There are many supreme lords, who are absolute in their small jurisdictions, independent on the prince *Palatine*, acknowledging none their superior but the emperor. The like jurisdictions are in the territories of other princes.

There are five families of the prince *Palatine* house, 1. the duke of *Simeran*, 2. *Newburgh*, who lately did homage to the prince *Palatine*, 3. *Dupont*, 4. *Swolsbach*, 5. *De la petit Pierre*.

Ecclesiastical government.

The prince *Palatine* is supreme head in ecclesiastical affairs, formerly under the bishop of *Spire*, but, since the reformation, the prince *Palatine* hath seized on the revenues of the church, and assumed to himself the episcopal power, he only excommunicating. He receives all tithes, except those which in some places he orders immediately to be paid to the minister of the place. The greatest part of the church-rents is given in stipends, which are proportioned according to the minister's merit and the prince's discretion, who also disposes of vacant places as he pleases; *ex. gr.* When a benefice is void, the *Concilium Ecclesiasticum* nominates two persons to the prince, who bestows it on one of them, or commands the council to name others.

The *Palatinate* is divided into 13 *Præfecturæ*, which are some of them subdivided into lesser. Each hath its inspector, who is pastor of some church, and who gives information of businesses to the *Concilium Eccles.* and that council, if need be, acquaints the prince with them. The inspector differs not from the other ministers, but in his having a larger stipend, and in giving notice to the superior inspector, if there be any over him.

Every great town or prefecture hath a presbytery; *ex. gr.* In *Heidelberg* are five city ministers, two deputies from each quarter, and two from each jurisdiction, the *Aulica* excepted, 21 in all, the five ministers presiding by turns. This presbytery sits once a week, and there is always present a delegate from the prince who hath no suffrage, but observes what is done, and sees that nothing be acted to the prejudice of the court, or that concerns not the presbytery. They can make no church censure, without they first send the person accused to the jurisdiction he

belongs to, desiring the offence may be inquired into by that jurisdiction; which, upon such notice, either neglects it altogether, or, if the crime be worthy of punishment, they draw up his sentence, and, in the close of it, add, *Quoad Scandalum Ecclesiæ datum remittimus te ad presbyterium*. Then all the consistory can do, is, to urge a confession from the party, with an acknowledgment of his fault before the congregation, and a promise of amendment for the future.

The *concilium Ecclesiasticum* ordains ministers by laying on of hands, after examination and testimonials from the university, or persons of known credit.

The prince *Palatine* and the duke of *Saxony* are vicars of the empire.

In the church called still the *Franciscans*, within the choir, is an ancient monument of *D'na Comitissa de Namer*. And on a wall is inscrib'd,

Franciscans church.

*Epitaphium Hermolai Barbari Veneti Patriarchæ Aquilegiensis in obitum Rudolphi Agricolæ Frisii.*

*Invida clausurunt hoc marmore fata Rodolphum*

*Agricolam Frisii spemq; decusq; soli.  
Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis  
Quicquid habet Latium Græcia quicquid habet.*

Tollent Anabema.

*Rodolphi Agricolæ Pbrissii  
Memoriæ posuit Vigilius  
Zuichemus  
Obiit anno MCCCCCLXXXV  
Die XXVIII octob.  
Vixit annos XLIII menses II.*

Relingenti Benedicito

In a little chapel on the north side, is an old monument with this inscription,

*Anno Dom. MCCCCCLXXXIII Ipo die Galli O.  
Venerab. & nobil. Dominus Fredericus Illustrißimi Principis & Domini Domini Frederici Com. Palatini Reni Ducis Bavarix Sac. Romani Imperii Archidapiferi ac Principis Electoris Filius legitimus Ecclesiarumq; Woerm. & Spirens. Canonicus, cujus anima requiescat in pace.*

Another monument with this written about it.

*Fridericus Bavarix Dux Comes Rbe. Palatinus, sacri Romani Imperii Elector, Salus patriæ, Prædonum fulmen, tres-illustres hostes vicit, principatum auxit, & pie vivis excessit. Anno Christi 1476. prid. id. Decembris; fuit ejus vitæ virtus, solatium gloria, mortis comes.*



SKIPON.

Underneath his effigies lies a grave-stone, with a serpent, and part of his skeleton, carved on it, representing the posture of his bones in his grave, when there was found a serpent creeping out of his back-bone.

Great church.

In the great church the famous *Heidelberg* library was kept, which is now in the *Vatican* at *Rome*.

Here are many grave-stones (some of which are difficult to read) and fair monuments of several of the *Palatinate* family. The Inscriptions of many I wrote out, viz.

In high *Dutch* is written on a grave-stone what in *Latin* signifies,

1. *Anno Domini 1219. Sibilla Com. Pal. R. Sup. & Infer. Bav. D. Ludovici Co. P. Rh. Vxor.*

2. *Illustris Dominus Philippus Comes Palatinus Rheni Bavarie Dux, ac sacri Romani Imperii Archidapifer & Princeps Elector hic quiescens obiit die XVIII mensis Febr. An. Christi MCCCCVIII. cujus anima requiescat in sancta pace. Amen.*

3. *Robertus Bavarie Dux Rhe. Palatinus Romanorum Rex justus pacis et religionis animatur dignus Deo visus qui pro justitia pateretur hujus sacre ædis & collegii institutor, hic cum castissima conjugē Elizabetha Norici Montisburgravia quiescit vita functus. Anno Christi MCCCCX Kal. Junii xv.*

This monument stands in the middle of the choir, with statues about it.

4. *Anno Domini MCCCCXLIX . . . Illustris Princeps Dominus Ludovicus junior Comes Palatinus Rheni. S. R. I. Ar. princeps Elector Ba. D. c. a. r. in pace.*

5. *Anno Christi 1501. 25 Februarii obiit Illustris Princeps Domina Margareta Dei Gratia Comes Palatina Rheni Inferioris Superiorisq; Bavarie, Dux cujus anima in sancta pace requiescat.*

6. *Germania merito luget funus illustrissimi Domini Ludovici Comitiss Palatini Rheni Ducis Bavarie sacri Ro. Imp. Archidapiferi principis Elector, qui propter multas discordias tumultusq; per se summa cum prudentia tum sumptu seduloq; composuit. pacifici nomen meruit. obiit 16 die Marci. Anno Domini 1544. Ætatis sue 66. cui Deus misereatur in æternum.*

This under a brass figure in the wall.

7. *Philips Von Gotterge naden Pfaltzgraf Bey Rein, Hertzog in Nidern, und. Oberrn Bairn, &c. ist alhie zu Heidelberg, &c. 1548.*

In the body of the church, against a pillar, is a monument thus inscrib'd,

8. *Caetera qui circum lustras monumenta Viator*

*Haec quod non longa est perlege pauca mora*

*Si Ducis audita est forsan tibi fama Philippi Clara Palatinae quem tulit aula Domus.*

*Qui modo Pannoniam defendit ab hoste Viennam*

*Et solvit trepidos obsidione viros,*

*Tunc cum Threcii vastarent omnia Turcae*

*Et tremere subita Norica regna metu.*

*Mox etiam implevit magnum virtutibus orbem*

*Utilis hinc armis utilis inde toga.*

*Illius hac tegitur corpus venerabile terra*

*Hic animam hic vitam reddidit ille Deo*

*Quo te si pietas, si quid movet inclita Virtus*

*Juncta & cum summa nobilitate fides*

*Huic opta ut generis placida cum pace quiescant*

*Condita nec tellus durior ossa premat*

*Nam pius ad Coeli sublatus spiritus arces*

*Cum Christo vivit tempus in omne suo*

*Decessit III Non. Julii*

*Anno Domini M. D. XLVIII*

*Ætatis sue XLIIII cujus. p. f. memoriae Dux*

*Otho Henricus Comes Pa-*

*latinus Frater amantissimus M. H. F. C.*

*Anno Domini M. D. L.*

On the marble are carved arms, camps, &c.

9. *Frid. IV. Lud. F. Frid. Nep. Com. P. Rh. S. R. I. E. Dux Bav. nato Ambergae. 5 Martii 1574. qui summae rerum praefuit. Ann. 18. fundamenta Unionis pro relig. & libertate inter Principes jecit. piē in Christo obiit 9. Sept. 1610. Patri bene merito Fil. Frid. V. Elect. & S. R. I. Vicarius H. M. P. An. Sal. rep. 1610.*

This is a stately monument in the middle of the choir.

10. *Illustris Princ. & D. Dom. Frid. 2. Com. Pal. Rh. D. Bav. S. R. I. Archidap. Pri. Elect. &c. qui obiit Altræ 1556. 26. Feb. Æt. 74.*

In the body of the church is this following inscription.

11. *Illustris*



11. *Illustrissimo Prin. & Dom. D. Wolphango Com. P. Rhen. D. Bav. & Philippi Elect. Filio inter eos qui ad justam aetatem pervenerunt natu minimo, Principi bonitate ingenii, honestâ frugalitate avitisque moribus servandis præstanti & sorte suâ mediocri per omnem Vitam contento, Illustrissimus Princeps Frid. III. Elec. &c. H. Monum. Consanguineo Carissimo fieri curavit. Natus est An. 1494. ult. Oct. Exemptus rebus humanis. 2 April. 1558.*

In the middle of the choir, is,

12. *Otho Henricus Pal. Com. Rhen. S. R. I. Septem vir Dux Utriusq; Bavarie, ut Ludovici Pii Roberti Cæs. F. Posterorum ultimus, sic renatæ Evangelicæ puritatis Instaurator primus vivus sibi P. natus x April. 1502. obiit 12. Feb. 1559.*

13. *Serenissimæ Heroinæ Regiaq; stirpe prognatæ Dom. Dorotheæ Com. P. Rh. Bav. D. Regnorum Danicæ, Sueciæ ac Norwegiæ Principi ac Heredi & Electoris Contorali dilectissimæ, quæ ob. .... Frid. III. DG. Com. Pal. R. S. R. I. Archidap. ac Pr. Elect. Bav. D. &c. Agnatis ac consanguineis charissimis optimèque meritis H. M. gratitudinis ergo pos. Anno 1562.*

This and the 10th inscription are on a tomb in the body of the church.

In the choir is a handsome monument with two inscriptions in Dutch, which signify,

14. *Maria Uxor Frid. 3. per 30 ann. 4. mens. & 28 dies. 6 peperit filios & 5 filias; ob. ult. Octob. 1567. ætat. 48. & 28 d.*

15. *Frid. 3. Fil. Ruperti. ob. 26. Octob. 1576. ætatis 62.*

16. *Elizabetha Comes Palat. Electrix Philippi Landgravii Hessiæ filia Vixit annos XLII Relicta terna prole Piè obiit Haidelbergæ XIV martii Anno MDLXXXII.*

17. *Ludovicus Comes Palatinus Frid. F. S. Rom. Imperii Elector Dux Bavarie Pietate & clementia insignis Vixit annos XLIV rei Palatinae præfuit A. VII. obiit Haidelbergæ piè in Christo. XII Octob. MDLXXXIII.*

These two preceding inscriptions are under both their statues; likewise these following sentences.

*Sic exaltabitur filius hominis. Joh. III.*

*Sic deus dilexit mundum. Joh. III.*

*Sic faciet corpora nostra. Philip. III.*

*Sic filius hominis triduum manebit in corde terræ. Matth. XII.*

*Viditq; Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona. Gen. I.*

18. *Constanter & sincere  
JOANNI CASIMIRO  
Frid. III. Elect. F.*

*Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum*

*Duci Bavarie*

*Pro-Septemviro,*

*Qui sibi vixit nunqu. Reipub.*

*Christ. semper, quam Domi Militiaq;*

*Strenue juvit atque ornavit religione*

*Orthodoxa, Scholis bonarum artium*

*Instrumentis Gallia & Belgica*

*A graviss. periculis vindicata,*

*Auraque perpetua in hoc evigilavit,*

*At concors patria a vi fraudeque*

*Externa tutior stabili quiete*

*Cum dignitate frueretur omni*

*Denique officio principis Laudatiss.*

*Constanter et sincere perfunctus*

*Autoritatis suæ, & virtutis summæ*

*Humanitati conjunctæ triste*

*Desiderium bonis reliquit omnibus*

*FRID. IV. ELECT.*

*Patruo tutorique de se optime merito*

*P.*

*Obiit postrid. Nonas Januarii*

*CIOIOXCII.*

*Ætatis An. XLIX. mens. x.*

*MDLXXXVIII.*

19. On a little grave-stone.

*Iste Palatina prognatus stirpe puellus,  
Ipse sub partu vitam cum funere solvit.  
In Christo dormit, vita fruiturque beata.  
ICPRDBCVE SMFDTCDOMS*

20. *D. Ludovicus Wilhelmus Com. Pal. D. Bavarie natus 25 Sept. 1600. obiit 30 Sept. eodem.*

21. *D. Anna Leonora Com. Pal. D. Bav. nata 25 Decemb. 1598. ob. 24 Maii. 1600.*

22. *Sereniss. Principis D. Frid. Elect. Pal. Soboles præmortua D. Mauritius Christianus Com. Pal. Bav. D. natus 8 Sept. 1601. obiit 18 Mar. 1605.*

These three last inscriptions are on a pretty monument, with three effigies on it.

On the roof of the choir are the pictures of these four persons, with their names written, viz.

1. *Rupertus Romanorum rex, hujus Chori & Collegii Fundator.*

2. *Eliza-*



SKIPPON. 2. *Elizabetha Regina Romanorum.*

3. *Ludovicus Comes Palatinus, Regis Filius, hujus Collegii Consummator.*
4. *Domina Planchia Filia regis Angliæ, Uxor ejus.*

In the isles of the choir are these two following monuments, viz.

1. *Illustri memoriæ Ottonis Comitis Solmensis Dynastæ in Muntzenberg Wildenfels & Sonnewold; is Adolescens musis operatus ad-  
dultior heroico instinctu Marti devotus pri-  
mis stipendiis quadriennio Gallicis, post sub  
Mauritio Auracæ Belgicis equitum Ductor  
conspic. juncta sibi uxore generosa Ursula  
Comitis Gleichiana, inde serenissi. Elect.  
Palat. Frid. IV. prætorio legionisque laude  
continua præfectus, ac interea ad Galliæ  
& Magnæ Britanniæ reges, & S. imperii  
Proceres Legatus, tandem in Alsatica Molt-  
zæ obsidione die 24 Junii An. MDCX ætat.  
XXXIX. absque prole in pugna gloriose  
cecidit dignus magnorum Avorum, Paren-  
tum Germanorum Frater, Filius, Nepos.  
Conjux ac Fratres mæstissimi contra votum  
hoc monumentum posuere.*

2. *Exsulum Susceptori  
S.  
Hulderico Fuggero  
Raymundi F. Georg. N. Jacobi Pron.  
Kirchbergæ & Weissenborni  
Domino,  
Qui in Pauli III. P. P. Cubicula  
Veritatis lumen ex familia  
Primus & solus agnovit  
Vitamque privatam  
Ampliss. dignitatibus anteferre  
Didicit,  
Dum veterum scriptis liberali sumptu  
Comparandis & evulgandis intentus  
A patrimon. admin. profusionis  
Prætextu dejicitur,  
Apud Fridericum III. Electorem Palat.  
Fortunam constantia & æquanim.  
Superavit  
Suis in terra restitutus, fraternis  
Quinetiam bonis auctior eundem  
In re lauta quem in afflictâ  
Vultum animumq; retinuit,  
Annua pauperibus quingenta legavit  
Sex liter. studiosis stipendia,  
Constituit  
Bibliothecam pii exsilii unicam comitem  
Palatinatui moriens donavit.  
CICIDXXXCIV.  
Obiit XVIII. Kal. Jul.  
Ætatis LIX.  
Hæredes & Legatarii*

*Gratæ memoriæ ergo  
Consanguineo & hospiti B M.  
Hocce Mon. P.*

At St. Peter's church we saw a great St. Peter's number of monuments, both on the inside church and the outside of the wall; the most remarkable without were of *Rbinerus Profess. Job. Jugenitius Log. Doct. Job. Sigismus Lavingarius I. V. D.*

Within are the monuments of *Quirinus Reuterius D. Simo Stenius Historicus, Gasper Agricola, Curio, Henricus Smetius, Daniel Tossanus, Culmarius, Petrus Beutrichus, Buchpacheus, Johan. Meierus, Georg. Sohn. T. D. Matth. Lannoius, Gerhardus Pastorius, Melchior Then. Ludov. Christop. Rbinerus F. Dodo Maninga Frisus vulneratus a milite, Melchior Angerus, Petrus à Strithagen Aquisgranensii, a famous minister, who died 1655.*

*Fridericus Widebranus  
Vitam Belgia  
Vranx genus  
Duacum  
Artes Æonicas  
Dedere leges  
Heidelbergæ, mihi  
Dedit necemve  
Vitam restituet  
Deus perennem.  
Anno 158. .*

*M. S.  
Hic subincluduntur mortales exuviæ  
Viri nobilissimi  
Dom. Benjamin Titchbornii,  
Equitis & j<sup>ci</sup> Anglicani  
Omnis solidioris literaturæ  
Peritissimi,  
Imprimis  
Veræ pietatis ejusq; devotæ praxeos  
Cultoris religiosissimi,  
Nati 14 Maii, Anno Salutis MDC,  
Denati 25 Maii. A. C. MDCLX.  
Cui  
Wilbus Titchbornus  
Ex fratre nepos  
H. M. P. C.*

During our stay in Heidleberg, the prince Castle and elector palatine sent Mr. Rookewood (an prince's English gentleman that is an attendant on palace. this court) to bring us up to his palace, where we spent the greatest part of a day at dinner and supper, and in the prince's and chief courtiers conversation. The palace is seated on a hill, and is fairly built within a castle, which is encompassed with a deep trench hewn out of the rock, that may be filled with water.

Without the castle are pleasant gar- dens, and round about them are fair grotto's



*Exornandum curavit. Anno  
Dom. MDCVII.*

In the court are several ancient pillars brought hither by *Carolus M.* Underneath the statue of *Mercury* is written,

*MERCURO  
TIMONIA  
VIRTUO*

An organ in the chapel, and a fair stone pulpit.

Under one of the towers is a cellar <sup>Great tun!</sup> where the great tun stood, which held 132 fuders. At this time a new one was building, which is to hold 150 fuders (a fuder being equal to four hogheads.) A pair of stairs leads up to the top of the tun, where was a gallery for persons to sit, and drink in. Many other vessels for wine in other cellars, which are large vessels, neatly made, and called the whelps; 16 of them are equal to the great tun.

Before dinner, the prince passed by the door of the room, and, with his own hand, received the petitions delivered by persons that stood there.

A guard of 30 *Switzers* brought up the meat to the prince's table, which hath a canopy over it. Several strangers sat down with the prince. Two tables more in the same room, one for the marshal, with whom we dined; the other for the officers of the family: all things were ordered with great decency, little noise, and no debauchery.

In the hall adjoining to this room, stand two pillars of stone in the middle; one of them stands a little awry, having been shot twice with a cannon bullet about the middle of it, where there now sticks a bullet that beat out another; which shots broke away part of the pillar now repaired. The first bullet was shot by the duke of *Bavaria's* party; and the last by the prince palatine's soldiers.

In this palace we saw a fallow deer speckled with white, and a tame wolf. Between the walls of the castle is a large broad passage, that goes round underneath, which is used for cellars and other necessary offices.

From the castle is a fair prospect of the city, river *Neccar*, and the level country about the *Rhene*. Here is a new fortification which commands the *Neccar*.

After dinner the prince sent for us into a withdrawing room, where he was pleased to shew us great kindness, and entertained us with discourse concerning several things. Here we saw a very good wind-gun, clear stones made out of pebbles, a purse made of *alumen plumosum* by a monk of

grotto's cut out of the rock; the greatest part of these grotto's were left unfinished by this prince's father. Over the entrance of the grotto that is finished, is the statue of the gardener, in the same posture he received the prince when he first came into the garden. Here are many pretty water-works, *viz.* a lion sucking up water, the springing of water out of a flower-pot, a ball playing upon the top of a stream that is forced up, a conical cap of tin born up by the same stream, which represents a periwig, the water is shaped like great drinking glasses, water playing on the organs, and water springing out of the pavement and the sides of the grotto. In one of the grotto's the water petrifies as it drops.

In the garden lies a great figure of an old man, which represents the river *Rhene*; which figure spouts water out a great height. Another figure represents the river *Neccar*. Here are two little ponds for swans to keep in.

In the middle of two garden-plots are two stones; the inscription on one is,

*Fridericus plantavit  
XIV Decemb. A. C.  
MDCXV.*

On the other,

*Elizabetha plantavit  
XIV Decemb. A. C.  
MDCXV.*

The castle gate is of curious carved work in stone, and over it was the *Aviarium*, and this inscription, *viz.*

*Fridericus V.  
Elizabethæ  
Conjugi Cariss.  
A. C. MDCXV. F. C.*

On the palace building are many statues of the gods, virtues, &c. and 16 statues of princes from *Carolus M.* to *Frid.* 4. On the gate that leads into the palace, is a *Dutch* inscription, signifying the building of it by *Ludovicus V.* 1519.

The palace was built at three several times, one part is called the *English* building.

On the chapel is inscribed,

*Fridericus Comes Palatinus  
Rheni S. Rom. imperii Elector,  
Dux Bavarie, hoc palatium  
Divino cultui & commodæ  
Habitationi extruendum &  
Majorum suorum imaginibus*



SKIPPON. ——— order in *Sicily*. This purse we threw into a chafing-dish of hot coals, and let it lie till it was red hot, and then took it out again, without any prejudice to the purse.

The prince El. library.

Coins.

We spent most of the afternoon with the prince in his library, which is well furnished with choice books in all languages. His highness was exceeding affable, and willing to shew us his collection of coins, both modern and ancient, which he was very well skilled in the knowledge of as to all particulars. He hath a series of *Roman* coins in gold, and another in silver. We saw a coin of *Virgil* and his *Mæcenæ*. Among his consulary and *Greek* medals we saw *Philip*, *Alexander*, *Epaminondas*, *Themistocles*, and many commonwealths of *Greece*; *Hebrew*, *Arabic* and *Persian*, *Numidian* or *Gothish* coins; several common-wealths of *Sicily* and *Magna Græcia*; the coins of all the princes in *Germany* in gold, &c. the medals of the most remarkable sieges of late years in *Europe*, and monies of several nations in gold and silver, &c. a *Swedish* dollar, being a large square piece of brass, stamp'd at the four corners, and in the middle, a gold medal for the young prince, whose name (*Carolus*) and picture is on it; and on one side is written, *Juvat usque morari*. We saw here the globe of *Rupertus* the emperor, which was adorn'd with jewels, and *Rupertus* his crown very richly set with precious stones. Other very valuable jewels are in the prince palatine's possession; a picture of the emperor's crown, sword and globe. The prince told us, that *Conradus* the emperor added the arch over the imperial crown, and that formerly the prince palatine carried the globe before the emperor, but now he carries the sword, and the duke of *Bavaria* hath the globe.

We saw two fair and full unicorns horns, and a great boar's tooth, which winds almost into a perfect circle. We saw also several of the prince palatine's ancestors pictures curiously carved in wood, and kept within little boxes: and among the coins we observed these, viz. of *Geleton* a city in *Greece*, *Ptolomy*, islands of *Greece*, *Rhodes*, the sieges of *Leyden*, *Harlem*, *Breda*, *New-arke*, &c. the battle of *Lipsick*, &c.

In a gallery we saw many pictures, one very large, representing the family of this prince, wherein were his father, mother, brothers, &c.

This prince palatine's name is *Carolus Ludovicus*, who speaks these six languages, viz. 1. *Latin*, 2. *Italian*, 3. *French*, 4. *English*, 5. *High-Dutch*, and 6. *Low-Dutch*.

He is married to *Charlotte* the landgrave of *Hessia* his sister, with whom he lived

two or three years, and by her hath two children (now living) a son, young prince *Charles*, and a daughter, both very handsome; but the prince not enduring his wife's ill conditions, he separated himself from her, and entertained one *Daggerfeld*, the daughter of a gentleman belonging to the duke of *Wirtemberg*, by whom he hath had four natural children. The prince allots his wife one part of the palace, and his mistress another part: the first was at this time drinking the waters of *Swolback*.

The court was now in mourning for prince *Edward* the elector palatine's brother, who died lately at *Paris*. His highness is very diligent in minding his affairs, and his subjects have a great affection for him. He gave orders we should pay nothing at our inn while we staid at *Heidelberg*.

The upper lieutenant or governor of the city spake very good *English*, having been in our late civil wars. He told us, there came so many strangers that pass through this place, that he usually spends every night about half an hour in reading their names; for the inn-keepers, &c. are obliged to send their lodgers names every night. We were much beholden to this gentleman,

And to the afore-mentioned Mr. *Rooke-wood* (a *Suffolkman*) who had formerly been a *Carthusian* monk. He told us, he was translator of the mystery of jesuitism out of *French* into *English*; and that there was lately sent hence a troop of horse to assist the emperor against the *Turks*.

The prince palatine hath three sisters, The three one married to the duke of *Brunswick*, and sisters names are another, elder, to whom *Cartesius* dedicated - - - and *Schooten* his book - - - Elizabeth, She is *Præposita* of a monastery in *Erfurt*, Loyse, Sophia. but is herself a protestant, it being usual in *Germany* for *Roman* catholic princes to bestow church preferments on protestants, and for protestant princes to give *Roman* catholics preferments.

All the prince's soldiers are clad in blue. They guard the city gates. *Heidelberg* is indifferently built, but hath a double wall and trench about it. In the streets are several fountains. Very good orders are kept here in the night, tho' we observed great numbers of people in the day, by reason of a fair, which lasted the time we staid. We saw here a whore passing with a *Nummella* about her neck.

The citizens can raise two companies of foot, and one troop of horse, which are under the governor's command while they are in arms.

In the city suburbs is the prince's stable, The which is very stately, of a great length, prince's pav'd with free-stone, and supported by stable.



two rows of stone pillars, having a fountain in the middle of it. Not many horses in it at this time, the disease being here, and most of them sent into the service against the *Turks*.

There are pleasant gardens without the inward wall of the city.

Roman coins, and other antiquities are found hereabouts. The ruins of an old temple are still to be seen on a hill over-against *Heidleberg*; and, on a hill above the palace, is a stone they call *Koningstal*.

The prince palatine tolerates lutherans and papists, which latter have a church without the walls, that, in the morning, is drest up with pictures, lamps and images; but, after mass, &c. is done, all those things are presently removed, and the protestants have the use of the same church.

The lutherans have lately built a church in the city, and have made a grateful inscription on it to the prince.

The jews are allowed to live here; but, as yet, are denied the public exercise of their religion.

Since the instrument of peace was proclaimed, the people of this country have recruited themselves very much.

We were informed, that the prince palatine intends to build a nunnery for those of the *Benedictine* order, in consideration of some benefit he hath received by the exchange of a town.

The upper palatinate now belongs to the duke of *Bavaria*.

We were extremely obliged to one Dr. *Fabricius* a professor, to whom we deliver'd recommendatory letters. He informed us of many of the foregoing particulars.

*Joachimus Camerarius* his nephew lives in this city, whom we endeavoured to visit, but he was abroad when we came to his house.

July 25. We went by waggon through woods; and, about two hours from *Heidleberg*, came by a cloister of *Capuchins* belonging to the bishop of *Spire*; and, some distance farther, we rode through a pass or gate guarded by *French* soldiers of the garrison of *Philipsbourg*, not far off on the right hand. It is a well-fortified place, situated in a level near the *Rbene* side, and is about three *German* miles from *Heidleberg*. In that garrison town is a fair castle and palace. About a *German* mile farther we passed through *Graffe*, a small place, where our waggoner paid toll to some officers of a castle here, that belongs to the marquis of *Tourlach*; and half a mile from hence, we arrived, at this night's lodging, in a village called *Linkenom*, in the jurisdiction of the same marquis, who is a lutheran. The country hereabouts is a plain stor'd with pine woods, &c.

July 26. We travelled four *German* miles to our baiting place at *Rastack*, a large village; and two miles farther, past thro' *Stoleboven*, a little walled town with decay'd buildings, where our waggoner paid a toll; and, after another mile, came to another walled place called *Lichtenow*, both which last places are the marquis of *Baden's*; and, half an hour from *Lichtenow*, we lodged in a village named *Sertz* belonging to the earl of *Hanaw*. This day we past through woods. We observed the inn-keepers, &c. in this journey to be very kind and civil. Between *Heidleberg* and *Lichtenow* grew great store of *Turkey* wheat.

July 27. We passed thro' some waters, and over many bridges, and crossed a pretty river which runs into the *Rbene*, which hath a bridge over it, where we passed, a little before we entred the city of *Strasburg*, at the gates whereof soldiers examined us.

That bridge is shaped like an S, having pieces of timber laid loose on it (as on other bridges hereabouts) to take away upon a sudden occasion. A guard of soldiers stands at the entrance of the bridge. A short space from it we went over another stream of the *Rbene*, and passed close by a little fort, and paid three wispennies at a gate. This day we travelled about three *German* miles. After we came to our lodgings, we sent our names to the burgo-masters of *Strasburg*.

In this city is an university, having a University cloister'd building where are chambers for ty. students; and the choir of a church, which we guessed might be the place the doctors are promoted in. In the divinity school we heard a lecture of Dr. *Smickteus*. Over the entrance of this school (which is a large fair room) is written,

*Auspice Deo Opt. Max.*

*Procurantibus Amplissimis*

*Dr. D. D. Scholarckis*

*Joan. Philippo à Keltensheim Prætoræ*

*Abrahamo Heldio Consule*

*Josia Rbulio Iuræ*

*Aercasin hanc usui publico*

*SPQ. Argentinenfis P P.*

*Anno MDXC.*

In the cloister is this inscription.

*Juventuti religione christiana & disciplinis liberalibus instituendæ Jacobo Sturmio Nicolao Knielesio & Jacobo Meiero literatorum præfectis hunc ludum SPQ. Argent. P. F.*

*Anno MDXXXVIII depositis armis & placata inter Carolum V. Rom. Imp. & Franciscum I. Galliar. Reg. gravi discordi.*

The divines walk in their gowns, having round capes, and a great round cap on



SKIPPON. on their heads. See the habits of *Strasburg*, and the professors names printed. The womens habits are also printed.

Government. There are 71 in the magistracy, which consists of

20 magistrates:

6 burgomasters, one in office every year:

6 stadtmasters, who are chosen out of the nobility, but take an oath given them by the people; four of them in office every year:

15 *Patres Patriæ*:

13 for the militia:

11 others, whose particular offices we could not learn, our interpreter not well understanding the informer.

Many of these 71 are gentlemen, but most of them are citizens, and are all chosen for life by a council of 300, that are elected 15 out of each of the 20 trades or tribes the city is divided into, having 20 chambers to consult in.

If any of the 71 dies, the 300 chuse another into the place after this manner: *ex. gr.* a burgomaster dying, another is elected into his place five years after; and when a magistrate dies, half a year, if he had been in office the other half, or a year after; for none can be chosen into a burgomaster or magistrate's place, till the course of him that is dead, comes about again.

If a stadtmaster dies, they chuse his successor eight days after.

If any of the 15 or 13 dies, they elect successors before the deceased are buried.

The votes of the 300 being equal in the choice of a burgomaster, then the 15 *P. Patriæ* examining the suffrages, if there be two competitors, give a piece of gold to one, and a piece of silver to the other, each piece being secretly wound up in two distinct papers; this done, the 15 ask the 300, whether the gold or the silver shall have the place; and by naming one, that person is elected who hath it.

What cannot be decided in any of the 20 chambers, the 71 determine; and if the 300 divide their voices in the election of other officers, the 71 make a conclusion.

In this city are seven *Lutheran* churches, one papist church, two convents for men and two for women. The reformed that live here have a church an hour's distance from the town, in the territory of the earl of *Hanaw*.

The earl of *Furstenburg* is lately chosen bishop of *Strasburg*; but the citizens will not suffer him to lodge here in an inn

above eight days, nor in his own palace above three days together.

The women here are generally handsome, and of a good complexion. The ordinary sort of maids and young women twist their hair with a string into two long braids, which hang down behind them.

The people are very industrious.

*Strasburg* is large, and fairly built with stone and timber houses. The marketplace is a little square. The butchery is very handsome, and nigh the water-side, being the more convenient, because all their cattle are killed here.

The fortifications are very strong, there being a double wall; and on one side is a trench without and another within a wall. In a trench without the outward wall we saw many carps, which are fed like those at *Frankfurt*. On the gate are these inscriptions,

MDLXIII.

*SPQ. Argentinenfis Portam hanc aggere & fossa muniri fecit Anno Domini MDLII. mense maio. Præsidio Civibus.*

*Henrico Gallorum Rege militem in Carolum V. Imp. Augustum per hanc Germaniæ partem ducente. Terrori Hostibus.*

The river *Elle* runs thro' part of the city, and is a clear stream mingling here with the *Rhene*, which is of a muddy or whitish colour. Water passes thro' two or three of the streets.

Just without the walls great quantity of *Aqua Vitæ* is made, none being suffer'd to make any within the city.

They mingle here with their wine, an Acid water, which is brought 10 hours off from *Sowreburne*, not far from *Stutgard*. Acid waters at Sowreburne.

Every day about 11 of the clock, a bell is rung, and then all persons, where-soever they are, say some prayers, as the papists do at the ringing of the *Ave Mary* bell.

Our merchant was one *Heern*, who was very civil to us.

The arsenal consists of three large and long houses, each house having two rooms, well stored with all sorts of arms; among which we observed these following particulars: a huge jaw-bone of a whale; three brass guns, 20 foot long apiece, which, they told us, would carry a mile; four new brass guns called the four elements; a brass pot which was sent from *Zurich* with hot bry made of buckwheat, &c. the meaning of it was, that the city of *Zurich* would give this city assistance as soon as they sent this pot; four other great



great pots or kettles which are us'd when lotteries are made. The duke of *Efperton's* arms stand in a press; they are richly inlaid with gold, and are valued at 300 crowns of gold. This duke was governor of *Metz* in *Lorrain*. Many muskets inlaid with ivory, which are called *Spanish* hooks, the shoulders of them being crooked; a chariot with five guns and seven long swords; another chariot with nine pikes, and underneath, a little piece; these chariots are to be placed in lanes; twelve little brass guns marked with the signs in the zodiack; twelve brass guns called the apostles: most of these pieces may be turn'd about without moving their carriages: many double pieces; two great screws to remove towers; bandeliers made of horn; a tilting ring made by the earl of *Turteson* when queen *Christina* of *Sweden* was here on her birth-day; the picture of *Solyman* bassâ taken prisoner 1599, by a soldier of *Strasburg*. This bassâ was kept here a good while, and then sent to *Vienna*, where he died eight years after he was a prisoner. The bassâ's scimiter, shield and armour, and the soldier's sword, musket, these are kept together in one press. The emperor gave this soldier a spread-eagle in his coat of arms. After his return hither he was made a burgomaster. The emperor's standard hangs up, which he brought with him. It hath the letter *R* and a crown on one side. On the out side of one of the walls, is the picture of *Antoine Francoine*, a soldier of *Antorf*. He was eight foot and an half high.

The great church is a curious stone building. The entrance at the west end is adorned with many figures. The body of the church is fair, having an isle on each side lower in the roof. In the south isle is a well of water. The choir is small. At the entrance of it are a great pair of brass *Valvæ*.

We saw here the famous clock described by *Tom. Coryat*. Towards the bottom is a great circle with the calendar (a figure pointing to the day of the month) and within that are 15 other circles, each being divided into 100 parts, the calendar lasting from 1573 to 1672, the explanation of the 15 circles is thus:

|       |       |         |
|-------|-------|---------|
| Annus | 1663. | Domini. |
| Annus | 5625. | Mundi.  |
| Vern. | 11.   | Die.    |
| Æqu.  | 10.   | Hor.    |

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|             |     |            |
|-------------|-----|------------|
| Noc.        | 12. | A. Scrap.  |
| Quin.       | 1.  | M. Quag.   |
| Refur.      | 19. | A. Domini. |
| Advent.     | 29. | N. Domini. |
| A. Nativit. | 9.  | Hebdomad.  |
| Ad Quin.    | 3.  | Dies.      |
| A. Nativit. | 16. | Hebdomad.  |
| Ad Pasch.   | 3.  | Dies.      |
| A Pasch.    | 35. | Hebdomad.  |
| Ad Nat.     | 5.  | Dies.      |
| Liter.      | D.  | Domini.    |

In the middle is a map of *Germany*, and on it is written,

*Conradus Dasypodius & David Wolkenstein Uratiss. designabant. Thobias Stunner pinxerat A. D. MDLXXIII.*

The clock-work was made by one *Isaac Habrechtus* of *Strasburg*.

When the clock strikes, a little figure keeps time at every stroke with a scepter, and another figure turns an hour-glass; and 12 (apostles) follow one another, and a cock crows. Many other things are very observable here.

Near this clock lie two huge bell-clappers.

After we had procured leave, and paid somewhat for a little brass token, we went up the steeple, which is very curiously built. Towards the top it lessens, where there is a curious arch of stone like a cone. I went up as far as I could, and was under the place called the crown. The steps I ascended were 640; but, to the very top, are 662. In this steeple two men watch every day, and four every night. Here is a cistern of water always ready to quench fire.

July 31. We rode in a coach-waggon three *German* miles and an half to our lodging at a village call'd *Tivelsheim*, belonging to the bishop of *Strasburg*.

August 1. We travelled three miles, and pass'd thro' *Marklesheim*, a small wall'd place under the bishop of *Strasburg*, where our charioteer paid nine batz. Two miles further we rode in sight of *Brifach*, on the left hand of the river *Rbene*, which is a strong place seated on a rock, and garrison'd by the *French*, who have all *Alsatia* to the walls of *Basil*. About two miles more we came to this night's lodging



SKIPPO. lodging at *Lodesheim*, a village pleasantly situated in a large plain.

August 2. We rode thro' woods; and a German mile and an half from *Lodesheim*, we arrived at the gates of *Basil*, where we stay'd till sermon was done; then the gates were open'd, and the soldiers examin'd us before we enter'd the walls.

Govern-  
ment. The government of this city is thus: the citizens are divided into 15 tribes; each of which hath the privilege of electing 12 men called *sexers*, because six only are regent every half year.

The council or senate of 60 is thus chosen. The 180 *sexers* elect two out of a tribe, which are called *tribunes*, and are for life; and the whole council elects the other 30, viz. two also out of each tribe. These are properly called *senators*.

Two consuls or *burgomasters* chosen by the 30 *senators*.

Two *Tribuni plebis*, or *tsunt-meisters*, chosen by the *tribunes*.

One *burgomaster*, and one *tsunt-meister* rule every year alternately.

The *burgomaster* gathers the votes when a counsellor or senator is to be elected.

The *senators* govern half one year, and half the next.

The counsellors that were in authority the preceding year, debate first, and agree upon what is to be propounded to those in power, who may confirm or reject the proposals.

The 60, and the *burgomasters* and the *tsunt-meisters* judge criminal causes.

The senate chuse 20 to determine civil matters. In weighty affairs the 64 call together the great council, which consists of *IIIX viri*, the *tribunes*, and *senators*, and the four *Capita*; in all 144.

The rusticks in the jurisdiction of *Basil*, are in great subjection to the better sort; and if they fail to pay their rents or debts, the landlord or creditor hath power to apprehend them with a bailiff and two or three halberdeers, who take the fellow, and tying a rope about his middle, lead him to prison.

Ecclesiasti-  
cal go-  
vernment. The ecclesiastical government is in a senate, which consists of the three professors of divinity, four schoolmasters, and all the ministers; and when a benefice is vacant, this senate propounds three, and out of them the magistrates chuse one.

The civil magistrate appoints three *senators* (one of which is president) two ministers, and four citizens to be judges of adultery and fornication.

Here any, after imposition of hands, may at pleasure leave their ministry.

The pastors or ministers in the city, have certain stipends, but those in the country are partly paid in tithes, and partly in stipend.

The ministers, after examination, are called candidates.

We visited the *Collegium Basiliense*, University where we saw the *auditorium juridicum*, *medicum*, *philosophicum*, & *theatrum anatomicum*, the room where the senate of the 17 professors meet. There are three professors of divinity, three of law, three of medicine, and eight of philosophy. They read every day of the week, except *Sundays* and *Thursdays*, and have so small stipends, that they will scarce maintain them. Pope *Pius II.* founded this university.

Besides the professors of divinity, there are few that take the degree of doctor, except some who are obliged by their places to be doctors.

In law there are doctors and licentiates; in medicine only doctors.

In philosophy, *Studiofi*, *Baccalauri*, & *Magistri*.

*Erasmus* founded a college here for 20 scholars, who are maintained by it; 18 of them are students in divinity, 10 of which are *Basilienses*, and the other eight *Extranei*. They may live there as long as they please, provided they follow that study, and live unmarried, and the magistrates command none of them to another manner of life.

The other two maintained by this foundation, are the beadel and the schoolmaster, the regent of the college, without whose leave none can lodge one night out of it.

About three years ago, on the third of April, was a jubilee observed according to the old constitution once in 100 years, and all the professors carry'd the university statutes and privileges in pomp thro' the streets.

In the dog-days four or five of the students read lectures, and therefore are called *Professores Caniculares*.

The university library is well stored University with choice manuscripts and all sorts of library, books; among which is a *Compendium* &c. *Grammaticæ* in a large folio. Here, in 160 leaves folio, is the *rationalis dictionum codex officiorum*, which, at first sight, looks like a MS. but is printed per *John Fust Moguntinum* & *Petrum Demselxum Clericum Dioces. ejusdem Anno Domini 1459. 6. die Octobris*.

Over the library is a pleasant room that looks on the river *Rhene*: over the door of it is written, *Βραβούριον Academicum*. Doctors are promoted here; where, in a press,



a press, are kept the skeletons of a man, woman, child, and baboon, which are fix'd to an iron that may be turned round to shew every part of them without removing them.

Under the *Auditorium philosophicum* is a cellar where 18 countrymen were kept prisoners for a rebellion, that six of them were hanged and one beheaded for: which rebellion was occasioned by the bailiff's hard usage, whereby the poor people were much oppress'd in little matters.

Dr. *Fabricius* of *Heidleberg* gave us letters to *Wetstenius*, a professor of divinity, who had formerly been in *England*, and was very civil to us. His father is a consul of this city, and was sent by the 13 cantons to the convention at *Munster* 1648, being very much in esteem.

Every parish hath a library; and at the great church is the *Bibliotheca Amberbachiana*; which library *Erasmus* had sold before his death to a *Papish* gentleman, who never paid the money, and so it fell to *Amberbachius*, who was made *Erasmus's* heir by his last will and testament, which we saw written with his own hand in half a sheet of paper, dated 12 die Feb. 1536. Here we also saw these following pictures drawn by *Holbenius*, who was born in this city; *Holbenius* himself, his wife, and two children; two pictures of *Erasmus*; *Ambrosius Amberbachius* brother to *Holben*; the Cadaver of our Saviour; the first draughts, in paper, of the pictures painted on the stadhous; the passion of our Saviour in several pieces; *St. Martin*; *Samuel* meeting *Saul* coming from the battle of the *Amalekites*; a picture of *Sir Thomas More* (to whom *Holbenius* was commended by *Erasmus*) and his whole family, being about 10 persons, among which is *Henry Peterson*, *Tho. Mori Morio*, *Choræa Mortis*, &c. We saw here several printed pictures of the virgin *Mary*; our Saviour, &c. printed 1511, and made by *Albert Durer Noricensis*; a box full of *Diplomata* given to *Erasmus* by the pope, emperor, kings, &c. the ring *Erasmus* us'd to wear on his thumb, having his motto, *Terminus*, on it; the manuscript of the book *Erasmus* wrote at *Cambridge*, and dedicated to the bishop of *Lincoln*; the title of it is, *Quo pacto efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem Plut. Chersonefis*. Among the medals that were shewn us, we observ'd a fair one sent by the king of *Poland* to *Erasmus*; on one side whereof is the king's picture, and this inscription,

*Sigismundus Rex Poloniae.*

And on the reverse is,

D  
Erasm  
Roterodamo  
Severinus  
Boner  
M.

Two medals of *Otho*, one a medallion in brass, thus inscrib'd,

IMP. OTHO. CAES. AVG. P. M. COS. II.  
MATVRA CELERITAS.

The other is in silver, with this inscrib'd,

IMP. OTHO CAES.  
PONT. MAX.

A medallion, whereon is written,

*Elene Lelia Spartes Regina.*

Another thus inscrib'd,

Deus Nabucadonaf.  
P M

A medal with this,

Consensus Senat. & Eq. Ordin. P. Q.  
Divus Augustus S C.

PAVLVS LEPIDIVS CONCORD. P.  
capite velato, in silver.

L. Papius. Cornutus.

Dido Regina.

Siclus Samaritanus.

Nummus Salomonis, capite radiato.

Nummi Attici.

A medal of the 13 cantons, whereon,

*Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?*

A medal in silver of the university of *Altorff*.

*Zuinglius* & *Oecolampadius* in silver.

*John Hus* ty'd to a stake, where there is written, *Condemnatur*; and round about,

100 revolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi.

About his picture, is,

*Credo unam esse Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam.*

*Nummus Thuring. & Misniensis*; a collection of rappers.

Three rappers turned into gold by *Leonardus Turnitius* of this place, who did also turn



SKIPPON. turn half a nail into gold, which is kept at Florence.

A medal of *Franciscus I. Rex Gallie*; the scale of *Constantinus M.* medals of cardinals, bishops, &c. among which *Granvillanus*, *Tho. Aquinas*, the 12 *Cæsars*; many *Entagliæ* found at *Augusta Rauracorum*; one a greenish stone with a talismanical figure, viz. *Leo* between *Cancer* and *Scorpio*; old idols, viz. *Mercury*, *Venus Cinctia*, having a pearl hanging from her girdle before; *Jupiter*; *Jupiter Fulminans*; an *Aruspex*; two stones like two white loaves joined together; many of *Amberbachius's* papers, wherein the antiquities of *Augusta Raur.* are described.

The university intends to build a place for this library, and that under the *Εραβεργιον*. At this we were desired to write our names, and give a golden ducat, according to an odd covetous custom.

Platerus  
his museum  
of rarities.

We visited Dr. *Felix Platerus Archiepiscopus* his collection of rarities; among which we saw many sorts of minerals, stones, dry'd fishes, &c. with their names written; a lamp within a brass globe, which, turned any way, would still keep in its right posture; lachrymal urns; painted books of quadrupeds, fishes, and fowls; *Indian* habits on two statues; skeletons; the picture of a giant's skeleton. These things were collected by *Thomas Platerus P.* and *Felix* the uncle, but are now somewhat neglected, tho' kept in two rooms and good order. The doctor's son who shewed us them, brought us a book wherein we wrote our names, and then gave a golden ducat, it being covetously expected of us.

Great  
church.

The great church was built by *Henry II.* emperor, who married *Cunigunda* daughter of an *English* king, and *St. Pantalus*, an *Englishman*, who was the first bishop of this place. It is built of stone. Against a pillar on the north side of the communion table (which is of fine marble) stands the monument of *Erasmus*. In a fair carved seat the two regent burgo-masters, and the two old burgo-masters have velvet cushions; the stath-scriber and the roth-scriber sit next; then the substitute and the under-substitute; and next them the two sergeants or messengers. Underneath sit their servants, who are habited with black and white coats, and tall steeple caps. Over against these seats are three rows of seats, where the men sit when there is a funeral, the women sitting near the pulpit. The professor's seat is on the screen which divides the choir from the body of the church: the church hath double isles. An organ here.

The people make a great external shew of devotion; when they come in first, they say their private prayers. The service begins with the organ and singing of a psalm; then the minister prays, and all the people stand up, bowing at the name of *Jesus*; and when the sermon begins, all sit down, and the men put on their hats; and that done, the minister prays again, and the people stand up, and the organ concludes all.

In this city are 11 or 12 churches where are sermons every day. The *Italians* and *French* have churches, but none are tolerated besides the *Calvinists*, all the inhabitants being of that persuasion.

The chapter-house is now used as a large chamber for . . .

Near it is the *Auditorium Theologicum*, where are many inscriptions, which you may see printed with all the epitaphs, &c. in *Basil*. Two towers, on one of which we had a pleasant prospect of the adjacent country, the situation of the city, which lies on each side of the *Rhene*, joyn'd by a bridge of 14 arches, half the sides or pillars whereof are wood, and the other half stone: that part on *Germany* side is the less, and is called little *Basil*.

This city is indifferently large, and well built of stone; the houses fair and high, and many of them painted on the out-side. One tradesman's house is curiously painted by *Holbenius*, but the picture begins to decay by reason of the wall, which suffers more by the weather, than the paint does.

The city is seated on hills, so that there is scarce one street on a level. Here are counted about 300 fountains, every street having one, and almost every house of note is furnish'd with a fountain.

The *Armamentarium* is well provided with all sort of arms.

On a wall belonging formerly to the *Dominicans* convent, is painted *Choræa mortis*; where is described *Calvin* preaching to the pope, emperor, a king, cardinal, bishop, nobleman, lady, usurer, soldier, beggar, &c. who are all dancing with a figure of death.

The stadthouse is a handsome building, Stadthouse having the walls well painted on the out-side. In the court where the magistrates sit, is a rare picture of the passion of our Saviour, describing his being at mount *Olivet*, his burial, and a soldier, most lively represented, throwing dice for the coat. *Holbenius* was the painter. In this court the benches where the new senate sits, are before that of the old senate. On the wall is written, *Deo dedicata & Virtuti. Anno MDCIIX.*

The



The graver sort of citizens and magistrates wear ruffs and steeple caps; the professors and ministers wear the same, with gowns which reach no further than their knees.

At a burial we observed the men went first two and two together, then the women two and two, who had a white dress about their heads, and a long piece of white linen which hung down their backs.

At the entrance upon the bridge is a gate and clock, which hath the figure of a man's head, that puts out its tongue every minute; we were told it is in memory of a fellow who should have betrayed the town a good while since.

The tradesmen of *Basil* we observed exacted much for their wares, but in our inn we had plentiful of provision very cheap. The countrymen hereabouts wear straw hats, and the women have very short coats, a little below their knees; about their waists they have a tin girdle, and on their heads stick little caps.

There is a bishop who has the title of this city, but he is not suffered to lodge in it one night: He coins money, which is not current at *Basil*: He lives at *Bron-dint*, and is chosen by the canons.

We were civilly entertained by *Ulrich Hugo* our merchant, to whom we were recommended by Mr. *Balde* of *Frankfurt*.

We had some discourse with *Hieron. Baubinus*, (second son of *Job. C. Baub.* the elder brother is a benedictine monk at *Paris*, and the fourth brother lately changed his religion) botanick professor, with whom we walked about an hour's distance from the city, but found no remarkable plants, by reason of the *Rbene's* overflowing its banks.

An *English* gentlewoman, related to the *Astons* in the west of *England*, and to the *Cartwrights*, is married here to one *Meyer*, a citizen of this place.

*David George*, who fled hither out of *Holland*, died in *Basil*, and immediately after his death there was a storm of thunder and lightning, and a thunder-bolt broke into the house where his body was.

Within half an hour of *Basil* is *Alsatia*, belonging to the *French* king; and within a *German* mile on the other side of the river is the margrave of *Tourlack's* jurisdiction.

The jurisdiction of *Basil* extends into *Switzerland* half a day's journey; about 100 villages in it.

The miles in *Switzerland* are longer than those in *Germany*.

Aug. 10. We went by horse with the messenger, and about a *German* mile from *Basil* came to *Augst*, or *Augusta Rauracorum*, a small village, which had formerly

been a *Roman* city: We saw here the ruins of a building guessed by *Amberbachius* to have been an amphitheatre: Many coins are found here. We then passed close by a walled town near the *Rbene*, which belongs to the archduke of *Inspruck*, and as we travelled this day wild fir trees were observed, the first time we saw them. The country hereabouts is called *Freetall*, and is under the arch-duke afore-mentioned. In the afternoon we were stopped about two hours in a little village by a torrent of water that came down the road with a strong and deep stream, occasioned by a sudden rain, which presently abating, the ways were soon passable; then we passed over a bridge at the river —, where there was but one (a very large) arch, and came thro' *Bruck*, a pretty little walled place, having one handsome street, built with high and fair stone buildings, and fountains in the streets.

Note; In *Switzerland* we observed every town and village to have fountains.

Some distance from *Bruck* we ferried over another river, called —, being a great and strong stream; our boat went cross by the help of a rope which went over the river. Late at night we arrived six miles from *Basil* at *Baden*, where in our inn we refreshed ourselves in one of the baths, which are reckoned to be about sixty in number: They are small, and that I was in was within the house: The water was hot, but by opening a pipe of cold water you may temper it as you please.

We bought here dice petrified, which are often found in the ground hereabouts.

The *Venetian* resident was in the same house we lodged in: He was lately in *England*, but now his ordinary residence is at *Zurich*.

*Baden* is a little distance from the baths: It is a walled town, seated on the side of a hill, near the river *Limagis*. At this town the delegates of all the cantons meet, &c.

Aug. 11. We passed at *Baden* over a bridge which is covered like that at *Heidelberg*, and afterwards went along by the river *Limagis*, and by fair vineyards, where we observed the vines fastened to *Juga*, and not poled as in most places nigh the *Rbene*, and as afterwards we saw in *Italy* and *France*.

Two *German* miles from *Baden* brought us to *Zurich*; which city is pleasantly situated nigh a great lake that runs into the river *Limagis* below the town. This lake hath part of the city on each side of it, and hath over it three bridges, the broadest of which is an herb or fruit market; at another bridge (of wood) is a water wheel, which, by a chain of little buckets,



**SWITZER.** buckets, conveys water into a cistern. Just where the lake begins to narrow above the town, are two rows of strong stakes, that go cross from one side to the other, to keep from a surprizal by boats; and within them, in the middle of the water, is an earth work for cannon, &c. The lake is of a greenish colour; but several brooks, and a little river called the *Sele* (that runs by the walls, and is conveyed over one arm of the lake in an artificial channel) change it into a whitish colour. This city hath the lake on one side; on another a pleasant level; and, on the third side, a hilly country, which is well stored with wood. Nigh the fruit market is a kind of an exchange, where are many shops for small wares, viz. ribbands, gloves, &c. Two large *septa* or places in the water, where fish are preserved: and not far from the earth work, is a tower prison in the water, where malefactors are kept. Nigh the water-side are some houses with fair *portici* of stone. This city is about the bigness of *Basil*, having handsome stone houses, and some very stately. Many fountains in the streets. The fortifications are very good without upon the hills, &c. a line, a trench, an inward wall, and another trench. No guards nor centinels at the gates but most of the inhabitants wear their swords when they walk up and down. The citizens wear black cloaks and round black caps (with hat-bands) like the sophisters in *Cambridge*, and some of their caps are close to their heads, with a little place to put their fingers in and pull them off by. These are worn by mourners, and are like the caps the common *Italians* wear. This city is full of inhabitants, who are confident, and have a good esteem of themselves.

Customs.

We observed the shuts and windows of shops to be here kept open by great stone weights as at *Basil*, and on the outside of the houses little bells, some for the door, others for the second and third stories, &c. several families living one over another in the same house. In the fish market are pictured the fishes taken in the lake, the months when they are in season, and the prices they are to be sold at, according to several lengths and weights.

There is much paper made here, which is sent into the low countries. The goldsmiths is the chief trade of *Zurich*. Neat baskets made hereabouts. No wine permitted to be drunk but that made in this country.

The granary is a fair building; over one of the doors is this inscription,

Q F F Q S

*Istbanc molem in Limagi ripa quam vides*

*Affervandæ dividendæq; frumentariæ  
Annonæ destinatam*

*Cos. Leonardo Holzkhalbio glor. mem:*

*A fundamentis inchoatam*

*Cos. Jo. Rod. Ronio, & Jo. Henr. Holzkhalbio  
Patriæ Patrib.*

*Perficiendam curavit*

S P Q T.

The hospital is newly built, having a cloister within, where are maintained poor men and women, boys and girls, who are all kept to work in their several work-rooms. The boys and girls have schools besides. If they refuse to work, they are locked up in rooms or prisons, and chains put about their legs.

They behead malefactors as they stand, the executioner presently doing his work with a sword at one blow: some as they go to the execution repeat the lord's prayer continually.

We went to visit Dr. *Switzius* a professor of divinity, who was absent from home, having letters of recommendation from Dr. *Wetstenius* of *Basil*.

St. *Felix* church is a little place for the chiefest; we saw no monuments here, it being not the custom of this city to erect any.

The *Auditorium* is a fair room, where disputations in divinity are held, and lectures read by professors who do promote here in divinity. The professors of theology are two, and as many of philosophy; but there are none of law and medicine.

Two *Gymnasia* in this city.

The learned men are

*Job. Henricus Hottinger,*

*Switzius,*

*Ulrick,*

Learned  
men.

Over the *Auditorium* is the city library, The city which is a very pleasant arched room, well library. built over part of the lake. Here are not many books, but those that are, are disposed in very good order, the classes being according to the faculties. At the upper end is one classis for all sorts of bibles and concordances, &c. Among the bibles we took notice of one in 4<sup>to</sup> *English*, printed at *Zurich* by *Christopher Forschower* 16th August 1550. All the books are locked in within iron bars. We saw also here a letter written in *Latin* by the lady *Jane Grey's* own hand 1551, to *Bullingerus*, and another to him from *Johannes ab Ulmis*, dated at *Broadgate* 4 Kal. Junii 1551; also three letters patent of *Edward VI.* to *Bullinger*, in one of which he bestows on him a canon's place in *Christ-Church, Oxford*. A *Hebrew MS.* in 16<sup>o</sup> was shewn us, which is very curious, given by the duke of *Rohan*. In this library is a clock invented



invented by one *Zinggius* a minister, who contrived it according to *Copernicus's* hypothesis, having many motions in it, which are related in a printed paper. Any citizen that desires the freedom of this library gives 10 florins in money, or in something equivalent; a stranger gives but five florins. Every one that is promoted to any honour gives also a present to the library: These citizens may take books home with them if they will: The students of the *Gymnasia* may study here: The library is opened on *Thursdays* and *Sundays* after sermon. Every day of the week there are sermons in four churches.

Customs.

In our return out of *Italy* in *April* 1665. we observed many other particulars in this city, *viz.* being at the great church on a Lord's day, we saw the manner of their service: The women have their seats in the body of the church, sitting all with their faces towards the pulpit, which is at the parting of the choir from the nave; when they come first into their seats they take by the hand those that are next to them, and after that stand a good while saying their private devotions: The men do the like: The psalm to be sung is written at the church doors, and when they begin to sing the clerk steps from his seat and stands by the school-boys, who sit under the pulpit, who sets the tune, and then all the congregation presently joins with him, never reading the verse first: They have no organs in their churches here: After the psalm is sung the minister prays a little while, and says the Lord's prayer to himself upon his knees, as the Lutherans do: The men stay till the text is read before they put on their hats: The sermon is usually about an hour long: They bowed at the name of Jesus, as the *Grisons* do: When the minister has made his last prayer, another psalm is sung; and after all is done, many stay a while, and stand saying some private prayers.

None but married women have black gowns without arm sleeves, plaited behind with long hanging sleeves, in one of which they hold their hands, as in a muff: They wear a great deal of white linen about their heads, as we observed at *Underwalden*, &c. covering all the forehead and eye-lids, and all the chin to the under-lip. The widows have the same habit with the married women, only upon the crown of their heads they wear a round piece of black, as at *Uri*, &c. Little girls and unmarried women wear furr caps, and some of them have their hair hanging down behind in two braids: Most of the unmarried women and some of the men wear ruffs and long brushy beards.

The ministers wear short gowns, like the professors at *Basil*, and round caps. SKIPPO.

The government is thus; the inhabitants are divided into 12 tribes, or companies, *viz.* 1. *Saffran*, *i. e.* merchants and apothecaries. Govern-ment.

2. *Meisen*, wherein are included vintners, innkeepers and painters. 3. *Schmid*, &c. *i. e.* smiths, pewterers, brasiers and surgeons. 4. *Pfister*, &c. *i. e.* bakers and millers. 5. *Mezker*, *i. e.* butchers. 6. *Kerver*, *i. e.* tanners. 7. *Schümaker*, *i. e.* shoemaker. 8. *Zimberlütts*, *i. e.* carpenters, turners, joiners and bricklayers. 9. *Schnydters*, *i. e.* taylors, wooll-dressers and skimmers. 10. *Schifflüts*, *i. e.* watermen, fishermen and ropemakers. 11. *Kembel*, *five* *Camelus*, so called from the picture of that animal on the hall belonging to such as sell butter and cheese, cheesemongers, makers of nut oil and oatmeal. 12. *Waag*, *five* *Libra*, which is painted on the weavers-hall.

Every one of these tribes chuses two swelvers, or *Tribuni Plebis*, which are in all 24, who with

12 Senators chosen out of the tribes by the council of 200,

6. That are elected by the same 200 where they please,

4 *Tribuni Nobilium*, chosen by the gentry,

2 Senators elected also by the gentry,

2 *Coss.* or burgo-masters, chosen by the 200 out of the 12 tribes.

These 50 are called the lesser council, half of which, *viz.* 12 swelvers, 6 senators, 2 *Trib. Nob.* 1 senator *Nob.* 3 of the free election, and 1 *Coss.* (in all 25) rule by turns every half year, and are called *Concilium Novum*, the other half being called the *Concilium Vetus*. The *Conc. Novum* judges in criminals, and all the 50 in civils. The 50 meet every week, and if any decree, &c. be passed, it is dated in the presence of the *Concilium Novum & Vetus*.

The great council of 200 consists of 144 (12 out of a tribe)

18 Elected by the noblemen,

24 Swelvers,

6 Of the free election,

4 *Trib. Nobilium*,

2 *Senatores Nob.*

2 *Coss.*

The four stadtholders or *Procoff.* are chosen by the 200 out of the 24 *Trib. Plebis*.

Two secklemasters or treasurers are elected by the 200, either out of the 12 senators, or the 12 swelvers in the *Concilium novum*. The fore-mentioned officers are confirmed, or new ones elected every half year, *viz.* at *Christmas*, &c.

The



SKIPPOH. The landtvogts are chosen by this great council, which assembles on important occasions.

The beadles or under-officers wear white and blue coats, which are the colours in the arms of this city. These men are sent by the magistrates with wine to welcome strangers of quality.

August 12. We rode with the messenger, and passed thro' Bullè, a mile and an half from Zurich; then went one mile further thro' Eglisaw (in the jurisdiction of Zurich) situated by the Rhene, which is here but narrow, having a bridge over it, which is covered like that at Heidleberg: hence we travelled to Wasserfall, which is a most remarkable village, so called from the great fall of water or cataract of the whole river Rhene. It falls a considerable height off a rock; and the water breaking and dashing into pieces, makes a noise that is heard a good way; and when the sun shined upon the cloud or mist raised by the waters fall, we observed a perfect rainbow. On the shore here are a kind of pumex-stone; and many good plants grow hereabouts.

Wasserfall.

Schaffhausen.

Half an hour from this place we arrived (four German miles from Zurich) at Schaffhausen, a city seated by the Rhene, where there is a bridge, part of six stone arches, and part of wood, which leads over to a little place called Vuertalen, under the republick of Zurich. From this bridge to the water-fall it is unsafe for boats to pass, by reason of great stones, &c. in the river, and therefore commodities are landed at Schaffhausen, and carted to a place below the cataract, where they are put into other boats that go down the stream.

Schaffhausen is well built of stone, having two fair streets in it, well paved; several fountains up and down the city.

Arsenal.

The arsenal is a pretty building, where is inscribed over the door, above the imperial arms,

*Deus spes nostra est.*

And underneath,

*Justinianus Imp. Rempublicam non solam armis decoratam, sed & legibus oportet esse armatam ut utrumque tempus & bellorum & pacis recte gubernari possit.*

Under that is written,

*Quod Felix Faustumq; sit  
Matthia Rom. Imp. Aug. in Germ.  
Ludovico XIII Henrici M. F. in Gall.  
Regnantib.*

*Ant. Helvet. gentis hujus civit. libertate in celeb. statu & flore  
H. Schwartzio D. et R. Goswilero Coss.  
Tum Existentib.*

*Armamentarium hoc in quo arma  
Reipub. ad legit. defensionem  
Pro salute patriae asservantur  
Coel. numine operis progressum felici.  
Success. B. Fortunante.  
Ex SC. pub. sumptib. de novo Extructum & ad metam mature  
Perductum est.*

*à nato Fil. Dei MDCXVII.  
Anno { P. Helv. Foederis exordio. CCCII.  
à Bombard. pem. invent. CCXXXVII.  
H S D C M E P.  
Johan. Jacob. Meyer Obermaiermeyer.*

On the left hand of that inscription, is,

*D. Paul. 2. Corinth. 10.  
Arma militiae nostrae carnalia non sunt, sed  
Potentia Dei ad destructionem impiorum.*

On the other side,

*Respublica nullo munimento tutior est quam  
virtute civium consentientium.*

This city is walled and trenched about, and hath a new fortification on a hill. At the gates are kept but slight guards. Every citizen, when he walks abroad, wears his sword; and our ostler at the inn, when he was to shew us about the town, took his sword with him.

Every Thursday at eight of the clock in the morning, is a sermon, and then the city gates are shut. The ministers use no extempore prayers, but have the same form with that of the lower Palatinate. No organs in their churches, nor will they permit any images. Ministers are ordained by imposition of hands, a consul being always present.

Three ministers, five senators, and the proconsul (who is president) punish offenders against the church with a pecuniary mulct.

The secretary of this republick, Tobias Beyer, told us, That they were here great admirers of our puritans; and at the mention of O. C. in discourse, he pulled off his hat when he said, *Olivarius beatæ memoriæ.*

The manner of government we had information of from this person, viz. that this city is divided into 12 tribes; each of which chuse two Trib. Plebis; which 24 are called *Senatores ordinarii*. The *Senatus major* consists of the 24 Tr. Pl. and 60 more elected, five out of a tribe, by the 12 companies.

Note,

Govern. ment.



*Note*; the father and son, or two brothers, cannot be senators at the same time.

Two consuls, two quæstors, one proconsul, one censor, and one ædile are chosen every year by the greater senate; but usually the old ones are confirmed.

The senate of 24 try all causes. When a controversy arises, the actor goes to the consul regent for that year, and desires an advocate: The consul is then obliged to appoint a day, and names one of the senators for his advocate, who is sworn to plead the cause without taking a fee, &c. The cause being heard, the senators are asked by the consuls what side they are for; and those that are for the plaintiff, lift up their hands, and the consul tells their suffrages. On such an occasion 12, with the consul who presides, make a senate. *Note*; if any of the senators are related either to the Actor or Reus, they must presently withdraw. And if a father intends to disinherit his son, he must first acquaint this senate with his design; and they take it into consideration, and determine the affair.

Every senator hath the yearly allowance of 52 florins, and nine *Modii* of corn.

Four senators, the proconsul, and the secretary decide controversies about limits, &c.

To the senate of 24 belong the chief secretary, under-secretary, and the beadle, who wears a green and black coat.

The country people are in absolute subjection to this city.

No tribute is paid to this commonwealth, except half a dollar for 100 florins.

The gentlemens sons have more portions than the daughters.

In inferior families the house comes to the youngest.

This republick was lately drawn into a war by the *Zurichers*, who had one *Wertmüller* for their leader.

There is an emulation among the protestant cantons.

One *Stockerus*, that is now a quæstor regent of this city, was embassador to O. C. to intercede when the *English* had war with *Holland*.

About a year ago died one *Haes*, a minister, who had lived in *England*, and could speak *English*.

The *Switzers* are all stout men, with long beards, and are a cleanly people.

The eaves of their houses hang over very much.

*August* 13. We went with a messenger, and rode thro' woods; afterwards pass'd

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a bridge over the *Rbene*, and entred a <sup>SKIPPON.</sup> walled place; then baited at *Turger*, a village, being a præfecture under seven of the cantons; hence we travelled by the *Rbene* side, and a lake called *Under-Zee*, and went over a high hill stored with rare plants. When we came to the city of *Constantz*, four German miles from *Constantz*. *Schaffhausen*, we were examined by soldiers; and after we came to our inn, we sent our names to the governor. This is an imperial city, and is seated very pleasantly in a level ground by the *Rbene*-side, and at the end of the *Bodenza*, which lake the *Rbene* runs thro'. This river, upwards from *Schaffhausen*, we observed to be of a greenish colour.

About 100 foldiers are in garrison here. That side towards the land is fortified with a line and ditch, a good distance from the wall; but that towards the water, only with a wall. A great part of the wall hath water within and without. In a little island without the wall, is a *Dominican's* cloister, and a little bulwark; a long bridge, partly of wood and partly of stone, which leads over to a little part of the city; well fortified with an earth-work and deep trench. Here is a *Benedictine's* abbey. The streets are fair, and well built with stone houses. Over the door of the custom-house, where the council of *Constantz* sits, is written,

*Gaude clara domus pacem populo generasti  
Christicolae, dum Pontifices tres schismate  
vexant*

*Tunc omnes abigit synodus, quam tu tenuisti  
Ipse sedem scandit Martinus nomine Quintus  
Dum quadringentos numerant post mille salutis  
Festo Martini decem & septem simul annos.*

*Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVIII.* is a date written just by.

The arsenal hath figures of men, &c. Arsenal. painted on it, and this inscrib'd,

*Prudentia & vigilantia. Arma justa & leges  
in rep. favorem Dei obtinet nec hominum  
numerosa multitudo, sed Virtutibus rem  
bellicam metiri fas est. Marte & Arte.  
Florente statu & pace non movendum bel-  
lum, sin vero necesse adire pericula plus re-  
prehendendus qui fugit quam qui sustinet pe-  
riculum. Fortitudine & disciplina.*

We saw the *Benedictines* and the *Dominicans* church, a pretty place.

The domo is not large, but a very neat Domo. church: the high altar is rich. Here is a monument of *Johannes Eps. Constantiensis ex illustriss. S. R. I. Dapifer. Comit. Wolfeggfan, obiit 15 Decembris 1644 ætat. 46. Episcopatus 17.*



SKIPRON. In this church hang up two cannon bullets shot into the town when the *Swedes* besieged it, being kept as a memorial of that siege.

Bogardeens. The *Bogardeens* (the third order of St. Francis) cloister is inhabited by twenty monks, who civilly shewed us their small library, and a little chapel called *Capella*

A Legend. *B. Marie sub Tilia*, having this story painted on the wall, That *Constans* the emperor passing over this very place, his horse slipped into the boggy ground, but at the same time the V. *Mary* appeared under a lime-tree, and freed him from that danger and a terrible dragon that watched for him; whereupon *Constans* made a vow, and built this chapel, and gave the first beginning of this city, which is called by his name.

John Hus his prison. In this convent we saw the prison where *John Hus* was kept, and the monks shew'd us a great hole in the wall, which he had made with his nails; and a large room, where, they said, the counsel sat that condemn'd him.

Government. The government of *Constantz* is by two consuls and twenty-four senators.

Lindaw. *August 15.* We hired a boat, which rowed us in the *Boden-zee*, observing, on the left hand of us, the lake to extend a great way, where we had a prospect of *Oberlin*, a free city; and, on the same hand, saw *Langerden*, a little village, with a fort in the water, which belongs to the earl of *Montfort*. Afterwards turning at a point of land, we saw high mountains, and *Lindaw*, which city we arrived at four German miles from *Constantz*. As soon as we landed at one of the ports, we were examined by soldiers, who took our names.

This city is imperial, paying no tribute, but gives somewhat towards the war with the *Turks*. The jurisdiction of this place reaches three hours distance round about, having eight villages under it.

The fortifications are, a strong wall round, and many good bulwarks in the water (the city being encompass'd with the water of the lake.) That side which is nearest the land, is the strongest fortified, and hath a bridge 200 paces long, half of which is stone, and that half next the town, is of wood. The *Swedes* army lay before it, but could effect nothing. Towards the lake is a double wall, between which are vineyards, that afford 100 fuders of wine every year.

The streets and houses are not so fair as those at *Constantz*. The market-place is small, having a handsome fountain in it; and in the streets are other fountains. Some of the houses have rows or *portici* before their shops, and are tiled with gutter tiles.

The government is as follows; there are Government.  
3 Burgomasters, who rule by turns every four months.

15 Ratsheeren.

2 Geheymen Ratsheeren.

19 That judge in civil causes, as debts, &c.

1 Called an *Amman*.

These 40 are all for life, and out of themselves choose the burgomasters.

If any of the 15 dies, the rest of the 15 elect one out of the 19; and, if any of the 19 dies, the rest of the 19 choose a citizen into his place.

On great occasions 20 of the ablest citizens are added to the 40.

In the market-place stands a great lime-tree, which is much observ'd, and is stamp'd on very little pieces of brass money. It grows between the *Lutherans* great church and the *Roman* Catholicks, who have only this here.

On Sunday, *August 16.* We went to the The great church, an indifferent building, and observ'd the Lutherans, when they first came in, stand looking towards the east, and saying their private devotions. The women sit in the middle of the church, and the men round about, and in galleries. The publick service begins with the organ playing, and then all the congregation stand up, and look towards the east, and sing; and, at the same time, a singing-master and boys sing in parts; but no psalm, &c. is named publickly. After this the minister, in his gown, comes up into the pulpit and prays, the people standing up, looking towards the east, and sometimes bowing of their bodies. The minister, at the conclusion of this first prayer, fell down upon his knees, and was silent a good while, and then rose up, and immediately the people turned their faces towards the minister, who read the gospel, and made his sermon on part of it. After sermon the minister said a short prayer, the people turning to the east, and then the organ play'd, and all sung before the minister gave his blessing, after which the organ play'd again, and there was a musical concert of men, boys, &c. When all was done, we took notice of some women, who, with their books in their hands, said somewhat to themselves.

We saw here a christening; the minister took the child from the godfather, and baptiz'd it, the father standing some distance off. They have but one godfather and one godmother at a time.

Every morning and evening there are publick prayers; and every *Friday* the *Lutherans* have a short fast, and the city gates are shut till eight in the morning.

The



The women here wear (some of them) great white dresses of linen about their heads, like the Jews at *Frankfurt*, and some are dressed in their hair; but they all wear ruffs.

Wind-guns are made in this place.

The earl of *Montfort* lives about three hours from *Lindaw*.

*August 17.* We took post horses, and rode two German miles to *Wangen*, a little walled free city, and took fresh horses here, then posted it two hours farther to *Laykirke*, another walled imperial city, where we had new horses, and rode by great pools, and through many fir woods, and passed in sight of the earl of *Tiele's* palace, situated on the hills on the left hand. Some distance from *Laykirke* we ferried over the *Elle*, where they were building a wooden bridge. Towards the evening we came to *Menningen*, a strong imperial city, which we entered after the guards examined us. The town is large, and the streets broad, with water running through them; the houses are low and indifferent. All these post towns are *Roman* catholic. Here we changed our horses, and travelled two German miles, and, about midnight, reached *Mundelbaim*, a walled place, under the duke of *Bavaria*, where we lodged. After some discourse with a watchman, who was in a room over the gate, he first let us come through an outward gate, and then shut it, keeping us on horseback between two strong gates, in a close place, while he examined us; then he opened the inward gate, and dismissed us. These gates were large and strong, yet he opened and shut them without coming out of his room. Above eight German miles from *Lindaw* to *Mundelbaim*.

*August 18.* We hired post horses for a double stage, and rode over moors, and through fir woods, and at four miles end, came to *Landsberg*, a walled town belonging to the duke of *Bavaria*, seated on the ascent of a hill by the river *Lech*. The houses here are well built, and in the market-place is a fountain, erected 1663, having statues upon it, and casting up a pleasant stream of water at least six yards high very plentifully. Here we took fresh horses for *Munichen*; but, before night, one of them jaded, which forced us to take up three German miles short, at *Stegen*, a village on the *Ammer-zee*, which is a lake three miles long. Here we had the *Alps* in prospect, covered with snow. The little boats used in this lake are made of one piece of timber. *Stegen* seven miles from *Mundelbaim*.

*August 19.* We performed the rest of our stage, travelling through pine woods, and over a plain, whence we descended into

another level, where is situated the city of *Munichen*. When we came to the gates of this place, we were strictly examined by soldiers, who took our names, and carried them to the governor, staying above half an hour before we were permitted to enter into the city, which is well fortified with a line of a great height, a deep trench, an inward wall and another trench.

The streets are very fair, being broad, straight, and well built with great houses, many of which are painted well on the outside, and inscriptions on them.

The river *Isar* runs by the walls of this city.

The market-place is large, and the shops here have handsome rows or *portici*. In some places they are double. In the middle of this piazza is a stately high pillar of marble, with the gilded brass statue of the *V. Mary* on the top. On the corners of the pedestal are four brass figures of angels treading upon these four animals, whose names are written upon shields, viz. 1. *Super Aspidem*. 2. *Et Basilicam*. 3. *Et Leonem*. 4. *Et Draconem*.

On one side of the pedestal is inscrib'd,

*Deo opt. max. Virgini Deiparæ Boicæ Dnæ. benigniss. potentiss. Protectrici ob patriam, urbes, exercitus, seipsum, Dom. & spes suas servata.*

On the other side,

*Hoc perenne ad posteros monumentum Maximilianus Co. Palat. Rbe. Utr. Bavar. Dux, SRI Archidapif. et Elector Clientum infimus gratus supplexque pos. MDCXXXIIX.*

Round about are stone rails, having at each corner a lantern of glass.

The arms of the town is, a monk holding up one finger. Formerly he held up two; but the inhabitants rebelling, the prince bended one of the fingers.

Several gates, with towers, are passages into the inner part of the city. On one, over a painting, is written,

*Jessaus facit. Ecce modus. Cithæredus et infans turba salit, mutus vix tacet ipse silex.*

On the stadthouse are many figures of emperors, &c. painted, and sentences written, viz.

*Ludovicus Imper.*

*Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito.*

*S. Henricus Imper.*



SKIPPON. *In summo imperio summa virtus.*

*Fama semper longius.*

*Recepi tenui semperque tenebo.*

Under Car. M.

*Imperium condidi, conditum servate.*

Under Ludov. pius Car. M. F.

*Dummodo pius seu felix seu infelix.*

The women here wear short black cloaks, and broad brim'd hats. Some wear falling bands, and some fur caps and ruffs. Some of the country women hereabouts wear very broad brim'd hats with very little crowns.

St. Peter's church.  
Franciscans church.  
A legend.

St. Peter's church is a fair building.

The Franciscans church is handiome, where they shewed us a crucifix over an altar, which, they said a fellow spewed upon, and immediately the devil carried him away through the south wall, a round window being made where the hole was.

Fair brass altar-pieces here.

In the church-yard is a monument on the wall, thus inscrib'd,

*Thomæ Pitz  
Oxoniensi Nobili Anglo pro fide  
Catholica exuli, serenissimæ Elizabethæ  
Bavaricæ Ducissæ à cubiculis mæstissimi  
Fratres & soreres posuerunt. Vixit an. LXIIII.  
Obiit XVII Julii, MDCXV.*

St. Nicholas, the Carmelites.

St. Nicholas church is not big, but hath a front like the Jesuits. It was built by this prince's father. Over the entrances are these two inscriptions,

*Gulielmus V.  
Com. Pal. Rheni,  
Utri. Bavar. Dux  
Fundator ob an.  
Ab incar. verbi  
MDCXXVI. men. Feb.  
Die VII.*

*Maximiliani  
Fundatoris  
Pio voto & affectu  
Et Ferdinandi filii  
Pio corde  
Et effectu  
Sereniss.  
Principum  
Utriusque Bavaricæ  
Ducum  
Sacri Rom. imperii  
Electorum.*

In a corner room of this cloister, towards the Jesuits college, Maximilian died. Between the Jesuits and this convent is the old palace, call'd by Zeilcrus, *Munimentum vetus.*

Notre Dame church is the cathedral, built N. Dame of brick. The body and the isles of it are church of equal height. It is stately within, and hath two high Cupola or round steeples, and 38 altars.

On a monument here is inscrib'd.

*Henricus Ansleius domo Anglus, Jacobo Ansleio de Evensheim, & Jana Lovelacei de Henle, Oxoniensis provincie, piis parentibus (qui ob religionem catholicam regnante Elizabetha diuturno carcere afflictæ primo demum Jacobi regis anno, piæ catholicæque morte functi sunt) natus heic ad D. virginis canonicus & scholasticus, Habacensisque ædis præpositus, sereniss. Boiarie principibus Gulielmo & Maximiliano ab sacris & consiliis, mortis (ut par est) memor vivus, morituro hoc Altare & Mon. sibi F. C. dic viator, bene vivo, bene mortuo. Obiit XV Aprilis, anno MDCXXXIII.*

He erected an altar close by this monument.

Near this is a monument, with a bishop's effigies on it, and this written about it.

*A. D. 1473. 20 Maii, obiit reverendus in Christo pater & Dom. Dom. Johannes Culbeet, quondam Frysingensis episcopus hic sepultus, cujus anima requiescat in pace.*

At St. Bains altar, near the choir where this duke and his brother were offered, is written,

*Ferdinandus Maria Franciscus Ignatius Wolfgangus Bavaricæ dux. An. Sal. 1640.  
Ætat. suæ 4.*

*Maximilianus Philippus Hieronymus Bav. D. ætat. 5. mens. 9. An. C. 1644.*

Also this is inscribed here.

*Habitus episcopalis S. Bennonis, una cum mitra & baculo pastorali post cc annos ex ejus sepulchro effossus, hic cernitur.*

At St. George's altar are three statues of duke William, viz. in his youth standing on a dragon, in his middle age only his statue, and, in his old age, holding a rotten tree.

In the north isle of the choir is a monument with a skeleton, signifying the story of one, whose picture being desired when he was alive, he promised they should not have it till some days after his death and burial,



burial, when he was taken up, and then found in that posture described on the monument, which hath this writing by it.

Before the high altar is a stone in the pavement, thus inscrib'd,

SKIPPON: 

*Memorable ac luculentum sanctæ antiquitatis ac humilitatis testimonium ad hujus saxi pedem Cadaver scito clausum Johannis Newenbauer Canonum quondam Doctoris minimi majoris, indigni Ratispone Decani et hujus primi Ecclesiæ præpositi mensis Januarii die 20ta anno supra mille quingentos decimo sexto, vita functi sua, cujus anime O Jesu Virginis tue Matris Oratu Saluti adesto Velim.*

On a book opened is written,

*Meminisse velis, O homo, ex turpi hac effigie mortui.*

In the middle of the choir is a most stately marble monument with brass figures, &c. Within an arch lie three figures; a man and a woman lie at the emperor's feet, and a lion lies between them. On the top is the imperial crown on a cushion, and two brass angels are at each corner. Brass rails are round about, and this written,

*Ludovico quarto Imperatori Augusto Maximilianus Bav. Dux Sac. Rom. Imp. Elector jubentib. Alberto quinto Avo, Gulielmo quinto parenti posuit. Anno MDCXXII.*

He died 1347.

At each corner is a great brass figure kneeling on the ground, holding each of them a banner, wherein are these names,

1. *Carolus Crass. Imp. Lud. Boia. regis filius. Richardus Augusta Car. Crass. conjunx.*
2. *Ludovicus pius Imp. Aug. Car. M. Filius Irningardis Augusta Lud. pii Conjunx.*
3. *Ludovicus IV. Imperator Augustus Margareta Han. Hol. Zel. & Fris. Com.*
4. *Carolus Magnus Imperat. Augustus Hildegardis Aug. Car. Mag. Conjunx.*

On each side of the monument is a brass statue, viz. of *Albert V.* and *William V.* Behind the high altar, which is high and rich, is this inscription,

D. O. M.

*Magne Dei Matri Augustæ æternæque Virg. Opt. Max. Boiarie Patronæ, singulari Principum tutela, auxiliatrici, victrici, Maximilianus Boiorum Dux è victa Bohemia redux memor gratusque posuit Anno post C. N. CIOIOCCXX.*  
VOL. VI.

*Heic jacent ex prosapia antiqua incluta Boiorum Augusti Reges Principes Christianissimi bono Reipub. nati, Hæresum Domitores, religionis avitæ sinceræ propagatores, quorum gloria ne cum cinere interiret quod vides æternum posteris monumentum magno ære est extructum.*

Between the choir and the body of the church, is a stately stone arch erected by *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*. Behind and over the seats of the choir, are apostles, saints, and fathers carved in the wood.

The *Præpositus* of this church is stiled *Præpos. Dei gratia*.

In this church hangs up a standard taken from the king of *Bobemia* (the prince *Palatine*) at the battle of *Prague*.

On the south side is a *Dutch* inscription, a monument which signifies, "1592. 2 Nov. died a gentleman called *Carl Rbeckb*, councillor and chamberlain, &c. who had by his wife *Katherine* (her name before was *Effswinning*) that 1595. 21 Decemb. 10 sons and 10 daughters, whose figures are all in marble."

A clock here which shews the motions of the planets, and hath the blasphemous figure of God Almighty drawing and sheathing a sword, the virgin *Mary* and our Saviour moving their hands when it strikes the hour. A bird first moves on the top, and makes a noise; the virgin *Mary* moves her right hand, then her left, and at last both together.

Every *Monday* the duke comes hither to the procession against the *Turks*, this being the seventh week since he first began.

In this church are many curious altarpieces; amongst the rest is the picture of *St. Bartholomew*, much esteem'd. The bones of *St. Apollonius* and *St. Alsatus* are kept in two altars.

*English* nuns of the *Benedictine* order live in this city, who discoursed more freely than those at *Ghent*, &c. these coming into a little parlour without any grate between them and some of our company. *Madam Bedingfield* of *Norfolk* is the governess of about 12 others, among which *Sir James Hamilton's* daughter. On their house is written,

*Jesu converte Angliam.*

These nuns are called by some the galloping nuns, because they go abroad, &c.



SKIPPOON.

Jesuits  
college.

The *Augustines* church is very fair within.

The Jesuits college is like a palace, being a great and high stone building: their church hath a stately front adorned with these statues; and, under each, their names, viz. on the highest top, 1. *Salvator Mundi*; 2. *Theobaldo I. Dux Bavarie*; 3. *Otto Dux Bavarie*; 4. *Otto Mag. Dux Bavarie*; 5. *Car. Mag. Rom. Imp.* 6. *Christoph. Danie Rex*; 7. *Alber. III. dic. Sap. Bav. Dux*; 8. *Rupert Rex Romanorum*; 9. *Maxi. Rom. Imperator*; 10. *Lud. III. Rom. Imp. Dux Bavarie*; 11. *Albertus V. Bava. Dux*; 12. *Guli. V. Ba. Dux Patro. & fundator*, having a model of the chapel in his hand; 13. *Car. V. Rom. Imp.* 14. *Ferd. Rom. Imp.* Below all the other statues, between the two entrances, is the brass statue of *St. Michael* very curiously made, and this following inscription in capital letters,

*Deo. Opt. Max. Sac.*

*In memoriam D. Michaelis Archangeli dedicari curavit Gulielmus Comes Palatinus Rheni utriusq; Bavarie Dux Patronus & Fundator.*

The church within is a magnificent building, being one large and high arch. In the choir are seats, which we never observed before in any Jesuits chapel. In the body of the church are seats like those in our churches; and the rest of the churches we saw in this city, have such seats. At the Ascent into the choir is an altar, behind which is a marble erected, with these three inscriptions,

1. *Renata Lothar. et Barri Ducissa seren. Guliel. V. Conjux & fundatrix, ob. an. Sal. MDCII. die XXIII.*

2. *Gulielmus V. Com. Pala. Rheni Utri. Bavar. Dux Fundator ob. An. ab Incarn. Verbi MDCXXVI. men. Februarii die VI.*

3. *Alexander PP. et Mar. Circa An. DCXXI. et P. Aquam sale conspersam populis benedicimus ut ea Cunct. aspersi sanctificentur quod fit cunctis sacerdotibus faciendum mandamus.*

The pavement is marble. Eleven altars here.

Duke's  
palace.

After we had procured leave, we went to the duke's palace, which is a very stately building, where we saw a long (but narrow) gallery hung on each side with the pictures of towns, &c. to the number of 38, taken in the upper *Palatinate*. Huge stags horns, &c. strangely branched, kept here.

We pass'd then thro' many fair chambers, which have doors of *Mosaic* work, and curious entrances of marble. In some of the chambers were fair stoves, in others rich chimnies, over which were the heads of emperors, &c. viz. *Maximilianus Utr. Ba. D. SRI. Elector, Octavianus Aug. Carolus M.* &c. two little rooms or cabinet closets, one against another, all of marble most curiously wrought, very rich stones being inlaid: a room where are the pictures of the present emperor and the seven electors: a short gallery with the pictures of this duke, his duchess, his father, mother, grandfather and grandmother, great-grandfather, &c. a long and narrow gallery, having a curious roof, whereon are painted all the dukes of *Bavaria*, and all the rivers in *Bavaria*, and *Bavaria* in the middle treading upon a barrel of salt. The two long galleries are very pleasant, having thorow lights, but they are somewhat too narrow. All these rooms are above stairs, paved with variegated marble, and every one differently inlaid. Some of the roofs are of curious wood-work, others of curious plaister fret-work. We came down into a large square room called the four-shaft from the four stately marble pillars which support it, each pillar being of one piece. We were in two little chapels and one great one. We then ascended 52 marble steps, each stair being four yards long. About half way is a landing place, where stand two stately white marble statues, under which is written,

*Othoni M. Witelspachio alteri domus et principatus Boiarici Conditori. Carolo M. Imperii Germanici magno Domus Boiarice Auctori.*

At the next ascent is a third statue with this inscription,

*Ludovico IV. Boiario magno Romanorum Imperatori perpetuo Victori magno domus nominisque Boiarici Amplificatori.*

On the top of the stairs, on one side are four fair marble pillars. The emperor is brought up this way into rooms called the emperor's lodgings, where there is one chamber very large, having over the chimney a statue of *Virtue* in porphyry, between two marble pillars of *Mosaic* work. Over the dining-room chimney is a curious perspective picture made of inlaid marble. We were brought down into the private gardens, where is a short summer gallery, which hath the walls of *Private gardens*. it rarely inlaid with marble *Mosaic* work, repre-



representing several perspectives of this garden, and figures of a dog, cat, peacock, flowers, &c. At the other end of the garden is a rare grotto made of shells, where are also many figures of beasts, birds, and fishes, all exactly made of shells. The walks are paved with little stones, handsomely inlaid: in another private garden is a stately summer-house, with a fair *Mosaic* table in the middle. The *Antiquarium* is a long arched room, most rarely adorned with a multitude of ancient heads, vessels, &c. Many of the heads are joyn'd to modern figures; a fine perspective of marble *Mosaic* work; a brass figure of a gardener pruning a tree in an odd posture; an idol brought from *Mosco*, which was an oracle; the face, hands, and feet of it are black, the habit white, with figures of men, &c. on it, all of marble; many curious fountains in the gardens and courts. In the first court is a great stone which weighs 364 *lib.* and was thrown with one hand by duke *George Christopher*, who did also spring up with his foot 12 feet high, a nail being fix'd in the wall at that height. *Cunrad*, a lord of this country, sprung up nine feet and an half, and one *Philip Springer*, eight feet and an half. *Dutch* verses by the three nails, express the particulars.

Great garden. After we had observed this, we walked to the great garden, where are fair fish-ponds, and water springing out of the sides of them; many fountains and labyrinths; in one of which is one of the duchess's dogs buried under a little stone thus inscrib'd,

A dog's epitaph.

*Qui sepolto Riman il Cane Costante  
Chi morse per amar crudele Amante.*

Rare plants are kept in this garden; among which we took notice of colocasia and aloe; which last had one stalk sprouted up as high as some trees. An aviary here, which they would not permit us to see. On two sides of the garden are two long open galleries, which are too narrow for their length; one of them is very long, where are statues of *Hercules* his labours, pictures of the several months, &c. Here is the story of this *Bavarian* family painted in great paper frames, being the draughts of so many pieces of hangings (kept in the palace) having inscriptions underneath, which I endeavoured to write out, but was forbidden, I know not why, to proceed any further than these following I transcrib'd, *viz.*

*Otto Mag. C. Pal. Witelsbach. Bavar. D. German, Imper. majestatem adversus Græcorum artes & factiosos alios VI minisque repulsos asserit anno 1153.*

*Græci Rom. Imperatoris et Imperii Æmuli artibus et machinationibus fallacibus ascitis undique ex oriente sociis perniciem provincias et populos Ottone M. armis obstante trahere frustra conantur.*

*Otto M. Com. Pal. Bav. D. &c.*

The rest signified other actions of *Otto*, *viz.* his breaking thro' the *Alps*, coming to *Rome* to reconcile the citizens and the pope, his travelling in a private manner to visit religious places in *Italy*, &c.

This duke of *Bavaria* is about 27 years old: he married the duke of *Savoy's* sister, and hath by her a son and a daughter, besides the hopes of another child, the duchess being now big. The grandfather, duke *William*, resigned his government to his son, and then lived and died privately in the afore-mentioned *Carmelites* cloister. *Maximilian*, this duke's father, married the emperor ——— sister.

The duke hath 18 pages, among which the titular duke of *Northumberland* (who was the great earl of *Leicester's* bastard by the lady *Sheffield*; and, upon his leaving *England*, the emperor ——— created him duke, and the duke of *Florence* received him into his court). Sir *James Hamilton's* son, and one Mr. *Birch*, an *Irishman*, are also pages. The duke hath 24 lacquies, and 60 halberdeers, who must always carry their halberds with them; one of these was an *Englishman*, with whom we had a great deal of discourse.

Eighty horsemen, and 100 of the ordinary guard.

The duchess hath eight maids of honour, four of which go away as soon as she sits down to meals.

The duke of *Bavaria* hath three councils.

The first consists of 10 noblemen.

The second is inferior.

The third is for his revenues, &c.

He also hath 104 that look after his castles, and they are called chamberlains; 24 of which attend at court, and wear golden keys. Beside these he hath two high chamberlains.

At *Munichen*, *Landshout*, *Burghausen* and *Strawlin* are councils or parliaments.

The government of *Munichen* is in a Govern-  
high and low senate, each consisting of ment.  
12 persons. The four consuls are of the  
upper senate, who rule by turns; and  
when one of them dies, the two senates  
chuse



SKIPPON. chuse another out of the eight belonging to the upper senate; and, when one of the eight dies, another is elected out of the

lower senate. If one of the lower senate dies, a citizen is elected into his place.

The citizens swear fidelity to the duke.

It will not be amiss, in this place, to insert the following specification of what the emperor and great council of *Germany* gave to the king's majesty of *England* 1655, when he was in exile, which I copied out at *Munichen*.

|                                                                   | Florins. |                                                       | Florins. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Electors of <i>Mentz</i>                                          | 7312     | The lord of <i>Lichtenberg</i>                        | 512      |
| — of <i>Triers</i>                                                | 4812     | — of <i>Eggenburg</i>                                 | 192      |
| — of <i>Collen</i>                                                | 7312     | — <i>Lucawiz</i> in <i>Bosnia</i>                     | 304      |
| — of <i>Bavaria</i>                                               | 7312     | <i>Episcopus</i> <i>Salisburg</i>                     | 2500     |
| — of <i>Saxony</i>                                                | 7936     | — <i>Strasburg</i>                                    | 2500     |
| — of <i>Brandenborge</i>                                          | 7312     | — <i>Freyfingenfis</i>                                | 309      |
| — of the <i>Rhene</i>                                             | 3656     | — <i>Bassow</i>                                       | 1584     |
| <i>Austria</i>                                                    | 14624    | The abbot of <i>Hildesheim</i> in <i>Brun-</i>        | } 1608   |
| <i>Burgundia</i>                                                  | 14624    | <i>wick</i> (bishop of <i>Collen</i> abbot)           |          |
| <i>Episcopus</i> <i>Wurtzburgensis</i>                            | 5486     | <i>Liege</i> in <i>Lieger Wall</i> ( <i>Leodium</i> ) | 3840     |
| — <i>Paderborn</i>                                                | 3488     | The abbot of <i>Marlach</i> in <i>Hessonia</i>        | 440      |
| — <i>Monaster</i>                                                 | 3328     | — of <i>Bertholgraden</i> near <i>Salzburg</i>        | 312      |
| The imperial city <i>Ratisbon</i>                                 | 864      | — of <i>Stablo</i> near <i>Hildesheim</i>             | } 240    |
| <i>Episcopus</i> <i>Osnaburg</i> in <i>Westphalia</i>             | 864      | (also the bishop of <i>Collen</i> )                   |          |
| The palatine of <i>Lautere</i>                                    | 160      | The earl of <i>Anholt</i>                             | 565      |
| — <i>Neuburg</i>                                                  | 2560     | <i>St. John's</i> knights in <i>Strasburg</i>         | 869      |
| The duchy of <i>Brunswig Wolfenbutel</i>                          | 2740     | The imperial town <i>Augsburg</i>                     | 11304    |
| — of <i>Brunswig Zellisch</i>                                     | 2880     | — <i>Kempen</i> in <i>Algoi</i>                       | 308      |
| These towns are in Brandenburg.                                   | 1144     | The provost of <i>Elwang</i> in <i>Suevia</i>         | 264      |
|                                                                   | 144      | In <i>Saxony</i> . { <i>Altenburg</i>                 | 666½     |
|                                                                   | 1496     | { <i>Weymour</i>                                      | 877½     |
|                                                                   | 240      | <i>Gotha</i> in <i>Thuringia</i>                      | 877½     |
|                                                                   | 96       | <i>Eisenach</i> in <i>Hessonia</i>                    | 877½     |
| — <i>Gustrin</i>                                                  | 1496     | The dutchy of <i>Aunspach</i>                         | 1032     |
| The duchy of <i>Cassel Hessonia</i>                               | 4060     | <i>Hennenburg</i> in <i>Saxony</i>                    | 840      |
| The abbot of <i>Hirschfeld</i>                                    | 240      |                                                       |          |
| The earl of <i>Darmstat</i>                                       | 2501     | Sum is                                                | 141985   |
| <i>Lorraine</i> (in the copy also is put }<br><i>Normandie</i> .) | 4864     |                                                       |          |

About two hours from *Munichen*, is *Sleisum*, where the duke hath a palace, and where they make very good cheese, which is counted as good as *Parmezan*.

Sixteen German miles from *Munichen*, is *Hall* in *Bavaria*, which affords great quantity of salt, that is brought hither, and kept in eight long store-houses.

Aug. 20. In the afternoon we went by coach over a level country, and thro' some woods to *Cruck*, (three German miles from *Munichen*) a great village, well built, and like our market-towns: It belongs to an abbey of *Bernardines* here, who have two villages more. Neat baskets made here.

German customs.

The people in these parts are cleanly; but those about *Collen* and *Mentz* we found not so neat. In *Germany* and *Switzerland* most of their windows are of round glass, and the triangular spaces between are filled up with pieces of glass; the casements are great, and generally there are no iron bars in the windows, but in gentlemen's, &c. houses there are window bars like those in our prisons; within the casements are

little windows to draw open, out of which they put out their heads when they look out. In many inns when they bring up wine they bring also bread, with pepper and salt, on a trencher: When we first came into our inns, the master, mistress, and sometimes the servants and children of the house, would come and give us their hands, and do the like when we went away; and almost all persons, as wagoners, servants, &c. would take us by the hand when we gave them any thing: In some places the maid-servants, when we were ready to go away, would present us with nosegays, which we requited with a small piece of money. About *Bavaria* we observ'd when any one bad another good morrow, the other would say, *Deo gratias*. Wine is dear about *Lindaw*, and all the way to *Munichen*, being sold for 10 wispennys the quart; the *Neccar* wine is much esteem'd in *Bavaria*: The women about *Strasburg* in *Switzerland*, and in these parts of *Germany*, wear their hair braided into two twists, which have strings hanging



hanging down to their heels, and their cloaths are made with short waists, begirt with a silver or tin chain, whereon scissars, &c. hang. At *Franckfurt* in *Switzerland* and those parts they burnt frankincense in our chambers. They plough about *Strasburg*, &c. with oxen, which are yoked by the horns: The country houses are built low, with eaves that hang over very much; and the countrymens houses hereabouts are made of fir.

There are four places in *Germany* which they call boors, viz. 1. *Liege*, 2. *Collen*, 3. *Erfur*, and, 4. *Bamberg*.

In *Bavaria* and the adjacent parts of *Germany* the countrymen wear straw-hats.

Aug. 21. We coached it thro' woods and over some plains, and in the way killed a curious bird called *Rollar Argentoratensis*, of the bigness of a dove, and of a blue colour; which we found afterwards at *Messina* and *Malta*: Towards the evening we came into a fenny level, passed by *Fridberg*, a walled town, seated on a little hill on the right hand of us, and then after many windings went over the river *Lech*, and arrived at *Augsburgh*, (six *German* miles from *Pruck*) where we were examined at the gates by soldiers, and at our inn we wrote our names, which we gave to a soldier.

1. In the *Foro Vinario* is a stately fountain, with the statue of *Hercules*, &c. curiously made in brass. On the pedestal is inscribed;

*Johannes Velferus Octavian Sec. Fuggerus*  
IIVIRI locaverunt An. P. Chr. N. MDCII.  
*Quirinus Reblingerus Marcus Velferus* IIVIRI  
probaverunt An. P. Chr. N. MDCII.

2. Against *St. Mauritius's* church is another fair fountain, with a curious brass statue of *Mercury*. On the pedestal is inscribed;

*Industriæ recti Amore temperatæ.*  
*Johannes Velferus Octavianus Sec. Fuggerus*  
IIVIRI locav. An. P. Chr. N. MDXCVI.  
*Octavianus sec. Fuggerus Quirinus Reblingerus* IIVIRI probav. An. P. Chr. N. MDIC.

3. Before the stadthouse is another stately fountain, with the figure of *Julius Caesar* in brass, and several other curious brass figures. On the pedestal is inscribed,

Anno à Col. ded. MDCV. *Johan. Velferus*  
IIVIR. probavit.  
*Posita Ann. à Chr. nato MDXCIII. Imp.*  
*Cæs. Rudolpho P. F. Aug.*  
*Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augusto Parenti Colonia*  
*Augusta Vindel.*

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The great church is indifferent, which the *Roman* catholicks have the use of. *Ca-* The great church dedicated to St. *Udal-*  
nons here; but the church belongs to an *ricus.*  
abbey of the *Augustine Carmelites*.

At the entrance into the college are these inscriptions on ancient stones, viz.

I O M  
M T R SECCO

VITALIVS VIGOR  
SIBI ET VITALIO  
VIRILI FRATRI  
VIVOS FECIT.

In a corner, nigh an arch, is this,

CIVII SILANI LIRI  
LIBERTI NATIONE  
BITVRIX ANNO  
RVM. XIIX. H SIST.

On the wall of the building, towards the street, are these two following.

I . . . OET BASSO CO.

CVRIONI ALIII ET  
COS. ET FL. DECORATO  
LEG. III. ITAL . . . VS  
. . . C . . . VIV . . .

Under this is another thus inscribed,

*Lapis hic*  
*Extra muros*  
*Mense Martio*  
*An. Chr. MDXLVIII.*  
*Inven. Antiqui*  
*Mem. huc P.*

Behind the wine storehouse, not far from the great church, is a square marble pillar, adorned with eagles and cornucopia's; and, on the top, is a \* pine apple, \* *Flr.* the arms of the city. On the sides of the pillar is written,

*Dirigam eum ego ut Abietem Virentem,*  
*Anno P. Chr. N. MDCX.*

The arsenal is a fair building, having a Arsenal. front like many of the *Jesuits* chapels. Over the door is a very good brass statue of *St. Michael* beating the devil; and, by *St. Machael*, are two or three lesser brass figures. Under *St. Michael* is written,

ΑΕΧΙΡΕΑΤΗΥΑΙ.

On this house is written also,

*Marc. Velfer. Jo. Rembol. IIVIRIS.*  
*Pacis firmamento, belli instrumento.*

6 D

Here



SKIPPON.

Here we saw twelve rooms well filled with cannon, and all sorts of warlike instruments; a great piece of brass twenty foot long; another covered with leather; an iron gun beaten out by the hammer.

Twelve guns here called the 12 months.

A piece with seven bores, to be discharged at seven several times.

Lutherans church.

August 23. (Sunday) we went to one of the Lutherans churches, where we observed not much more than we did at *Lindaw*. The people did not turn their faces to the east; but the minister did, when he fell down on his knees, and said the Lord's prayer, at the conclusion of his first prayer, all which time the people stood very devoutly repeating that prayer to themselves. After the last prayer, a clerk began a psalm, which the congregation joined in without the organ; but, after the blessing, the organ, voices and instruments made a concert; and, when all was done, many of the people stayed a while, and read somewhat, with much devotion, in their books.

This church is square within, and flat roofed, like *Covent-garden* church. At the east end is a marble erected with this inscription,

*Christo Crucifixo  
Templum hoc A. MDCXXX. dirutum  
At lege fundamentali Sac. Rom.  
Imperii pacis universalis  
Auspiciis  
Augustissimi Imperatoris  
Divi Ferdinandi III.  
Potentiss. Divæ Christianæ  
Suecor. Gothor. Vandal. Regine  
Feliciss. initæ.  
Restaurat. Consecrat. A. MDCLIII.  
Sumptibus Aug. Confess. Regum,  
Electo. Ducum. Princip. Comit.  
Baron. Rerump. Mæcenat. Civium.  
Quib. pro clementiss. promota  
Pace recuperata fidei libertate  
Benigniss. piaque munificentia  
Omnibus denique beneficiis  
Grates immortales H. monumento  
S P Q Augustan. Aug. Confessionis  
L M Spondet.*

The old stadthouse.

The old stadthouse hath fair pictures painted on the out-side, with these two inscriptions under the stories, viz.

1. *Otho magnus Augustam Victor ingressus.*
2. *Textores honoris causâ clypeo donati.*

In the suburb, nigh the river, which runs by the inner wall, is an ancient stone, with figures dancing, and underneath is written,

*Priscæ. artis. quis. infantium. ludos. vides.  
Sed. &. omnis. ætas. omnis. ordo. ludus. est.*

The house of *Jacob Fuggerus*. His widow hath many curious pictures on the outside, and the history of them explained by these inscriptions following, viz.

1. *Imp. Cæs. Friderico Augusto invicto principi.*
2. *Ob captam & expugnatam urbem Tertornam trophæa posuere S. P. Q. Germ.*
3. *Victoria Imp. Cæs. Friderici P F Augusti nati ad æternitatem nominis Germanici.*
4. *Quod insigne insubrium perfidiam justis ultis est armis D. D.*
5. *Fortissimo, piissimo ac felicissimo Principi Imp. Cæs. Friderico Augusto.*
6. *Romanis in fidem receptis imperio propagato D.*
7. *Imp. Cæs. Augusto Friderico pri. nobilissimo & invictissimo Principi.*
8. *Cujus invicta virtus sola pietate superata est.*
9. *Destat Tortamia Erseruug. Voto suscepto pro salute & reditu Imp. Cæs. Friderici P. F. Aug.*
10. *Kaisar Friederich Barbarosa. Expeditio in orientem suscept. An. Salut. MCLXXXVIII.*
11. *Das Schlaben Mailandmit. Lycaonia & Armenia & Syria recepta.*
12. *Zersterans der stat. Thurcis & Saracenis profligatis.*
13. *Die Beleer vy Romund. Bonus princeps Dei est simulacrum.*
14. *Aus Flieung Desbabst. Maximis virtutibus raro parcit iniqua fortuna.*
15. *Dervene. D. O. M. Imp. Cæs. Friderico piissimo & christaniss. Principi.*
16. *Diger Zwan census des Kaizer Jorgb. Præmaturo fato magno Reip. Christ. detrimento prærepto.*

This family of *Fuggerus* is now but in a mean condition.

The cathedral church is an indifferent building, where we saw the pictures of the bishops of *Augsburg* from *St. Dionysus*, created A. D. 618, till the fifty-third bishop 1598.

Many



Many altars and good pictures here. Towards the west end is erected (against a pillar) a marble, with this following inscription,

*Imp. Cæs. Ottoni Aug. III. ex gente magni Wittekindi Saxon. Reg. Cæs. Ottonis Aug. II. Fil. Cæs. Ottonis Aug. magni nep. reg. Henrici Aucupis pronep. Ottonis Ducis Saxonie & Rom Imperii gubernatoris abnep. Luitolf Saxon. D. atnep. Brunonis-que Saxon. D. & Wittikindi Fratr. trincpoti ob. x. Kal. Febr. Anno Salut. MII. Regni xix. Imperii v. quod viscera ejus hic condita jacent, Fridericus III. Dux Saxonie Princeps Elector Comes Provincialis Turingie March. Misnie & Sacr. Rom. Imperii locum-tenens generalis progenitorib. dulciss. faciend. curavit. Sal. ann. MDXIII. v. idus Maii.*

Nigh the north door of this church is a fountain that runs constantly.

In the Dominican church I transcribed these inscriptions;

## H S E

*Joannes Bayerus jurispruens et inclut.e reip. Augustanæ Advocatus Astrorum Cognitor, Cæli metator, et nobili Uranometriæ opere publicè notus, omnisq; antiquitatis studiosissimus peruestigator, Rbainæ Boiorum Anno CIOIO LXXII natus exin Nonis Martiis CIOIO CXXV. Anno Sacro Augustæ denatus cum annos tres et quinquaginta cælebs vixisset, cui adnota sibi et familiaria sidera cum signo crucis, cujus laudes dum animam ageret cecinit transeunti merito ex poeta accinas.*

*Felices animæ quibus hæc cognoscere primis, Inq; domos superas scandere cura fuit. Non Venus aut Vinum sublimia pectora fregit, Altius humanis, exseruere caput: Admovere oculis distantia sidera nostris, Ætheraq; ingenio supposuere suo. Sic petitur Cælum.*

## Deo Sabaoth.

*Julius Velferus Math. F. Ant. N. Gallia, Italia, Hispania, Lusit. peragrata bellicæ Virtuti se addixit. Imp. Rudolpho II. contra Turcas militavit Ordd. Sueviæ stipendiis bis cccc pedites duxit, tandem in patria excub. militarib. annos XXI. cum laude præfuit, bonis charus, gravis nemini, vixit ann. LX. M. II. D. XXIV. ob. an. S. MDCXXV. IIX. Calend. Febr. Regina Rembolda Jo. Jac. F. Uxor, natarum quinq; ex ipso mater, fidei, amoris, luctus Mon. P.*

*Qui nos hic conjunxit et separ. in cælo æternum conjungat.*

*Mors ultra non erit neq; luctus, neq; clamor, neq; dolor.*

## D. O. M.

*Michaeli Velasco Jo. Velasquei F. præfesto alæ Hispanorum, Philippi Hispaniarum Principis Caroli V. Cæsaris Aug. F. maximo hospitiorum designatori qui Philippum ex Hispania in Belgium & Germaniam sequutus hic obiit, Uxor dolens animo F. C.*

On a grave stone before an altar;

## D. O. M.

*Christophoro Fuggero Ray. F. cælebi inter affluentias temperatiss. Fr. et Fr. Filii Heredes altare hoc ad Dei gloriam et monumentum illi poss. anno MDLXXIXIIII Non. April. ætatis anno LIX mense II.*

In a little chapel on the south side;

*Hoc divinæ clementiæ propitiatorium ad præpotentiss. Dei majorem honorem & gloriam omnium fidelium piè in Christo Redemptore suo, defunctorum solatium, in sui suorumq; perpetuam memoriam erexit, Purgatorii flammis Flamma Christiani amoris coardens Joannes Franciscus Im. Hof. Anno MDCLV.*

In the Sacristia are many monuments of the Rembold family, some of which we took notice of, viz.

*Joannes Casparus Rembold. trium Imperatorum Ferdinandi II. & III. ac Leopoldi I. à Consiliis Reipublicæ Augustanæ Præfessus. Anno MDCLXIII. Hunc mihi meisque posui lapidem, Deus ponat fines nostros pacem & requiem.*

*Memor brevis ævi. Joannes Casparus Remboldus de Neufess. S. Cæs. Majest. Ferdinando II. & III. à Consil. & Reip. Aug. duumvir Joannis Jacobi duumviri F. Vivus sibi mortuo & Jacobine Bechleren charissimæ suæ conjugi I. liberisque ex ea susceptis, Mariæ, Margaritæ, Joanni Jacobo, Mariæ Franciscæ, Mariæ Elizabeth. & Annæ Mariæ Altershamerin à Finsing & Obernback charissimæ suæ conjugi II. liberisque ex ea susceptis Philippo Casparo, Mariæ Theresiæ, Annæ Monicæ, Joanni Francisco, Regine Barbaræ, Cunigundi Hilarie, Afræ Ciliaræ, hoc monumentum P. A. MDCLIII. Natus est A. MDXCVII. XXIII Junii. Denatus A. MDCCX.*

*Precare vivis beatam mortem, mortuis vitam.*

## D. O. M. S.

*Joanni Jacobo Remboldo in Neufess. S. Cæs. Majest. Ferdinando II. à consiliis & reip. Augustæ duumviro, nato A. MDLIII. denato MDCCXXIII. & Justine Westerinæ lectissimæ*



*lectissimæ conjugii natæ A. 1618. denatæ A. 1644. dilectissimis parentibus Joannes Casparus Remboldus posuit A. MDCLIII. Sta viator, paucis te volo sub angusto marmore conditus jacet, sub cujus duumviratu Augustissima e marmore curia & Armamentarium surrexit. Duumvir remp. August. xx annos feliciter rexit eandem consiliis suis universim 48 annos erexit I. nunc & apprecare ei ut feliciter resurgat.*

At the west end of the church;

*Leſtor Aveto*

*Erat Joann. Faber Sacræ Theologiæ artiumq; Doſtor, Ordinis prædicator. Congregat'is German. Vicar Generalis Prior Augustens. edem hanc sacram ruinam ob vetustatem minantem, partim Apostol. sedis beneficio, partim vero civium Augustentium eleemosynis Leone X. Pont. Max. ac Maximiliano PFPP Gleiff. Casare remp. Christianam gubernant. Fab. Proc. Hiero in Hof. et Melch. Stunte Augusten. max. laboribus ac incredibili cura Deo opt. Max. Marie Virginii, Marie Magdal. Joanni Evang. atq; Divo Dominico Ord. Prædicat. Parenti infra triennium (vix credes) à fundam. F. C. Anno x<sub>2</sub>. MDXV. x Septemb. Vale et abi, hoc velim ut scires.*

*Deo Opt. Max.*

*Cæterisq; Divis, summa religione moti Patricii ac Cives Augustens. quorum hic vides insignia universa pene Europa armis laborante pientiss. domum hanc Q. lapsum penè minaretur suis ampliss. eleemosynis à fundam infra triennium faciundam auxilio fuere. Anno x<sub>2</sub>. MDXV. die x Septembris.*

Towards the top of the north side of the church;

*Imp. Cæs. Maximiliano Aug. pio felici. Hung. Dalm. Croatiæque Regi, &c. quod suum Austr. Archiducatum ec etiam Rom. Imp. pacatum reddiderit, auxerit, ampliaverit quodq; Philippum Fil. & Carol. Nepot. Hispaniarum Reges constituerit vixit ann. LVIII. mens. VIII. dieb. XVIII. obiit Welfs. die XII Jan. Salut. an. MCCCCXVIII Regni Ann. XXXIII. Princ. Opt. Christianæq; religionis acerrimo propagatori Fr. Joann. Fabr. Augusten. Theologus Majest. suæ à consilio devotiss. faciendum curavit atq; posuit MCCCCXVIII.*

*Philippo Catholico Regi Hispaniarum, &c. Imp. Cæs. Maximiliani Aug. & Mariæ D. Burgundiæ, Filio qui vixit annis XXVIII. mens. III. diebus II. obiit Burgis Florentissima ætate magna RP Christianæ jactura relictis Patre & Filiis pupillis Carolo Rege & Ferdinando Principe Hispania-*

*rum, &c. Anno Salutis MDVI. VII Kal. Octobr. ob. vitæ eius felicitatem erat Joann. Fabr. devotiss. positum Ann. x<sub>2</sub>. MCCCCXVIII.*

Opposite to the two last are these two following, viz.

*Imp. Cæs. Carolo Aug. V. maximo, Cæs. Frederici III. pronepoti, Cæs. Maximiliani Aug. et Ferdinandi magni Hispaniarum regis nep. Philippi et Joannæ Hispaniarum regum filio ob felicem ejus electionem ab universo populo Christiano desideratam de se anno ætatis xx. unanimi principum electorum consensu factam, IIII Kal. Julius Salutis Anno MDXIX. Principi clementiss. Frater Joann. Fabr. Theologus Ordinis S. Dominici devotiss. posuit. Anno reparationis humanæ MCCCCXX.*

*Ferdinando Principi Hispaniarum Archiduci Austrie Duci Burgundie Cæs. Frederici III Aug. Pronepoti Cæs. Maximiliani Aug. et Ferdinandi magni Hispaniarum Regis Nepoti Philippi et Joanne Hispaniarum Regum Filio Caroli Imp. Cæs. Maximi Aug. V. Fratri Germano Principi Pientissimo. Frater Joannes Fabr. Augustanus Prædicatorii ordinis devotissime posuit. Anno humane restaurationis MCCCCXX.*

In this church are also the monuments of

*Joannes Velferus ob. 3 Kal. Sept. 1596.*

*Lambertus Gruterus Epif. Neapol. ob. 14 Aug. 1562.*

*D. Alphonsus de la Rosa.*

*Xtoph. Hoerman à Gutttenberg Ill. Dom. Fug.*

*Matthias Kagerus, pictor.*

*Antonius Xtoph. Rbelingerus II vir 1612.*

*Joannes Baptista Schekenbergius 34 Cos.*

On the south side is a little chapel, with monuments of the Rbelingeri.

At even song we observed the monks come out of their choir, (which is not publick as in other churches) and divided themselves, half on one side and half on the other, a lay-brother carrying before each side a lighted candle; then they stood before the two chief altars, and one of them sprinkled holy water about, and after they had some service they returned into the choir again. This is, they say, enjoined by the pope for some dispute they have about some little circumstances.

On



On the inner gates of the city are good pictures, with these inscriptions on three of them, viz.

On the holy cross gate,

*Fridericus Sueviæ Dux voluntariis Augustanorum copiis subnixus, Patris Abenobarbi Imp. auspiciis in Asiam profectus iconium vi cepit Anno MCDLXXXIX.*

*Cunrado III. Cæsari Augustani militem et pecuniam decernunt, eumque in Syriam proficiscentem et Damascum obsidentem juvant Anno MCVLXVIII.*

*Fridericum II. Imp. Augustani adversus Saracenos transmare sequuntur. An. MCCXXIIX.*

On the virgin Mary's gate,

*Matthæus Langus Patricius Augustan. Card. et Archiep. Legationis Princeps Romanorum Imperium ab Electorib. nomine Caroli Austrii petit et impetrat Anno MDXIX.*

*Matthæus Langus Patricius Augustanus Cardinalis et Archiepiscopus Anno 1523. Salisburgenses supplices in fidem recipit.*

On another gate.

*Attilam anno CDLIV. Fanatica mulier in Lyci transitu consternat ter horrende inclamans retro Attila.*

*Othoni magno Cæsari Berengarius Pater et Adelbertus Filius Italiæ Reges Augustæ se dedunt An. DCCCCLII.*

*Albertus et Rudolphus Rudolphi Cæsaris Filii Austriæ et Sueviæ Ducatibus à Patre donantur Augustæ. Anno MCCLXXXII.*

Nigh an out gate, not far from the arsenal, are the imperial arms, over a great gate, and this inscrib'd ;

*Carolus V. Romanorum Imperator.*

*Aurea Libertas hæc Propugnacula fecit,  
Hosti ne fiat præda cruenta fero :  
Sic tamen & nomen Domini fortissima turris  
... tormina, tela, facem  
Qui T ... & vigili nil nisi vana facit.*

*Consulibus Georgio Herwart et Imprechto Hofer.  
Ædilibus vero Joanne Welscher magno Scicxx et  
Georg. Weiland. Anno MDXLIHII.*

A Benedictine abby in this city.

The Papiests have many churches here, and the Lutherans since the peace have six churches.

On the house where they exercised their religion before, is this inscription ;

*Deo, uni essentia, trino personis Maximo Optimo Sanctissimo, Ecclesia Christi confessionem Augustanam profitens pio voto hanc domum consecravit Anno A. R. D. CIOIOLXXXI.*

The Lutherans are reckoned to be about as many again as the Papiests in this city ; and before a plague which raged (they say) only among the Lutherans some years ago, they were a far greater number.

In this city are seven mens and five English womens cloisters, one of which are English nuns, like those at *Munichen*, who go abroad.

Before the peace the Jesuits had two colleges, and the *Franciscans* two convents ; but now the Jesuits have but one, where we saw a *Latin* play well acted by the scholars ; the title of it was *Innocentia à Zelotypia condemnata*, & a *S. Udalrico prodigiosè vindicata*.

In this city by the habits you may know the women of what religion, quality and condition they are of, *ex. gr.* whether they are widows, married women, or maids, whether they are merchants wives, &c.

The Roman Catholick gentlewomen wear their hair loose, but the Lutheran gentlewomen tie their hair up under a hat.

The government is equally divided between both religions.

The government is thus, as far as we could learn of it. There are

2 *Præfetti* or *Duumviri*, called *stadtfagers*, one a Lutheran, the other a Papiest, who take place by turns every half year ; each hath a stipend of 1000 dollars *per annum*.

5 *Affessors* ; These seven make the private council, and are all *Patricii*.

The ordinary senate consists of the aforesaid seven,

- 24 *Patricii Antiqui*,
- 4 *Patricii Moderni*,
- 3 Merchants,
- 7 For the citizens.

In all 45, out of which are chosen six consuls, or burgomasters, whereof

- 3 Are *Patricii Antiqui*, and all papiests,
  - 1 *Patricius Modernus*,
  - 1 Merchant,
  - 1 Citizen,
- } Lutherans.

These burgo-masters rule two every four months, one being a Lutheran, and the other two papiests, taking place by turns.

Three questors, two of which are of the private senate.



SKIPPON. Three *Ædiles*, two of them are *Patricii antiqui*, and the third is a *Patricius mod'*.

A great council of 300, on the 3d of *August* every year, confirm or elect new officers, if they misbehave themselves; but usually the fore-mentioned continue for life.

Every magistrate that sits on causes thrice a week, is allow'd a dollar for every day he is present.

*Note*; When a citizen marries the daughter of a *Patricius*, he is immediately reputed a *Schallhaff*, or *Patricius modernus*.

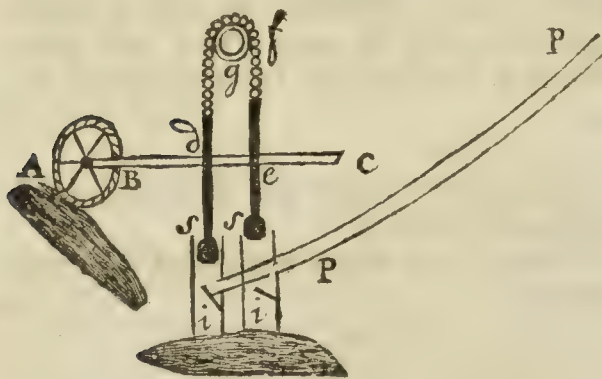
We observed one morning, when there was a council, two chains that cross'd the market-place near the stadthouse.

The beadles, or under-officers of the town, wear party-colour'd coats of green and white.

The night-gate, where people are let in when it is late. There is first a great gate, then a bridge over the trench, a little iron gate, a draw-bridge, and three gates to be pass'd before they are admitted within the walls. The gates, and the draw-bridge are all moved by wires, which open and shut the locks, doors, and draw up, and let down the bridge. They that move the wires, stand in a lodge over the inmost gates. We pass'd through such a gate at *Mandelheim*. They that enter here must pay a small piece of money.

All the doors of private houses in this city are opened and shut by wires, which are moved by those that are above stairs.

The water-works we observ'd to be after this manner.



The wheel A, turned by water, moves the axis B, C, which axis hath at *d*, half its circumference cogg'd, and the other half at *e*, is with coggs. The suckers *s s*, at *d e*, have teeth, and, when the coggs of the axis meet with the suckers teeth, the suckers are alternately mov'd up and down, being joined by the chain *f* to the pully *g*. The suckers draw up water through the valves *i i*, and, when one sucker draws up the water, the other forces up the water through the pipe *P P*, into a high tower, where there is a great

cistern, where the water is distributed into the fountains and private houses.

There were many of these, and other wheels and suckers, and one wheel that brings up water in pitchers fix'd round in the wheel.

A little cistern, by which they know the proportion of water, how much will run in an hour, &c. We saw here a little brass figure given by the duke of *Neuburg*.

In a private house we saw *Archimedes* his *Cochlea*, which is double, and used to raise up water.

We saw accidentally the latter part of a marriage-solemnity among the *Lutherans*. When the minister had done, the organ play'd all the while the company were going out of the church. The men came first two and two together, every one having an *Armilla* of box on his wrist. Then came the women by two and two, dress'd with white linen about their heads, very like the jewish women at *Frankfurt*, and habit-ed in gowns like our sophisters in *Cambridge*, only they had neither capes nor sleeves. Every woman had also an *Armilla* of box. After these followed the bridegroom, with a garland in his hat, which some of the men that went first also had. After him went many men, and next came little girls before the bride, and many women. Almost every one gave somewhat to the poor as they came out of the door.

The stadthouse is a very fair building, Stadthouse the neatest, after that at *Amsterdam*, we yet saw. Over the entrance into it is written.

*Publico Consilio, & Publicæ Saluti.*

Within, on the first floor, is a hall pav'd with marble and eight square pillars of marble support the ceiling. Over this is another hall of the same bigness, having the pavement and eight round pillars of marble. In this story is the council room, in the middle of which is a grate, even with the floor, through which heat is convey'd out of a stove underneath. In the third story is a very stately large and high room, with a marble floor, but without pillars. In all our journey hitherto we saw not the like. The roof is curiously painted, and the walls adorned with the pictures of *Cæsars*, &c. and richly gilt. Here all the magistrates are chosen. On each side of this great hall are two rooms (which have doors made of pear tree) for the several magistrates, not marbled, but plancher'd in the floor. In one of them were some pictures of *Kagerus* his drawing, and, on a wall, is *Solomon's* judgment done



done by the same hand. Three pictures representing a Monarchical, Democratical and Aristocratical government.

The prison is behind this stadthouse.

One *Cornelius Walpergen*, *Christopher Beck* was one of our merchants, who is a Calvinist, his, and one family more, being all in this city.

We were civilly entertain'd by one *Huevener* a *Patricius* and a *Ratshéer*, at whose house we saw an *Aviarium* in the garden, and fountains, one in the middle of a table, where he plac'd a little figure in a shooting posture, and out of his gun, water proceeded. A pretty little grotto made of petrified earth, &c. About half an *English* mile out of the city, he shew'd us his pleasant gardens nigh a little river, where he hath a wheel which forces up water to serve several fountains. In the middle of the garden is a pond, where he keeps *Indian* and *Turkey* ducks, and many water tortoises. An artificial rock, out of which water runs plentifully, and drives four or five little wheels. A little island, and an arbour in the middle of it, raised upon a higher ground than the rest, which was almost level with the superficies of the water. An artificial grotto, where were two figures, one in a sitting posture, with a book in his hand; the other a grim fellow standing in a corner. At a whistle, a servant standing behind the cave, privately causes the water to overflow the level of the island, and the floor of the cave, whereat the company being much surpriz'd, endeavour'd to keep themselves dry in the highest place, which is near the fellow in the corner, who, as soon as they came near him, kick'd them, and struck them with his hand, and the other with his book was remov'd. When we were thus frightened, a whistle, or any other sign, commands the water down again to its usual height. Over this cave is an arbour, and, by the side of it, a little tower, where there is a bell, and two or three ropes, which, if pull'd, a dish is turn'd with water in it, that runs down on the ringer, if he does not carefully avoid it. At the same time this dish is pull'd over, a head is mov'd, which looks out of a window. A little summer-house, where the figure of a man throws out water. Above, on the rail of a balcony, is a pipe, on which is fix'd the figure of a drunkard, who spews out water, and, when he is taken off, other figures may be put on like those at *Heidleburg*, &c. Another fountain, where the water came up very plentifully through a great hole; and to make a strange unexpected sight, six ducks, which are put into the water privately, are forced to

come up out at this hole. In the middle of a garden plot is another pipe, on which several things are put, which move round with the water. In the summer-house we observ'd a board, with round holes made at equal distances, which they play with, by throwing brass pieces (standing at a certain distance.) They reckon so many towards the game as slip into the holes. In this garden is a pretty perspective at one end of the walk, where are three wooden pillars on a side in a perspective way, and painted. A door also is opened, and then there appears a little model of a house built upon arches, placed a little distance off, and behind that are planted four or six small fir-trees; all which together make a very fine perspective.

We were beholden to one *Mr. Perkenair* a merchant, and had some discourse with one *Mr. Stringfel* the town secretrary, who had been in *England*, and could speak a little *English*. One *Mr. Cock*, a *Patricius*, was very civil to us; he is reputed a learned man; he makes glasses, and tries chymical experiments, who hath been in *England*. He gave us some hints concerning a dial, which he presented to the duke of *Bavaria*. In a glass were put oyl of tartar and spirit of wine an equal quantity, wherein swims a hollow globe of silver, with a little piece of a loadstone, or small piece of iron touch'd by a magnet, in the middle of it. This ball swims between the two liquors, and round the glass are described the twenty-four hours, and on the *globulus* is fixed an *index* or little fish. This glass must be plac'd over some clock-work that moves a load-stone.

Such a dial *Gassendus* writes of in his life of *Piereskus*, made by one *Linus*, an *English* Jesuit, at *Liege*.

This imperial city of *Augsburg* is indifferently fortified; the town is large, the streets broad, and the houses very fairly built of stone.

Most of the men wear black cloaks; the better sort have them long like mourning cloaks. Many coaches kept here by the *Patricii*, &c. The coachman sits on the left horse, as they do in most parts of *Germany*.

This place is not very populous for the bigness. In some of the streets grass grows. Before most of the tradesmans shops are seats, where the master, mistress or servant sits.

Most of the women wear blue or green aprons. Their cloaths are made short-waisted, and they have, round their waist, a silver or tinsel chain with their knives, &c.

In this city are made odd knacks, as pictures of habits, chains for fleas, &c.

*August*



S  
KIPPON.Dona-  
wert.Weissen-  
berg.Nuren-  
berg.St. Lau-  
rence  
church.

August 28. With a coach and four horses we rode through some fir woods; and, after six German miles riding, we passed a wooden bridge over the Danube, which is here about twice the breadth of the Cam at Cambridge, and, on the other side, took up our lodging in Donawert, a pretty wall'd town of the duke of Bavaria's, situated on the rising of a hill.

August 29. We pass'd very bad and dirty way, and came thorow fir and pine woods, and through two wall'd towns, Monbaim and Papenbeim. About the middle of this day's journey, we travell'd by a great monastery, called Kaiser's cloister, seated in the woods. At night we reach'd Weissenberg (five German miles from Donawert) a wall'd and free town. Here we observ'd, on the gate and stadthouse, a hand cut off, and an ax painted, to admonish false witnesses, &c.

The inhabitants are all Lutherans.

Nigh this place is Wiltzburg, a strong fort on the top of a hill, that belongs to the marquis of Anspach, a Lutheran.

August 30. We travelled a little way, and pass'd through a small wall'd place call'd Pleinfeldt, and, before we baited, we saw on the right hand a nobleman's castle strongly situated on a hill, and at three miles distance from Pleinfeldt, we baited without Roff, a wall'd town of the marquis of Anspach's; and afterwards we rode by two stone crosses, which, they report, are set up in memory of two huntsmen, who shot and killed one another in these two places, 260 paces asunder, having this day travelled seven miles from Weissenberg, sandy way, and thro' fir and pine woods. Two hours from the two crosses, we arrived at Nuremberg, where entering the out-works, soldiers examined us, and then we passed a draw-bridge over a dry trench, lined with a stone wall on both sides, and came through the wall gate, nigh which is a strong stone tower, with many pieces of cannon on the top of it.

St. Laurence church is a fair stone building, having two organs in it. In the south side of the choir is a handsome monument thus inscrib'd in High-Dutch.

Vongottes Gnaden

S O P H I A

Geborne Hertzogin Zu Braunschweig und  
Luneburg Herrn Georg Fridericus  
Marggraffen Zu Brandenburg Hertzagen  
Zu Prussen, etc. Wittibe

Ist Geborn den 3. Octobris anno 1563.  
Seliglick gestorbenen 14 Januarii 1639.

Wittibe Gebliben 36 Jahr.

Altworden 75 Jahr. 2 monat. 14 tage.

Round the choir is a stone-gallery.

The place where the sacrament is kept, is made of one curiously carved stone, which reaches to the top. Under it are three statues of the workman, viz. 1. When he began. 2. When he finished the work. 3. When he died. They say, he lost his sight with poring on (and carving it.)

In the middle of the choir hangs a crucifix worth 20000 l. Sterling, of beaten gold in a great bag, which is never shewn to any except twelve magistrates be present. The altar picture describing the passion of our Saviour is curiously drawn by Henrick Wendener 1614.

We saw a small chapel built in imitation of our Saviour's tomb by three Patricii, who travelled to Jerusalem purposely to see it.

The hospital is a fair house, having a neat and large church. In the Sacristia is an Asylum.

The castle is in the highest part of the city, being built upon a rock, with a very deep and broad dry trench round about. On the inner wall are the prints of two horse-shoes upon a stone, which were made by a horse whereon one Eppene Van Caligne, a prisoner, escap'd, by leaping over the trench in this place, holding a gold and silver cage of birds in his hands.

The stadthouse is a stately building. Within is a little court, and a fountain in the middle of it. Above stairs are two open galleries, where the stoves are kindled that warm several rooms. Over the stoves are ornaments of stone. The uppermost gallery hath a fine fret-work ceiling, representing Patricii that run a tilt, spectators, &c. The chambers are handsome, furnished with good pictures. In one room is a curious perspective of the hall below, and the citizens homage to the emperor. At one corner is written,

Rupertus Haver. inve. del. et pinx. Norimb.  
Homagium Leopoldo Imperatori Prestitum.  
D. VII. Augu. Anno MDCLVIII.

In the middle chamber of the upper story are fair pictures of Fred. II. Matthias, Rudolphus II. Sigismundus, Rudolphus I. Carolus M. A picture of Adam and Eve done by Albert Durer. A fair picture of those who were feasted here together at the proclaiming of the peace. Among the rest we observed Carolus Gustavus, the prince palatine of the Rhene. A picture of the stadthouse, and wine given among the people then. A picture of the hospital. A night-piece. Below stairs is a long arched hall, with the emperor's triumph, &c. painted



painted on the side; at the upper end is inscribed;

*Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto.*  
*SPQNP Honori ac Memoriae sempiternae*  
*illustrissimorum Burgundiae et Brabantiae*  
*Ducum, nec non Flandriae Comitum ob*  
*Vestigalium immunitatem per eorum dili-*  
*onem Civibus Noribergensibus benigne con-*  
*cessam.*

Post. S.

*Imper. Ludov. IV. Augusto Boiorum Bata-*  
*vorum Cannenufatium Belgicae Secundae*  
*Friforumq; Duci Principi Optimo et de*  
*Repub. Noribergensi bene merito.*

On the wall of the stadthouse is made a frog, which a stranger is to take notice of, that he may mention that as a testimony of having seen this place.

Before one of the doors of the stadthouse lies the longest stone that is in the street's pavement.

Nigh St. Lawrence's church are three fountains; that in the middle is very handsomely adorned with iron bars and brass figures; and those on each side are painted, and thus inscribed under the imperial arms,

MDCLV.

*Lustro post feliciter pacatam Germanicam*  
*horum fontium latices ab imis fundamentis*  
*restaurati renovati et publico emolumento*  
*ornamentoq; in uberiora effluvia subducti*  
*sub. regimine Patrum Patriae.*

Assyria under the picture of Nimrod; and Persia under Cyrus.

Under all is water pouring out of a bucket, &c. and, *Sic Unda Undam urget.*

Round about the top is written;

*Faecundet pax alma Urbem dum lymphæ*  
*perennis,*

*Utile jucundo miscet et vena fluit.*

On the other fountain is *Græca* written under the picture of Alexander M. and *Romana* under Julius Cæsar: Two triangles fixed on bases, and *Fortitudo Constans*. A hand from heaven putting a crown of laurel on a lamb, and *Patientia Victrix*. A hand, &c. holding a flower-de-luce, and written, *Industria Sagax*. A palm tree, and *Beneficentia Fecunda*. A sword with a laurel wreathed about it, *Iustitia mitis*. A lion couchant, *Vigilantia per Nox*. A snake about a lion's neck, *Prudentia Tuta*. Under all is a representation of antient ruins, and this written, *Meat Irremeabile Tempus*.

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This following inscription is also here; SHIPPON.

*Siste Viator Aquam Virtutibus profluentem*  
*Virtutes in Aqua resplendentes intueri,*  
*Aqua Accretionis Principum consistentiæ*  
*Virtus est, hinc inexhausta corporis et*  
*animæ salus tu dum tempus effluit statuas*  
*has factis exprime sub Ædilitio munere*  
*Burkardi Loffelholzi à Colberg Triumviri.*

In the other streets are many fountains, one very fair of stone in the market-place, which is a broad square piazza. There are also many wells in the streets, having a cross beam of stone that rests upon two pillars, on which hang two buckets at a well.

The Domo is not so fair a church as The S. Lawrence's; the body of the church is very narrow, the isles being as broad or broader, but not so high; in the middle of the choir, before the shrine where S. Sebaldu's reliques are kept, stands a wooden cross, made by Albert Durer, which the duke of Bavaria offered its weight in gold for.

On the north side of the choir is written,

*Auspice Christo, Honori et Gloriæ Sacro*  
*Sanctæ Trinitatis Magnific. et Nobiliss.*  
*Senat. decreto Templum hoc renovatum est*  
*Anno Domini MDCLVII. Ecclesiar. et*  
*Scholar. Ephoro et Curatoribus, &c.*

Two organs here, and a fair pulpit of wood: Here are six or seven altars, where mass is said in *High Dutch*. Before a little altar, on the north side of the high altar, is a burning lamp: The high altar is of wood, and richly gilt: Round the walls of the choir isles are fair pictures. In this and all other churches of the Lutherans here every woman hath her coat of arms or mark on her seat.

N. B. In this city the Lutherans seem to be nearer the Papists than any we yet saw; they preserve images in the churches and on the corners of streets, &c.

We saw the funeral of a widow in the streets: First, four high poles like banners were carried, then followed many singing boys; next about six ministers in surplices and round caps, after them came the corpse, and then a great number of women: No men at this solemnity besides the ministers. They bury all in churchyards without the city.

On the church doors hung a table, with a writing that signified the death of a person of quality.

In one of the churches we observed the Lutheran service in the morning: In the choir sat six ministers in their surplices; one of them went to the altar between



**SKIPPON.** the choir and the body of the church, and whilst he read with his back to the altar, every one stood with their faces westward; when he had done, he returned to his place, and then a great company of boys sung in the streets.

Several boys that are maintained by the magistrates go about the streets singing.

Every morning there are sermons in the churches.

The *Roman* Catholicks have one small church.

The *Calvinists* are many, who have a church about a mile from the city.

Therow this city runs the river *Menus*, having many bridges over it, one, near the shambles, (which are very fair) being one large arch; at a corner of the butchery is an ox carved in stone, and this distich under it;

*Omnia habent ortus suaq; incrementa, sed ecce  
Quem cernis nunquam Bos fuit hic Vitulus.*

Hot-  
houses.

In this city are many hot-houses; in one of them we observed a paved room, kept very close, and heated by stoves; a little time makes those sweat that sit here. In these houses are also artificial baths, which the better sort have in their own houses.

The Go-  
vernment.

The government is in 42 magistrates, which consist of

26 Burgomasters, two of which are regent every four weeks. Eight senators.

Eight for these trades, viz. 1. Goldsmith. 2. Butcher. 3. Tanner. 4. Taylor. 5. Baker. 6. Brewer. 7. Furrier. 8. Linen-draper. These eight sit in council once in four weeks, to advise about trade.

These 42 magistrates or ratsheeren chuse a new burgomaster (when one dies) out of the eight senators.

In great affairs a council of 500 citizens is assembled.

*Triumviri.*

Five of the senators judge causes.

We were told that but some of the *Patrician* families were capable of the magistracy.

In ecclesiastical matters the *supervisores* are governors, the eldest minister called *dispositor*, and the next two called *seniores*: They have no power to excommunicate, the magistrates determining.

This city had formerly a burgraffe, the marquiss of *Brandenburg*, (some said the earl of *Anspach*); but now there is no burgraffe, and a great enmity between this town and that family.

Customs.

Every evening about nine o'clock a fellow goes up and down the streets singing, and gives notice of the time of night, and bids the people put out their candles.

About the same time and at three in the morning trumpets are sounded.

The houses of this city are high, and very fairly built of stone; the streets broad and handsome, but the buildings are not so uniform as those in *Holland*: one thing they are to be blamed for, which is the casting of dung into the middle of some streets: It is very usual here to set pots of flowers, &c. on ledges without the windows of their houses.

*Tuesdays*, *Thursdays* and *Saturdays* are market-days; all things are sold very cheap; birds alive of all sorts are brought every day into the market, and they sell (to eat) jays, starlings, wrens, titmice, &c.

The women (most of them) wear great fur caps, some of which are worth ten dollars a-piece, and have short cloaks about their shoulders; others have green plads.

Many curious knacks made in this city.

At our entrance into *Nuremburg* we observed a stone channel that conveyed water in their ground.

*Sept. 3.* We hired our *Augsburgh* coach, and this day in the afternoon rode through fir and pine woods, and after three *German* miles travelling came to *Altorf*, a little walled town, the houses indifferently built.

An university in this place; the college is like some of our lesser colleges in *Cambridge*, having a fountain in the middle: 38 students are maintained here by the magistrates of *Nuremburg*, who appoint a præfect that governs the town for life.

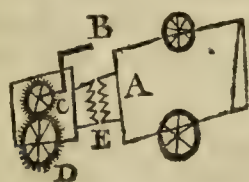
Doctors of law, physick and poetry, bachelors of divinity, and masters of arts, are the degrees conferred here.

The physick garden is well stored with plants, (among which we observed as a rarity here our common furz (where we received great civility from doctor *Mauritius Hoffmannus*, who hath published a catalogue of plants: He shewed us many curiosities, viz. *Fungi Monstrosi*, representing seven heads of *Turks* found hereabouts in 1661: *Pila Marina*, found plentifully about *Baie*: *Glossopetra*, i. e. a shark's tooth: *Penna Marina*: Several *Cornua Ammonis* found in these parts: A fair *Pectinites* found near *Altorf*: A salamander frequent hereabouts; it is black with yellow spots, and is viviparous: *Cucurbita reticulata sive Luffa Arab.* *Rosa Hircuntica*, the leaves whereof expand in warm water: *Pila Rupicapri*: *Spongia Coralloides*: Two books with 3000 dried plants; one of them is full of plants collected in the *Padua* garden, and other places in *Italy*; the other book is of plants in this garden, and wild hereabouts: The bones found in the ear: A little wooden head curiously imitating all the futures and other parts in a human head: An artificial



artificial eye of box, and another of ivory, with the optic nerve, *tunicæ*, humours, &c. The model of a waggon invented by a lame person in this town, who uses it every time he goes to church, and as he sits in it can move and direct it which way he pleases, without any help of horses, &c. after this manner.

A waggon  
to go with-  
out a horse.



In the waggon at A is the place where the lame man sits, and turns the handle B which is fixed to a wheel C, the cogs whereof move the cogs of another wheel D which runs on the ground. Those two wheels C D are within a box, except at the bottom where the wheel D goes on the ground. At E that box can be moved either to the right or left upon cogs on the body of the waggon.

On the *bibernaculum plantarum* is inscribed,

B. F.

*Vitæ et Valetudinis humanæ præsidia  
Mira varietate et Copia sese ostendantia  
Curam minimam colligendis discernendi maxumam  
Æqualem facilemq; reddi  
Horto in hoc Medico  
Paulo post. univ. Cond. adornato  
Quicunq; cernis  
Gratus incl. reip. Norimberg. beneficium agnosce  
Naturæ munificentiam superans  
Cujus perpetuitati iuvandæ  
Nobiliss. et Prudentissimi Dñn.  
Georgius Im Hoff III Vir  
Leonhardus Grundbeer VII Vir.  
Jod. Christoph. Krees à Kressenstein  
Jacobus Starck à Reckenhof  
Senatores et Scholarchæ bene Merentissimi  
Magno Salutis Commodo  
Reiq; medicæ incremento  
Hibernaculum hoc plantarum  
à fundam. Extr. curar.  
Præfesto Oppidi  
Christoph. Andrea Im Hoff.  
Botanico  
Mauritio Hoffmanno Doct.  
A. C.  
CICIDCLVI.*

On the summer-house in the middle of the garden is written,

*Civis, Amice, Advena,  
Qui Horti amœnitate cupis oblectarier  
Modestiam et Continentiam  
Comites habeas  
Floræ custodes.*

Over the anatomy theatre door with-  
in, SKIPPON.

*Quisquis es qui teipsum nosse amas  
Intus quis et in cute Sis  
Huc ades et studiis præditus fortibus  
Dissectiones spectata humani corporis  
Simulq; grato animo  
Inclytæ Reip. Norimb. beneficium agnosce  
Non hic Momi fenestra  
Sed parvum theatrum est  
Nobiliss. et Amplissimi Dñn. Scholararchæ  
Georgius Im Hoff. Septemvir.  
Albertus Poemer.  
Jodoc. Christoph. Krees à Kressenstein  
Leonardus Grindbeer  
Senatores benè Merentissimi  
Magno Acad. incremento F. F.  
Rettore Magnifico  
Willielmo Ludwell Iæo  
Anatomico  
Mauritio Hoffmanno Decano Medico  
A. CICIDCL.*

In this theatre the seats are round half the room, where we saw the skeletons of men, bear, stork, squirrel, dog, ram, mouse, wolf, lynx, &c. very exact pictures expressing the several schemes of the muscles, nerves, arteries and veins in their full proportions.

*Auditorium Welserianum* is written over the law school door, which is a fair room; and over the professors seat,

Deo Uni et trino Sacrum.

*Sebaldus Welser Patricius Augustanus et  
Noribergensis locum hunc publicis Altor-  
fianæ Scholæ usibus destinatum sua im-  
pensa exornari fecit Cal. Junii anno à  
nato Christo MDXXCII.*

We saw the mathematick and the philosophy schools; and the divinity school, which is a large room.

In a cloistered walk is this inscription,

B. F.

*Hoc pietatis et Doctrinarum omnium laudand.  
domicilium inclytus Senatus Noriberg. li-  
beraliter extrui curavit die quæ B. B.  
Petro et Paulo Sacra inauguravit et pub-  
licavit anno Christi Salutis MDLXXV. im-  
perante D. Maximiliano II. Caes. Aug.  
P P. Curatoribus Eccles. et Scholarum  
Georgio Volcomero, Philippo Geudero et  
Hieronymo Baumgraffnero, Oppidique  
præfesto, Balthasare Baumgraffnero.  
Ades O Deus et piis conatibus volens pro-  
pitius fave ut certe favor exinde Numinis  
eluxit, dum annos quidem MDLXXVIII.  
Subscribente Votis laudatissimi Senatus  
auctoritate et clementia augustissimi et  
invictissimi imperatoris Rudolph. II. Cu-  
ratoribus*



SKIPPO.

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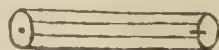
ratoribus Hieronymo Baumgraffnero, Vilbaldello Selliffelfelder, Bartolomeo Poemero et Julio Geudero, in culmen Academiæ Gymnasium evexit, tandemq; annus Ær. Christ. MDCXXIII. ejusdem Senatus desiderium Sanctissimum prosperante divinitus plenissima indulgentia Sacratissimi Caesaris Augusti D. Ferdinandi II. Scholaribus Christophoro Furero, Georg. Christ. Volcomero Udalrico Grundbero, et Carolo Schliiffelferdero, Universitatis titulo privilegiiq; perbeavit, Fac proprium hoc nobis. bonum O fons æterne boni.

Sept. 4. We coached it, being a very bad way, (in many places mended with wood, as is usual in Germany,) and through woods, passing by an old castle on a hill on the left hand of us, and at two miles distance from *Altorf*, after a short examination by soldiers, entered *Nieumarkt*, a little walled town of the duke of *Bavaria's*, having one broad street, and a fountain in the midst of it: two miles further we lodged this night in the straw at a poor village called . . . where we found *Cornua Ammonis* and their matrices.

Sept. 5. We rode through woods, and at three miles distance came to *Hemming*, a little walled place under the duke of *Newburg*; here we observed, as we did at *Rott*, *Altorf*, &c. that as soon as we came into the town, a trumpeter on a steeple sounded. From hence we went over hills and bad ways, through woods, and then over a bridge cross the *Nab*, a pretty river that runs into the *Danube*. The villages hereabouts have been much ruined, the houses are built of stone, very low and mean, covered with wooden shingles, whereon great stones are laid, the windows are small. In the evening we came into prospect of the *Danube* and the city of *Regensburg* or *Ratisbon*, then passed through a great village called *Stattamhoff*, and went over the bridge (where soldiers examined us) cross the *Danube*, and so made our arrival at *Ratisbon*.

Ratisbon.

That bridge hath many guards and centinels about it, it is long, broad, and built of stone, having arches, and a pavement of square free-stone: In the river here are little islands, one of which is large, with some houses in it, being joined to the great bridge by a wooden bridge of six arches. In this island noblemen, &c. come and spend part of their summer evenings, taking the air and discoursing together. Many mills here, which have water wheels made after this manner.



The *Danube* affords several sorts of fishes.

On the shore we found *Limacis* species.

In the islands are many mills to saw wood (Note, that in Germany but one saw is moved by a wheel) grind corn, blow forges, beat leather, millet, pepper, &c. we observed the millet and pepper was put into mortars where the stamps beat the grain to powder. A mill nigh the bridge, where swords, &c. are sharpened; on the end of the house is a figure of a man holding his hand over his eyes, and looking towards the great church, concerning which we were told, that two workmen, the master and the servant strove who should finish their work first, the master undertaking the church and the servant the bridge; which being first done, the servant went up to the top of this house, and sat cross, looking towards the church to see what his master had done; but the master perceiving himself outwrought, for anger threw himself headlong from the church, and broke his neck.

This city is indifferently built of stone, but the streets are narrow; many noblemen's houses here which make some shew; some houses are painted on the outside, most of their roofs are not steep like those at *Augsburg*, *Nuremburg*, &c. but rather flattish. Many fountains in the streets and market-places.

Some women here wear furr caps, but most very broad brim'd hats, with little crowns and cloaks.

The chief inhabitants are Lutherans, Trinity church. who have several churches, one of which is dedicated to the *Trinity*, being a fair broad building, somewhat like *Covent-Garden*. In all their churches they have galleries, and in these parts they have altars. On the Lord's day we observed part of their afternoon service, viz. The minister in his surplice went to the altar and read, then the whole congregation sung, and the organ played; after that he read again, and repeated the Lord's prayer aloud, and then they sung again, without the organ; in the pulpit after the minister had read, he repeated the Lord's prayer a second time, and the Creed, then they sung again without the organ. The minister repeated the Lord's prayer a third time, but that was to himself, all the congregation being silent.

The great church is well built, the body being high and fair; in the middle of it is a very handsome monument of marble with a brass figure of a bishop praying to a crucifix; on three sides of it is inscribed,

Philippo

Philippo Guil. V. F. Com. Pal. Rheni,
Boiorum Duci, Eccl. Ratisb. Antist.
Rom. Card. Principi incomparabili ante
diem mala tæbe confecto et eheu reb.
human. erepto in summa fortuna, in ævi
flore, in incremento honorum, magno pa-
rentum, magno Fessq; lutu illacrumante
funeri primam ingemiscuntib. exteris mæstis
omnibus iratis orbi superisq; in hoc Principe
ostendere quantum bonum dare possent
terris quant. darent cælis. Desideratissimo
Fratri Maximilianus Princeps Rerum in
Boia potens F. C. decessit XVII Cal. Jun.
An. CIOIOXCIIIX. Æt. XXII.

Viator quid rogas quis fuerim? qui sim ma-
gis roga, Eheu, magna Umbra magni
Principis, hic in tenebris ago et in Pur-
pura cineresco miser, scibam hoc olim futu-
rum, tam cito nescibam, Subitum fata pro-
peravit Numen mea, veni in hanc vitam
ideo solum ut exirem, tu quid speres, Ab!
vani sumus, et dum non sumus, et dum su-
mus, Vita ad mortem iter est, et quod hor-
rescis necesse est mori et eheu necesse est mori
futuri incertis. Viator abi et redi post pau-
lulum, cras Voles, hodie Venies.

Et adhuc hic es Viator, jam insequitur, ut
te prehendam pallid. Lictor, ibis, heu ibis
ad verendam sedem ubi iudex terret, ubi
omnes tremunt, multi accusant, nemo defen-
dit, et ibis ultra, quo, eheu, quo ah miser,
quid quæris, sperare potes, timere potes prout
vivere potes, scire non potes et horam et
sententiam, numen occulit ut tu videas,
abi et vide antequam Supremum Oculi
Caligent et cæcus eheu æternum erres, quod
erraris.

Nigh the altar the emperor Rudolphus
erected, is the monument of Albertus IV.
Episc. Ratis. ob. 12 April, 1649.

In the choir are these monuments, viz.

Henricus de Absperg, Episc. Ratisb. ob. 1495.

Dom. Conradus Episc. ob. 16. Kal. Maii.

Pancratius ob. 1548.

Georgius de Nobiliss. famil. Mereischallorum in
Papenheim, ob. 10 Dec. 1563.

Vitus ob. 1567. 21 Jan.

David ex famil. Rhoelperr de Burkstall. ob.
2 Jun. 1579.

Sigismundus Frider. Fuccarus, ob. 5 Novemb.
1600.

In the south side of the church is a well.

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An altar in the north isle of the choir, SKIPPON.
with these two inscriptions following,

D. O. M. deiparæ maximæ Matri, maximæ
Virgini, Divo Proto-Martyri Stephano, in
cujus Sacram Ædem anno 790. Episcopa-
lem suam sedem Adekwinus ex D. Emeram-
mi migravit, D. D. cælitibus quorum aræ
piæ olim sed sine lege positæ piæ et ex formula
adornandæ Ecclesiæ cesserunt, ad honorem
piis deinde submortuorum Altarium funda-
toribus Hen. II. Episc. qui aram D. Bar-
baræ V. M. Georgio Preunero D. Canonico
qui S. S. Trinitatis Nicolao de Redwitz
Canonico qui S. S. S. Sebastiani Lucie et
Dionysii, Kaspari Kuntnero D. Canonico
qui transfigurationis Domini et S. S. Crispi
et Crispianini M. M. Conrado Sinzen Ho-
fero Canonico qui S. Barthol. Apostoli cæ-
terisq; qui S. Thoma, trium Regum, S. S.
Georgii, Mauricii Panthaleonis et Ægidii
aras soli nunc Deo Cognito liberalitate
fundarunt ad perennem devoti affectus
piæq; munificentie memoriam, sibi deniq;
per bonam operam (non per solam fidem)
vocationem suam et electionem certam facere
satagenti ad æternam salutem lethi memor
hanc aram condidit ipsisq; S. Stephani
Feriis eidem devotè dicavit. Albertus 4.
Comes de Toring Episc. Ratispo. et S. R. I.
Princeps.

Siste Viator et discce hanc qui Deo Divisq;
statuit aram non omnem in eâ consumpsit
liberalitatem ut cum Deo inter Cælitæ
viveret, Deum et cælitæ cum viveret
munificæ Sollicitus manu multimodè ac per-
magno sumptu eoq; ex hereditario asse-
collecto est veneratus, turres, principe
Campanâ, testæq; Sacrarium vestitu pre-
cioso, sacris D. Justini Lipsanis et præ-
grandibus ex aræ Candelabris locupletavit,
chorum geminis his aris S. S. Stephano et
Andrææ sacris cinxit, eundem marmoreis
aperuit gradibus, Fabrâq; sumptuosè can-
cellatum clausit transfennâ, parietes nobili
utrimque penicillo fornicem concameratione
ad Chorum producta Columnarum epistylia
parietum projecturas Basilico distinxit auro
atque ita te quoq; Divos Colere et tuâ de
substantia Deum honorare vivus docuit,
nam aurum testamentarium heredi quidem
est aurum, Deo prope est scoria, in Vita
illud erogas manus retentura nisi mors fe-
cisset liberalem cui gratiam qui accipit de-
bet, sanè cum nostri esse desinimus, non no-
stra sed aliena damus, I licet Viator et tam
luculento doctus exemplo, præmitte opes ad
supremum puteal, sequeris expeditior, ditior,
letior ita pollicetur sibi tibiq; Albertus 4.
Comes de Toring Episc. Ratispon. S. R. I.
Princeps hujus Aræ munificentissimus Fun-
dator.

SKIPPON. An altar on the south side of the choir
hath this inscription,

*Veator Siste, perlege aram quam conspicias
S. Andræ Apostolo sacram consensu Con-
radi IV. Ratisbonensis Ecclesiæ optimi
Pontificis Patru sui, Conradus Comes
ultimus de Luppurg propter animæ suæ
salutem anno MCCXCIX. primum dotavit
et illam aliquot piorum Vota Secunda fun-
datione adauxerunt ad pedem Altaris
RR^{mi} quondam Patres DD. Pancra-
tius, Georgius, Vitus, David, Sigismun-
dus, Frider. Omnes quinque; Reginoburgici
Antistites SRI Principes Mitrati cineres-
cunt. hic prorsus partitur nemini et mori
eheu necesse est omnibus quisquis es si pius
es pro magnis umbris humiles preces ad
Deum fundito, cras tu vel hodiè quod
nescis secuturus et adhuc stas lector quin
pergis, nescis quod nostra vita nil nisi iter
ad mortem conspice ad iter se præparantem
Albertum hujus nominis IV. Episcopum
Ratisbonensem ex illustri Baronum de
Törting prosapia natum qui mortalitatis
suæ memor et fragilitat. humanæ probè
sciens monumentum hoc statuis lapideis et
marmoreis columnis illustre Redempt. suo
Opt. Max. ejusdem gloriøsæ Matri Vir-
gini et SS. suis Patronis æviterne grati-
tudinis symbolon ante diem vivus posuit,
Lampadem perpetuis ignibus coram nutri-
endam fundavit, ad sui ipsius et suorum
RR^{rum} et illustrium Antecessorum qui-
buscum se gloriosè in illa die resurrecturum
sperat memoriam totiusq; posteritatis exem-
plum anno à partu Virginis MDCXXIV die
VIII. mens. Mart.*

The canons of this church are noblemen,
who wear over their surplices a scarlet hood
not much unlike to our doctors in England.
The bishop hath no authority in the city.
The under officers of the church have blue
gowns and surplices.

On a great house nigh the chief market
place is painted an embassy from the duke
of Muscovy, and this under-written,

*Legatio Muscovitica ad Imp. Maximil. II.
in Comit. Imp. Ratisb. XVIII. Julii
MDLXXVI.*

Other painting, and these inscriptions,

*Rudolphus D. G. Rom. Rex elect. XXVII.
Octobr. . . . v. MDXXV. Ratisb. præsentib.
Votis.*

*ArCe RatiSpona proVeCiVs In Æthæra
Cæsar
Cæsar aIt fIII DIve RoDolphe Vale.*

Over the Franciscan cloister gate is writ-
ten.

*Anno Dom. MDCXIII. IX Kal. Novemb.
ad laudem Dei et gloriam Dei Beatiss.
Virg. Mariæ et S. Mathiæ Apost. crucis
trophæum et primum lapidem Ecclesiæ
monasterii ordinis S. Francisci Capuccin.
Matthias Rom. Imperator Hungariæ et
Bohemiæ Rex, &c. plantari et poni curavit
feliciterq; Eccles. et Monasterium ipsius
imperat. et principum imperii ac multorum
piorum Christianorum Eleemosynis extructa
sunt.*

On one of the city gates not far from
this cloister is written,

*Divo Ferdinando II. Rom. Imp. S. Aug. Ger.
Hung. Duc. Burg. March. Morav. Com.
Tyrol. Pr. Hon. et observ. SPQR. FF.*

A fort was now building near this gate;
the wall of the city is strong, and on this
side there is water in the town ditch; the
outworks are good.

The government of this place consists of
40 officers, viz.

Sixteen senators.

Twelve appointed to decide controversies
among citizens.

Twelve chosen by the trades.

Six of the senators are burgomasters,
and when one of them dies, the eldest se-
nator succeeds.

Every two years a chamberlain is chosen
by the senate.

The emperor makes the magistrates of
this city, noble, who are all Lutherans.

The under officers wear red coats lined
with green.

The imperial diet sits in Ratisbon, which
is a council or parliament of the whole em-
pire, every elector, prince and city sending
a deputy.

We saw the rooms where the diet as-
sembles; first the *Churfürsts Camer*, where
the electors (or their deputies in their ab-
sence) chancellors and secretaries sit; in this
and another room we observed sweetmeats
stood ready in dishes; over the door here is
written,

*Quisquis Senator officii causa Curiam ingre-
deris ante hoc ostium privatos affectus om-
nes abjicito, iram, vim, odium, amicitiam,
adulationem, publicæ rei personam & Cu-
ram suscipito, nam ut aliis æquus aut ini-
quus judex fueris ita quoq; Dei judicium
expectabis & justinebis.*

The next is the *Sall*, a great hall
where all the chambers of the diet meet
the

the first day of their session, and when the emperor is present; the first of January last they were all convened, and the archbishop of *Salzburg* sat in the throne representing the emperor; the throne is ordinarily four steps high, but when the emperor himself is here, it is raised one step higher. The spiritual electors have a seat at the end on the right side of the room, and the temporal on the left; below all the secretaries of the electors, &c. have their seats. Rich hangings adorned this Hall then. They intend to build a new Hall after this session.

The 3d room we saw is the *Ryckstatt Camer*, where the city deputies sit.

The 4th is a handsome room called the *Furstens Camer*, in the middle is a table the *Ryck* marshal, the spiritual and temporal electors sit at. In this chamber is a curious brass clock made in imitation of the great one at *Strasburg*, having figures, &c. that move; the most remarkable motions are the three eastern kings passing by the virgin *Mary*, and each of them giving her a bow of their bodies.

The Jesuits have a college here; and *Bleau* of *Amsterdam* hath a bookseller's shop in this city. Nigh this city the river *Regen* runs into the *Danaw* by *Rheinhausen*, a village.

Sept. 11. We hired a boat, having a little cabin in the middle of deal boards, which carried us down the *Danube* to *Vienna*; we pass'd this day by hills on the left side of us, and meadow or plain grounds on the right; on the left hand we had *Thonastau* a little village and castle seated on a hill; a river here runs into the *Danube*. This castle about 30 years ago was taken by some *Bavarian* rusticks, who rebelled and ruined this place, and stopp'd the passage of boats by a chain cross the *Danaw*; but they were afterwards suppress'd and punish'd by the duke. We went here under a wooden bridge of 15 arches; on the 2d arch nigh *Thonastau* stands a wooden cross in memory of one that fell off the bridge and was drowned. Three miles and an half from *Ratisbon* we pass'd in sight of *Wert*, a castle on the left hand on a hill by the river *Wisent*, that runs into the *Danube*, and belongs to the bishop of *Ratisbon*. The *Danaw* hereabouts winds very much, and hath a gentle stream; two miles and an half further we reach'd our lodging at *Straubing*, a pretty walled town on the right hand, under the duke of *Bavaria*; at the gates soldiers examined us and took our names; the buildings here are handsome, there is one long

broad street, with two fountains, and in the middle stands the stadthouse. Here the *Danube* is kept up by a dam, and is brought about close to the walls of *Straubing*, where there is a wooden bridge of four arches. We met on the river many great boats, some with people that fled from the country about *Vienna*, for fear of the *Turks*, and some laden with salt.

The duke of *Bavaria* appoints a governor of this place. In one of the churches we saw a monument of doctor *Johan. Tassmer der Artznei* of *Zumpurg*.

Sept. 12. We pass'd on the left hand by *Pogen*, where a church is built on a high hill; four miles from *Straubing* we went under a wooden bridge of about 30 arches; here on the left side of the river is *Dercendorf*, a wall'd place of the duke of *Bavaria*'s; a little distance further we pass'd by the mouth of the river *Iser*, and afterwards on the right hand had a prospect of *Osterhoven*, and not far from thence on the left side came by *Hoffkirchin* a small village; a little further on the same shore is *Hilckersberg*, a small castle on a hill; hereabouts the shores began to be rocky, and all along in the river we saw great store of wild ducks, lapwings, herons, &c. we pass'd under a wooden bridge of 12 arches, supported by stone (on all the bridges of this river that we pass'd under is a cross erected about the middle) and arrived eight *German* miles from *Straubing* at *Vilshoven*, a little walled town on the right hand, well built of stone, having one pretty little street, and three handsome fountains; at one end of the street is a fair tower. On a gate that leads to a bridge over the — which runs into the *Danube*, is painted the duke of *Bavaria*'s arms, and a bullet, with this inscribed,

Anno * MDIII in feriis S. Lucie Civitas* 1531.
hæc ab hoste graviter oppugnata et obsessa
est unde hoc signum globi cernitur 1631.

Nisi Dominus Custodierit Civitatem, frustra
vigilat qui custodit eam. Psal. cxxvi.
MDCXXXI.

This night arrived here three great boats full of soldiers, sent down against the *Turks* by the city of *Nurenberg*, which hath also given 20000 florins towards the war.

Sept. 13. We pass'd by a pleasure house of the Jesuits, and a little further, four miles from *Vilshoven*, we went under a wooden bridge of twelve arches at *Passaw*, *Passaw*. a city on the right hand of the river, upon a high shore: it was formerly built with fair stone houses, but now we saw nothing besides ruins, and some mean houses; there happening about three

SKIPPON. three quarters of a year before, a most sad fire, that ruin'd all the houses, and many churches. This city belongs to the archduke of *Inspruck*, who hath bestowed 50000 dollars towards its repair. The citizens are esteemed rich.

The great church. The great church hath a choir fairly built of stone, on the south side whereof is written,

O Welt. Anno Dom. mccccvii. in die Sti. Stephani protomartyris Patroni hujus ecclesie gloriosi inchoatus est hic chorus, positusq; primarius lapis, hujus fundamenti Colle atrem & Dominum representib.

There is a bishop of this place, over the door of whose palace is written,

Aulam hanc à Gotsfredo à Weiffeneckb E P C A. D. 1345. ædificatam sed vetustate fere collapsam restauravit & magna ex parte de novo excitavit atq; in elegantiore formam redegit Urannus à Treirbach. P. Pat. Anno Dom. MDLXIII.

This place is seated at the meeting of the river *In* and the *Danube*, on the west side of the *In*, over which is a bridge that leads to a town called *Instat*, right against which, on the other side of the *Danaw*, is *Ilizstat*, so called from the river *Iltz* or *Issus*. Here there is a castle on a high hill. From *Vilshoven* the hilly shores, on both sides, were shaded with pine woods, &c. and from *Passaw* we observed the *Danube* to have a swifter stream than before. We pass'd by *Schnaidersniffell*, a house built upon a little rock on the right hand; and farther on stands a rock in the river, with a cross upon it. Then we went by a castle on the left side, and afterwards, on the same hand, seven miles from *Passaw*, saw *Nayhouse* castle on a hill, where some rusticks that rebelled against the emperor garisoned themselves, and chained up the *Danube*. This rebellion was about 34 years ago; the author of it, one *Stephanus Fatinger*. General *Papenheim* slew thousands of them in battle, and dispersed the rest, and the ringleaders that were taken punished according to their desert. In the evening we came to our lodging at *Asch*, a pretty small village of the emperor's, on the right side of the river in the upper *Austria*. The people of this country are esteemed very stout and hardy.

Below this village, for some distance, there are no hills by the *Danube*.

Asch is 12 German miles from *Vilshoven*.

September 14. Early in the morning we took boat, and had, on the right hand of us, a rock called *Mons Calvarie*, there

being a pretty little chapel built upon it. Hereabouts again we began to have hills on both sides the river; and, from that chapel, we observed six altars before we came four miles from *Asch* to *Lintz*, a very neat handsome city on the right hand, seated on the side of a hill. The houses are fairly built of stone, and have all of them flat roofs. The market place is very handsome, being a large square piazza, with two fountains in it. The streets are badly pav'd. On the highest part of the town is a fair palace of the emperor's, where there is a pleasant prospect of the *Danube* and the adjacent country. On the palace-gate is inscrib'd,

Rudolphus II. Imp. Cæs. P. F. August. Rom. German. Hungar. Boem. &c. Rex Archi-D. Austr. Dux Burgund. &c. Anno MDCIII.

At this city lives the earl of *Weissenwoles*, the emperor's deputy, or *Landtskauffman* of the upper *Austria*, the emperor having such a deputy or governor in every one of his countries.

The Jesuits church hath this following inscription on a pillar, viz.

Raris stellis istis mors abstulit radios perenniores. Morare tantisper Viator & extinctum medicorum sydus sub pariter insignito ad dextram marmore venerare, hic est Johannes Gregorius à Glanz, vir ævi sui Hippocrates, trium Augustorum Ferdinandi III. & IV. & Leopoldi magnus Archiater, nec non superiori Austriæ à consiliis, Galenus rarus medicus, qui ad summam artem propè juvenis evasit, ideoq; à Cæsareæ expetitus aula universis conspicuus, in dubia salutisq; oracula dabat, dum nonnihil fractis ex labore viribus eidem vale faciens mortis invidiam præmaturus incurrit, è vita ereptus ipso ætatis XLIV. innuente anno, ne per plures felix Æsculapius morti pergeret eripere, defecit nocte exeunte ut se sydus probaret ad Auroram evanescens, & ut mortuum scias feliciter hora noctis illi secunda fuit, eaq; intra octavam Epiphaniæ; quo crederes! felici stella duce eum per aliam viam reversum in regionem suam, disce Viator quam caduca vitæ lux sit, quando qui eam largiuntur aliis tam citò occumbunt, besternus Dies illum rapuit, te crastinus perstolatur abi & veni; Mæsta conjux & IV Filii P P.

Nigh a hill we saw at a distance, is a great quantity of salt made of salt spring waters, at *Munchen* in *Austria*, which is carried up the river to *Ratisbon*, &c.

After we had seen *Lintz*, we took boat again, and went under the wooden bridge here, that hath about 22 arches; and some distance

distance we observed but small hills on the shores, and in some places levels. All along in the river are many little islands. A mile from *Lintz* we pass'd by a handsome house of a nobleman, seated on the left hand upon a hill. Two miles farther, on the same side, is *Matbausen*, a pretty village, where we saw the ruins of a wooden bridge, which cross'd the *Danaw*. Before we came to this place, we had a prospect of a pretty town called *Intz*, seated on the right hand, by the river *Ens*, some distance from the *Danube*. Seven miles from *Lintz* we had hills again on both sides the *Danube*; then, on the left hand is *Greine*, a village where the earl of *Lichtenstein's* house is situated on a hill, and where there is a neat cloister. A little below the *Greine* is a little village on the same side, where we safely pass'd a dangerous place call'd *Strom*, the *Danube* being here much straitned by the steep shores, and the stream running very swiftly among rocks. On the right is a crucifix upon a rock, and on the left hand a stone tower. Then we pass'd by a deep and strong whirlpool call'd the *Werble*, nigh a rock on the right hand, which makes a promontory in the river, whereon stands a tower. Within this last year fifty persons perished here. When we had escaped these two places, at *St. Nicholas*, a small village on the left side, a fellow came to us in a little boat, bringing an alms box with the image of *S. Nicholas*, and begg'd our charity. Some distance farther, under a high hill on the left hand, is another small village, which, about two years ago, was in great danger by reason of the foresaid hill's falling down, making so great a noise, that it was plainly heard at *Ips*, which is a little place we pass'd by on the right hand of the river. On the left side we went by a valley which parts the upper *Austria* from the lower, and where, nigh the *Danaw*, we saw many at work erecting a new fortification. An hour before we saw *Ips*, is a castle on the left hand, that belongs to the earl of *Haois*. At night, 11 miles from *Lintz*, we arrived at our lodging in *Marpach*, a small village on the left hand, where we could find only straw to lie on, the people having sent away all their beds and household-stuff for fear of the *Turks*, who were about 100 *English* miles off.

September 15. About one of the clock in the morning, having the benefit of a clear moon-shine, we entred our boat, and pass'd by *Melke*, a rich cloister on the right hand; and, at six miles distance from our last night's lodging, we went by a fair house of the earl of *Deernstein* on the left hand; and hereabouts we had a prospect of *Ketwin*, a rich abbey, strongly situated

upon a high hill on the right hand, some distance from the *Danube*, which abbey the *Swedes* attempted to take, and were repulsed at. About nine miles from *Marpach*, we pass'd under a wooden bridge of about 20 arches, at a little town called *Stein*, on the left hand: it is wall'd, but seated under the hills, yet the *Swedes* were notably beaten here, after they had entred it, tho' afterwards they took it, and plunder'd, &c. Close by, on the same side, we landed at *Crembs*, a pretty walled town, trenched towards the river, but situated upon the side of a hill. The streets are built with handsome stone houses, many of which are painted on the out-side. Hereabouts we observed some vineyards.

The Jesuits have an indifferent church here, on the highest part of the town, and a handsome pair of stairs, covered and painted within. On the top is written,

Gradus bi Societatis Jesu sumptibus nobilis Domine Annæ Mariæ Frey Ungarin, ad Stokh viduæ natæ Vitin. positi sunt anno seculari Societatis id est salutis reparate. MDCXL.

From this place we boated it some distance, and then the *Danube* grew much wider (the hills having narrowed it before) having a plain country on both sides, where are many woods, inhabited now by the country people, who fled into them for fear of the *Turks*. Six miles from *Crembs* we pass'd by *Deuln*, a small wall'd town on the right hand, and, on the same side, afterwards came by a castle upon a rock, and a little village called *Greiffenstein*; and farther, on the same hand, had a prospect of *Greiffstein*, a castle upon a hill, and *Cornaber*, a walled town in a plain, both some distance from the *Danube*. This last place was taken by the *Swedes*, who defended it notably against the Imperials. Hereabouts the river was very rough, the wind being strong against the stream, which runs from *Lintz* very swift. A mile and a half before we reach'd *Vienna*, we pass'd by *Claijsternberg*, a little wall'd town on the right hand, where good wine is made, and where there is a fair rich abbey. About an hour before we came to *Vienna*, we saw a wooden bridge cross one arm of the *Danube*, and went down one of the smallest streams, which brought us by vineyards. On the right hand a fair hospital, and several houses of the suburbs of *Vienna*; where we arrived this day about four in the afternoon, having travelled this day by water 19 *German* miles.

SKIPPOON.

We observed the *Danube* to be of a greenish colour, and to have many mills, the wheels whereof are placed between boats, and turned by the stream of the river.

The *Danube* hath many islands in it.

We took notice of some *Hungarian* kine, which are large, and have great heads. Their skins are sent from *Vienna* to *Nuremberg*.

Our boat was sold here for about a dollar, which, at *Ragensburg*, cost about eight florins; most boatmen returning back a-foot, &c. unless they have a conveniency to encourage them up stream again.

That side of *Vienna* we entred, hath a new and very strong thick wall of stone a building (the greatest part being finished) without the old wall. On the gate is written,

Leopoldus R I A. A. MDCLXII.

Fortifications.

The inward and old wall was built with the ranfome money of *Richard* the First, king of *England*, who was treacherously imprisoned by the archduke of *Austria* in his return out of *Palestine*. The outward and new wall is very strong and high, the bastions are exceedingly strong, and between every bulwark, there is a strong horn-work. The trench is very deep and broad, but, at this time, most of it was dry, which they can fill with water when they please. At one or two places they were repairing the walls. We walked round the out-side of this city, and observed they had newly pull'd down many houses of the suburbs, and made all clear a good distance from the line or breast-work, which goes round (except towards the river) and is some distance from the trench. This line is kept up, or pallisado'd with great wooden stakes sharpened at the top. The ground, from the out-side of the line, is made with a declivity, which is to give the defendants the more advantage against the enemy. This city is so well fortified, that if there be a sufficient number of resolute soldiers, there is little danger the *Turk* will be master of it on a sudden. Some say, there must be 50000 men to garrison it.

The governor's name and title is, the Furst of Gonzaga.

Jews.

One bulwark, or rather a horn-work, towards the *Danube*, is built at the Jews charge, who have a place allotted them to live in, called the Jews town.

Upon the wall, and on several bulwarks are inscriptions, some of which I transcribed, viz.

*Ferdinandus Rom. Germ. Hung. Boc. &c.
Rex inf. Hisp. Archi-D. Aust. Dux Burg. &c.
Sacri Rom. Imp. Ord. statuum sumptib.
Constr. Jus. Anno Christi MDLII.*

*Leopoldus Rom. Imp. &c.
Propugnaculum hoc
Muro obduci curavit.
MDCLIX.*

*Ferdinandus III. &c. muro propugnaculum
hoc obduci curavit. MDCLVI.*

Ferd. III. Rom. Imp. Anno 1647.

On the bulwark which the foreign merchants built, at the expence of 10000 guilders.

Leopold. Rom. Imp. Archidux Austriae, Mercatorum Extraneorum Sumptibus MDCLXII.

The bishop's palace is a fair building, and hath this inscription on it. Bishop's palace.

*Memoriae immortalis ill. & R. D. Anton.
D G. Epif. Viennensis. S. R. I. Principis
Ferd. II. & Ferd. III. Augustiss. ab ar-
canis consiliis, Epif. hujus Palatii Funda-
toris, Philippus Fridericus Successor ut gra-
ta ejus nominis fama in seram posteritatem
perennaret, monumentum hoc posuit. Anno
Dom. MDCLXI. Epactus II.*

This city is very populous, the streets (except those at *London*) the most frequented we yet saw. The buildings are fairly built of stone. Some of the streets are of a handsome breadth, but most are narrow.

The suburbs are large, notwithstanding many houses have been pulled down near the fortifications.

In one market place there are two fountains; and there, on the wall of a house, is the picture of an elephant with a man on the top of him, all in full proportion; and this is written over it,

*Sincera pictura Elephantis, quem serenissimus
Rex Bohemiae Dominus Maximilianus primò
Viennae spectandum exhibuit mense Aprilis,
Anno MDLII.*

Blaeu of *Amsterdam* hath a shop of books in this city.

The cathedral is not very large. It is fairly built of stone, having a carved pinnacle. It is handsome within, and the isles are almost as high as the body of the church. The seats of the choir are of well carved wood work. Nigh the high altar, above the ascent, are seats also on each side. The emperor hath a stately gilt seat on the south side of the choir, being much glassed, and shaped like a crown. The high altar is magnificent of marble work, adorned with statues; and, in each side of the choir, is a fair marble altar. Nigh

Nigh that on the north side is a monument thus inscrib'd,

Monumentum eminentiss. & reverendiss. Principi ac D D Melchiori S R E. tit. S. Mariæ de pace Presb. Cardinali Klefelio, Episcopo Viennensi & Neostadiensi Augustiss. Imp. Matthiæ arcanorum Consil. Directori, Hæresum persecutori, Religionis Cath. hic labantis restauratori, à maximis P P P. & Imppp. Rom. ob. excelsas ingenii ac naturæ dotes ad summas res adhibito, eloquentia, consiliis legationibus & ingentibus factis per orbem Christian. clarissimo. Qui utraque fortuna domita, exactis vitæ annis LXXVII. Episcopatus Vien. xxxvi. cælo jam maturus facultates suas Deo & sibi commissis Ecclesiis, corporis vero exuvias, meritorum suorum deinceps gloria vestiendus morti lubens cessit die XVII Septemb. Anno MDCCXXX. hic ad Aram. B. M. V. Sepultus.

Antonius ejus in Episcopatu Vien. Successor. invictiss. Cæsarum Ferdin. II. & III. Consiliarius intimus Præsuli æterna memoria digniss. hic posuit.

On a grave stone before the altar,

Rever. Dominus Melchior Klef. Vien. Aust. cum ab invictissimo Cæsare Rudolpho II anno MDLXXIX. proprio motu in Præpos. Cathed. hujus Eccl. publicaretur ejusdem pari benignitate in Cons. & Aulicum Ecclesiast. ascitus, postea in Episcopum Anno MDLXXXVIII. XXIX Januarii die proclamatus, insuper à Paulo V. summo Pontifice, Apostolici Concianotoris titulo insignitus multis ac variis pro Ecclesia Dei & Christian. Reipub. susceptis confectis laboribus Deo Ani. suam quæ eidem perp. . . . Il vivat anno Dom. MDCX. reddidit.

Over an altar, in the body of the church, is written,

Ab hoc Altari ut loco Cænaculi incipit pia peregrinatio in Hermal. per septem stationes Dominicæ passionis ad sanctum sepulchrum ibidem extructum prout nunc visitur Hierosolymis rite instituto à Decano & Capitulo hujus Ecclesiæ Cathed. Autoritate illustriss. & reverendis. Principis D. D. Antonii Episcopi Vien. Ferdinando III. Cæs. Aug. imperante, Anno MDCCXXXIX.

We told 414 stone steps up to the top of the steeple, whence we had a full view of Vienna, which lies very round together.

At one of the north doors of the church is a marble fix'd in the wall, and within

it is a relick, for the sake whereof the people touch the marble, and cross themselves.

The present bishop's name is *Preiner Graff van Harrach*.

On S. Damian's and S. Cosmus's holy-day, a Latin sermon was made in this church, the dean, two or three days before, in a printed paper, inviting all physicians, chirurgeons, &c. to the solemnity.

At the entrance into the cathedral, near the bishop's palace, is an ancient Roman stone, having the figure of a man and a woman, and between them a child. Underneath them are three greyhounds hunting a hare, and this inscription.

P. TITIVS
FINITVS
VF. SIB. ET
IVCVNDÆ CIVIS
FIL. CON.
AN XL.

We saw a funeral in the streets, and observed banners carried first; then followed many men and women in grey cloaks. After them came priests in surplices, then crosses and banners before the corpse, which had a small crucifix upon it. After that the mourners, the men having a black cloth covering their faces. At last came gentlewomen, &c.

We took notice of some priests, who had a white fillet fastned about their necks, hanging down the middle before over their cassocks, to the very ground. We observed monks in a white habit, who are of the order of the *Golden-bill*.

Within a gate, about the middle of the city, are coats of arms painted, and verses written, some of which are these following,

*Compluvii juxta factus novus ære Canalis
Publico ut urbs via tum publica munda
forent.*

*Hinc ridet turris monstratq; insignia Patrum
Quos pia pro cunctis cura salutis habet
Si fuit ob civem servatum civica quondam
Quæ pro communi danda corona bono.*
M D H.

The emperor's palace is not very stately. Emperor's
Nigh the first gate is written, palace.

*Divo regnante Ferdinando Romanorum
Hungariæ, Boemiæ &c. Rege, Archi-
Duce Austriæ, &c. Principe nostro
Gloriosissimo. MDXXXVI.*

On one side of the palace is a fair building, where *Carolus Josephus*, the emperor's brother,

SKIPPON. brother, lodges; and, on another side, is the palatine of Hungary's lodging.

Over the gate that leads into the first court are the vowels.

a. e. i. o. u.

And in another place is inscrib'd,

*Ferdinandus Rom. Germa. Hunga. Boem. &c.
Rex inf. Hisp. Archi. Aust. Dux Burgundiae. Anno MDLII.*

About the court are many fair houses of noblemen, &c.

The emperor hath a council for Germany, and another for Hungary, and when they sit, strict watch is kept about the court, and chains cross the gate, and in the street nigh it.

S. Michael's church. September 19. O. S. being the 29th September according to the Roman account, and Michaelmas day, we went to St. Michael's church, a mean building, where the abbot of the Benedictine abbey performed high mass, the emperor being present in a seat or gallery on the left side of the altar. When service was done, we observed many courtiers to come before the emperor, who had on his right hand cardinal Carafa the pope's nuncio, and on the left the Venetian ambassador. The guard of halberdeers went on each side, being clad in black liveries with yellow lace. On their halberds the imperial arms were engraven. The emperor's pages are many of them earls, &c. and are habited in the same livery. He had no sword and maces carried before him. He is of an indifferent stature, black hair'd, of a dark complexion, and thin visag'd, and very like the picture on his money, excepting in his under lip, which is not altogether so large as is there represented.

In this day's church musick we remarked a trumpeter, who sounded in a concert very skilfully.

Among the courtiers we observed some Hungarians, who were richly habited, either in blue or red velvet, according to the mode of their country.

Hungarians. In this city we saw a great number of Hungarians, whose habit is much like the Russians, wearing such fur caps and boots as they do. In their caps they have two or three long feathers, and in their hand a pole-ax. Their swords are long scimeters with broad blades. At their right side hangs a bag, and about their middle they wind a sash, which they call a Neu. Their breeches are made strait and close. Most of them are habited all in blue, without band, cravat or cuffs. Some of the better sort wear black, and some

have coats like the Russians (I observed in London.) Many of their heads are shaven, except one lock, which they let grow on the top of their heads. We saw some of their gentlemen on horseback, with leopards skins wrapt about them, and many footmen attending. The Hungarian women wear fur coats, somewhat like those the Holland women wear. The linen of their heads hangs a good way down behind. Some of the men were all in red. Some of the Hungarian priests were in blue cloaks.

The chief noblemen in Hungary are, the earl of Batt Ryan, the earl of Easterkasel, the earl of Sirene, the earl of Nidoft, the earl of Artedeè, the earl of Kasy.

Nigh one of the Jesuits colleges is a Hungarian college, where many Hungarian students live. Over the door is inscrib'd,

*Collegium Pazmananum erectum An. Dom.
MDCXXIII.*

The Jesuits have two colleges in this city. One is stately and large. Over their door is written,

*Cæsarea domus professa Societatis Jesu fundata
à Ferdinando II. Rom. Imp. MDCXXV.*

Their church was formerly some parish church; but they have added a fair new front, being a portico adorn'd with statues. The walls of the porch are plaistered, and neatly wrought with little pebbles. Two altars here, and on each side a door to a chapel. Over these doors are inscrib'd,

1. *Gloriosissimæ Dei Parenti in cælo assumptæ inchyta sodalitas Dominorum Viennæ in Domo professa S. I. hanc inferiorem strueturam F. F. MDCXXV.*

2. *Divo Leopoldo Patri Patriæ, Marchioni Austriæ, Leopoldus Gulielmus Archi-Dux, sacellum hoc struxit, & porticum quam vides exornavit. MDCLXII.*

The roof of this porch hath fair pictures painted on it.

The church within is handsome, having very fair altars. The high altar and two others are richly gilded. On the front of the church is inscrib'd,

Anna Eleonora Augusta Deo Regina; Angelorum posuit. A. MDCLXII.

Before this church, in a large square A pillar. piazza, stands a high marble pillar of Corinthian work, being wreathed about with branches, and having on the top a statue of

of the virgin *Mary*; at each corner of the pedestal is the statue of an angel with a shield, each shield is written upon, viz. 1. *Pro te*, and underneath a *Basisc.* 2. *Conculcabis*, and under that angel a lion. 3. *Ambulatis Super*, and underneath a serpent. 4. *Ipsa Conteret*, and under that a dragon.

The pillar is railed about, and had a soldier standing sentinel at it.

On the four sides of the pedestal are these inscriptions, viz.

1. *Ferdinandi III. Pii et justii Votum, Omnipotens sempiternus Deus per quem Reges regnant, in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium jura Regnorum; Ego Ferdinandus coram divina tua Majestate humiliter prostratus meo meorumque successorum et inclytæ hujus provincie Austriæ nomine immaculatam Filii tui Matrem semper Virginem Mariam hodie in peculiarem Dominam et Patronem hujus Archiducat. invoco et assumo.*
2. *Insuper Voveo ac promitto ejusdem immaculatæ Conceptionis festum quod cadit in diem 8 Dec. solenniter etiam quoad forum in hac provincia quotannis prævio more Ecclesiæ Consuetudo jejuniis in ejusdem festi pervigilio Celebrandum Te Deprecor Supreme Cæli terræque Imperator, qui quod matri tuæ impenditur tibi impensum reputas, Votum hoc meum quod suggerere clementer dignatus es benigno favore prosequere atque ad protegendum me, domum meam, populosque mihi subiectos dextram tuæ Majestatis extende. Amen.*
3. *Deo Optimo Maximo, Supremo Cæli terræque Imperatori, per quem Reges regnant, Virgini Deiparæ immaculatæ Conceptæ, per quam Principes imperant in peculiarem Dominam Austriæ Patronam Singularem pietate susceptæ.*
4. *Se, Liberos, Populos, Exercitus, Provincias, Omnia denique confidit, donat, consecrat. et in perpetuam rei memoriam Statuam hanc ex Voto ponit, Ferdinandus III. Augustus MDCLVII. XVIII Maii.*

The other jesuits college is a large building; the front of their church is indifferent, whereon is inscribed,

Deo Vitrifici triumphatori Opt. Max. tropæum hoc in memoriam B. Virginis Mariæ SSq; Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii Ferdinandus II. Imperator statuit MDCCXXVII.

VOL. VI.

The *Dominicans* church hath a front like the *Jesuits*, on the front whereof is written, SKIPPOON.
The Dominicans church.

Deo Magno, Magnæ Matri Rosæ Mariæ DD. Dominico, Cathar. Sen. Omnibus SS. templum hoc extructum Urb. VIII. PM. Ferd. II. Imp. Ferd. III. Rege, Remp. Xnam. Gubbus.

The *Capuchins* church is a mean building; in the middle of it is a grave-stone with the imperial arms on it, and round about them is written only,

Sepultura Augustissimæ Domus Austriacæ.

There being underneath a vault, where the emperors, &c. are buried, and which is opened every Good Friday.

On a chapel on the north side of the church is inscribed,

Ad laudem Dei T. O. M. Deiparæ et S. Francisci, invictissimus et piissimus Ferdinandus II. Imp. Rom. etc. alterum hoc Fratrum S. Francisci Capuchin. Monasterium Ecclesiam & præsens sacellum tot ei dicatis SS. Reliquiarum et Ornamentorum monumentis inclytum Deiparæque immaculat. concept. Sacrum, sub quo et piis. Imperatoris Mattheæ et Annæ Conjugis Augustæ Corpora resurrectionem expectant ex mente eorundem suorum prædecess. statuit, quæ ut perpetuo quoad Fratres. dicti Ordinis tuta et firma essent, Urbani VIII Pont. Max. jussu cavit.

On the outside of a *Franciscan* cloister (a large building) are the pictures of popes.

The *Benedictines* abbey church is one arch'd roof, and hath fair altars in it, though the high altar is mean; on the roof are painted many coats of arms, and some inscriptions, viz. The Benedictines.

Henricus I. Dux Austriæ S. Leopoldi Filius Anno 1558, fundavit hoc monasterium. Anno 1572, mortuus hicque Sepultus est.

Idem Henricus Parochiam a Conrado Episc. Passaviensi impetravit, quod Viennensi Parocho alia donatione compensavit Anno 1558, et Cælestinus III. Papa confirmavit Anno 1595.

Rom. Imperatore Ferdinando III. templum hoc erectum est.

Philippus Fridericus Episcopus Viennensis S. R. Imperii princeps consecravit Anno MDCLVIII.

SKIPPON. *Antonius Abbas Vetere templo deposito novum è fundamentis eduxit et duorum Antecessorum compendium fecit, Anno MDCXLVII.*

Antonius Abbas Anno 1643, Veteri templo deposito novum hoc præter Cborum idq; amplius è fundamentis educere cæpit, Anno 1647, Suecis Austria ultra Danubium occupata bienii moram injicientibus, denuo pulsus absolvit.

This church, like most in this city, is not very high, and the windows of it are little and towards the top.

On a gate towards the Danube is written,

*Quam felix urbs est quæ pacis tempore bellum
Ante oculos ponit, et sua quæq; notat.
Incessum vigilat qui custodire putabat
Urbem Armis si non Arma Dei affuerint.*

1511.

*Sed Deus et Virtus tutantur Maximiliani
Cæsaris hæc Urbis mœnia cum populo.*

The government. The government of the city is by a burgo-master, made by the emperor every two years.

Twenty-four magistrates.

Here is an imperial chamber of equal power, they say, with that at Spire.

We were told that here lives the earl of Sternbergh, a learned nobleman of Austria, and of the reform'd religion.

The pope's nuncio, cardinal Carafa, lives in great state, having three coaches with six horses a-piece; his lodging is in an old building at the piazza where the pillar is erected; over the grate there are the Barberins, the emperors, and this pope's arms, and this inscription,

Jungat Deus Ortum cum Occasu ad majorem gloriam et confessionem Jesu Christi et Vicarii ejus, Michael. Adolph. et Maria Eva Elisabethæ Conjuges hanc olim Austriæ Marchionum residentiam Urbano VIII. offerebant Anno MDCXXX. regnante Ferdinando II.

On a stone fix'd in the stadthouse wall is inscribed,

Joachim Engelberger olim Hebræus et Rabbini, postea Christianus Rackoni zy in baptismo Ferdinandus Franciscus nominatus ob enorme furtum captus ad laqueum condemnatus, sententia lata, publice Christianam fidem abjuravit, Judaismum iterum induit Crucifixi imaginem in terram judicibus populoq; spectantibus contemptim abjecit in Smam Trinitatem et SS. Eucharistiam horrendum blasphemus quam ficto Christianismo sumptam irreverenter tractavit, ideo rur-

sus examinatus pertinax condemnatus forcipibus candentibus ustus Loris excisis ad locum supplicii per Urbem tractus abscissâ dextrâ, excissâ linguâ pedibus suspensus. Vivus exustus est, cineribus in Istriam dispersis, justam sententia Deo Vindicante in Vindictam sceleris et horrorem sui similibus Anno 1642. 20 Augusti.

The fish market is plentifully stored; and the herb market is in a fair piazza. A bird-market in another place.

Land-tortoises are sold here for about sixpence a-piece, which are good meat when their heads and feet are cut off; they are found in these parts in muddy ditches.

The Turks being not far off, abated much the frequency of this city, which at other times used to be more populous. On Friday Sept. 18. news came Neubasel (the governor whereof was one Walter) was surrendered to the Turks the night before, and that they were drawing near to Presburg, &c. and that the earl of Sirene and the earl of Bavian were at the head of two armies to oppose them. Many Hungarians every hour of the day came flying into this city, but they were many of them commanded back again.

The discalceat Augustines steeple hath these inscriptions on it, The discalceat Augustins.

1. *Testa Mento Aperto C Langen Dæ pletat Is.*
2. *Orna Mento Libero a Deptæ pa CIs.*
3. *Ostento apto Co Mp Len Dæ annos Itat Is.*

We observed every day while we were here a very great number of waggons laden with corn, and other provisions, continually coming into the city, and every waggoner and countryman was armed with a musket, &c.

At a butcher's house in the suburbs we saw buffala's lately taken from the Turks, they were shod with iron, and are used to carry and draw great weights.

On a house in the suburbs is the picture of the Hausen fish, taken about Comara in the Danube; it is of a great bigness, and frequently brought hither in Lent time; of the spermatic vessels, 'tis said, the Ichthyocolle is made.

We walk'd out one day through two villages, and among many vineyards, and about half a German mile off had a fair prospect of Vienna and the adjacent country.

In the villages hereabouts are many inhabitants; the little river Wien, which gives name to the city, runs into the Danube on the east side of the town.

We walked another day over a wooden bridge into a large island nigh the city in the Danube, where are very large suburbs, and

and beyond them walk'd in a long walk of poplars, longer than the walk at *St. James's Park*; at the farther end are woods, where we saw some rare plants.

A large hospital.

A large hospital is in the suburbs, which hath a handsome church; over the door whereof is written,

D. O. M.

Ferdinandus II. Dei gratia Rom. Imperator et Aelenora Gonzaga Semper Augusti Fundatores hujus hospitalis Sancti Leopoldi, religionis Beati Joannis Dei Fratrum misericordiae Anno Dom. et Jubelæi MDCXXV.

Not far off is a nuns chapel, having a front like the *Jesuits*, whereon is inscribed,

D. O. M. in honorem Beatæ Mariæ V. S. Theresiæ V. dicatum.

The *Bermbertigen Brooders*, an order of friars, take care of sick people.

At *Tirkoten*, not far from *Vienna*, the emperor hath a *Vivarium*, where are lions, &c.

We heard a fabulous story, that many years since there was a dragon about *Brune in Moravia*, which destroyed men and other animals; but he was at last killed by eating a dead calf that had its belly fill'd with lime, which firing after the dragon had drank, destroyed the monster.

One *Pistolozzi* an *Italian* merchant, furnish'd some of our company with monies.

The emperor hath a servant that plays admirably well at tennis, and can beat the emperor at setts, with a dollar instead of a racket.

We busied ourselves with several persons in procuring *Bohemian, Hungarian, Polonian* and *Turkish* words.

German measures, &c.

Here we had opportunity to take notice of measures and weights used in those parts of *Germany* where we had been, viz.

A *Vienna* yard is equal to 30 inches and an half.

The *Frankfort* ell = 21 inch. 2 1 4th.

The *Heidelberg* ell = 22 inch.

A *Basil* yard = 22 inch.

The *Frankfort* ell = *French* ell.

A *Strasburgh* ell = 21 inches 1 8th, and is divided into 16 parts.

A *Munichen* yard = 32 inch. 1 half.

An *Augsburg* ell = 23 inch.

A *Norimberg* ell = 20 inch.

A *Norimberg* pound is equal to 18 ounces.

A *Strasburg* pound is a little heavier than our *Avoir du pois*.

Sept. 24. We hired a coach for *Venice*, and this day passing by many villages,

vineyards on each side, and leaving hills on the right hand of us, we arrived four German miles from *Vienna* at *Trayskirke*, a great village, where there is a little castle trench'd about.

Sept. 25. We took coach about five in the morning, and rode very smooth heathy way, having on the right hand mountains, and on the left a large plain, which extended beyond our sight. At four miles from *Trayskirke* we came to *Nieustadt*, a place well wall'd about, like some of our *English* towns; the suburbs pull'd down at this time, to prevent the *Turks* making advantage of them, if they should begin a siege here; many soldiers were now in garrison here. Without the trench new fortifications erecting. This town is not large, but handsomely built, the streets are streight, and of an equal breadth, and the houses flat-roofed; the market-place is a fair square, with porticoes before the houses, where are many pieces of ordnance. The town is square, and hath at each corner a mount, or bulwark; at one corner is a castle, and nigh it is the arsenal, where over the gate is written,

Ferdinandus Philippi Hispaniarum et Joannæ Reg. Nepos. Maximiliani Cæs. Aug. ac Ferdinandi Senioris regis Catholicæ Frater germanus Caroli V. Imp. Princeps ac Infans Hispaniarum, Archidux Austriæ, &c. hoc Armamentarium ob patrie tuicionem in hostium terrorem è fundamentis extruebat Anno à nato Jesu MDXXIII.

The great church is indifferently handsome. A bishop here.

Over a cloister door is written,

Monasterium Ord. S. Pauli. I. Eremitæ.

And on the wall is the imperial arms, and two coats of arms besides, with *a. e. i. o. u.* and this inscribed,

Pio fundatori Friderico Imperatori.

On a nobleman's house is written over the gate,

Libera et fide commissâ, Domus Familiæ Baronum de Meger.

After we had baited at this place, we travelled farther in the plain, and passed through a pine wood, and at two miles distance entered a valley, and two miles further, where the valley was narrow, between high hills covered with pines and vineyards, this night lay in a village called *Gluknitz*. At most of the villages we pass'd

SKIPPOON. pass'd through from *Vienna*, we observ'd in the road bars of wood, with part of the branches of the tree remaining and sharpened.

The houses in these villages are covered with shingles of wood, and are built of stone; but the poorer houses are built of wood.

Sept. 26. At two German miles distance from *Gluknitz* we came to *Schaydweyen*, a village with a gate, and little wall at each end, seated between the mountains, and watered with a small river, which is covered with wood as it runs through the middle of it; we saw here the head of a white boar fix'd to a door. At this village stood ready yoked ten oxen, which drew our coach up a long ascent over the mountains that part *Austria* from *Stiria*; here we saw the *Larch* tree (*Larix*) grow plentifully; *Cyclaminus*. The *Platanus*, violins and other musical instruments are made of. See my collection of plants. Afterwards a mile further we came to a little wall'd place call'd *Mertzusclag*, where we baited: about this town there are many mills driven by the river *Muer*, where scithes and sickles, &c. are made; from hence we travelled through *Langenwanga*, a village, having a castle near it on a hill; and then pass'd by the aforesaid river to *Kriegla*, another village where we cross'd the river, and pass'd by a castle upon a hill on the right hand; we pass'd some part of this day through a pleasant valley, between woody mountains, and at night lodged three miles from our baiting place, in *Kimberg*, a large village, where we paid fifteen and sixteen kreützers for a measure of wine, which was as dear again as we paid at our dinner this day.

Many of the women in these parts, as in *Austria* and *Bavaria*, wear very broad-brimm'd hats, with small crowns made of straw, which the better sort have black'd.

Sept. 27. We travelled in the same valley as the day before, and went through *Kapsberg*, a great village, and pass'd by many other villages and gentlemen's houses, and castles on the hills; afterwards, three miles from *Kimberg*, we came to *Pruck* and *der Muer*, situated at the meeting of two rivers; it is walled about, (part of the wall running up a hill) and hath one indifferent handsome street; the houses are flat roofed. It hath a castle on a hill; the market-place is large, having a fountain in it, and a well, with the ornament of well-wrought iron over it; a wooden horse stood here (as we observed in many towns of *Austria*, &c.) to punish some malefactors on.

At this place we paid one gilder and six kreützers for a measure, or quart of wine.

Without the walls of this town we pass'd over a wooden bridge cross the *Mur*, now a shallow river, and then travelled in the vale two miles to *Lewben*, a very neat walled town, with a narrow trench about it; the streets are fairly built with flat-roofed houses, it hath fountains, and a fair market-place. Handsome iron cages in the market-places of *Pruck* and *Lewben*.

The *Jesuits* have a handsome college here. The jesuits college.

We met with waggons of salt here.

Much iron made hereabouts.

A little after we left *Pruck*, we had the prospect of a nobleman's house on a hill, and a fair large cloister not far from the town; and then rode over a hill, and in the evening lodged at *S. Michael's*, a village a mile from *Lewben*.

In these parts we observed many men and women with great bronchocele's, or swellings under their chins, called by some *Bavarian Pokes*; some of which were single, others double and treble;

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?

Juvenal. Sat. 13.

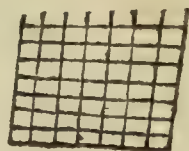
Guttur intumescit, aquarum quæ potantur plerumq; vitio. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 11. c. 37.

We observed also many of the ordinary sort to be ideots, and scarce sound of mind.

Through this valley we had stony way all along the road; but the ground seemed to be good meadow and pasture; there are no vineyards, though the sides of the hills seem convenient.

Some of the mountains we pass'd by were very high, but cover'd with larch, fir-trees, &c.

The inclosures of grounds are fenced with stakes, and pales or arms of trees set obliquely, and fastned to the stakes by twists of withy, &c. These fences may be removed, if need be, with no great difficulty.



We observed in our inns the kitchen chimnies to be made much different from those in *England*, the hearths being raised a good

Pruck and *der Muer*. rivers; it is walled about, (part of the wall running up a hill) and hath one indifferent handsome street; the houses are flat roofed.

a good height (about a yard) from the ground, and placed usually in the middle of the kitchen; so that the cooks may go round about the fire; the tunnel of the chimney hangs directly over the hearth.

Sept. 28. We rode by the river *Mura*'s side, and pass'd through a well cultivated valley, and at two miles distance went through *Kobencz*, and hereabouts had a prospect of *Steckaw* abbey, on a hill on the right hand. Three miles from *S. Michael* we came to our baiting place at *Knietsfeld*, a little wall'd town, having an indifferent market place. We travelled on still in the same valley, and pass'd by some noblemens castles and houses. In the evening we came over a hill, and four miles after dinner lodged in *St. George*, by the river *Mur*, which runs into the *Dravus*, and that empties itself into the *Danube*.

Iron mills in many places on the *Mur*.

Sept. 29. We travelled still in the same valley, and after four *German* miles came to *Newmarck*, a little walled place, having a castle on a hill; after we had baited here we followed the track of another little river which runs into the *Dravus* nigh *Volckmarck*, passing through a narrow valley between high hills, and at a mile and a half from *Newmarck* we went by a small castle seated upon a high and steep hill; and half a mile further we came through *Freisac*, a town that is walled, and well trenched on three sides with a water ditch; on the other side upon the hill are built three castles, one of which is indifferent large. This place is decay'd, and the houses are old. Some cloisters here. A *Kreitzbeer* presides, under a bishop.

A mile from *Freisac* we arrived at our lodging this night in *Hirt*, in *Carinthia*.

Sept. 30. We rode a rocky way, pass'd through valleys, and at three miles distance came to *St. Veit*, a little wall'd town, having a fountain in the market place; after dinner we travelled three *German* miles in the vales, &c. and at night lodged in *Vilkircken*, which was formerly a large fair village or market-town, there being a square piazza, with a fountain in the middle. About three years ago a fire burnt all down.

At *St. Veit*'s we were informed the emperor coins money; and that at *Gratz* there is also a mint.

The rooms in our inns had arched roofs of stone, and iron rings in them, through which poles are put to dry linen on.

Octob. 1. We rode bad way among the mountains, and pass'd along by the side of a lake called *Oosukerssee*, at the further

end whereof we went by a fair and strong castle of the earl of *Dietreckstein*'s, seated on a high hill; afterwards we descended into a pleasant valley, and then pass'd over the river *Dravus*, a pretty navigable river, which runs by the walls of *Villach* (where we baited) three *German* miles from our last night's lodging; it is a well-built town, having a broad street and a fountain in the midst of it. From hence we travelled a good distance, and came over a long wooden bridge cross the *Gaile*, a fair river that runs into the *Dravus*, then we rode among high mountains, and pass'd very rocky way, and at night lodged in *Orlestein*, a village, with a little castle built on a small hill.

We observed the mountains in some places ploughed a great height, and took notice of their drying of buck-wheat by fastening it to poles set upright in the ground.

At *Vilkircken*, where we lay Sept. 30. we observed the making of a kind of fritters, shaped into flower-de-lys, &c. first they put an iron so shaped into boiling seam, and then dip it into a dish of cold batter, and presently took it out, which gives that figure or any other they have moulds for.

Octob. 2. We travelled among the high mountains, and rode bad way; at two miles distance we baited in *Clayn Tarvis*, a village; afterwards we came to the beginning of the river *Timent*, which runs into the *Adriatic* sea, and a mile further pass'd through *Malvareat*, a large village, from whence we had a *German* mile to our lodging this night in *Pontieba Veneta*, Pontieba so called by the Italians, and Ponteville by Veneta. the *Germans*; it belongs to the emperor, and here we were obliged to procure a pass, or ticket of health; the beginning whereof was printed in *Latin*, and the rest *Italian*, and the form of it was this.

Andreas da Mula locum tenens. Gen. Patrie Forijulii. Si partono da questo luogo gli infra scritti, Dio lodato, senza sospetto di mal Contagioso, alli quali doue capiteranno se li potrà dar libera prattica, in quorum fidem, &c. Dalla Pontieba Veneta le 13 Octob. 1663. Il Signior Gio. Vray contre aliri Sigri et due Servitori et due Carocieri con lor calero et sue robbe per Italia

Il Peloci Ad.

This day (Oct. 3.) we pass'd by our lady's chapel on the top of a high mountain, and presently after we left *Clayn Tarvis* we observed a herd of goats following a goat-herd, who had strange shoes which turned up with long toes, and

SKIPPOON. and had great iron nails in the soles of his shoes to climb the mountains withal.

The women in these parts wear their hair braided, and linen about their heads.

Octob. 3. We pass'd over the river *Timent*, where a bridge parts *Carinthia* from *Friuli*; half this bridge is wood, and belongs to the emperor, and the other half is stone in the *Venetian* territory: On the *German* side close by the bridge is written,

Ferdinandus II. D. G. Electus Roman. Imperator. Germ. Hung. Boe. Rex.

About a *German* mile off we came to *Clausen*, a little village with a fort, which is built under the mountains, and hath two draw-bridges on that side we entred, where before we were permitted to pass we deliver'd the above-mention'd ticket of health. On the gate of this fort were several inscriptions, one of which I transcribed, viz.

Arx Anno Domini MCCCXLII constructa, nivium injuria MDCV. devastata, Veneta Senatus Consulto MDCVI restaurata, ac magis munita Fori Julii Præsides Franc. Ebricio.

From hence we travelled along by the river *Timent*, where we observed fir-

timber sometimes floating down, and sometimes where the rocks stopp'd it, men endeavouring with long hooks to put the timber into the force of the stream.

At two *German* miles distance from *Clausen*, we baited at *Rasfuta*, a village, and then went to *Vensonga*, a pretty small town walled and trenched about; hereabouts we came among vineyards, and wine was sold for about six *Venetian* soldi the bocciale.

About two *Italian* miles from *Vensonga* we arrived at the beginning of the plains of *Friuli*, and lodged this night in *Hospitelletto*.

Before I conclude my account of *Germany*, it may not be amiss to take notice, that *Wendelin*, in his politicks, l. 2. c. 36. says, There are in *Germany* 100 bishops and archbishops; 156 abbots, abbeesses, præpositi, and commendatores; 76 dukes, 20 marquesses; 4 landgraves; 281 earls, among whom 29 are princes; 19 burgravii; 313 barons; about 75 imperial cities, formerly there were 225.

In *Bohemia* the *Rusticks* are severely punish'd by the emperor for their rebellion, which makes the country not well inhabited; they are not permitted to have trenchers, napkins, &c. perhaps not rich enough to buy them.



I T A L Y.

SKIPPON.


OCTOBER 4. We travell'd in a level country, and had a fair prospect, on the left hand, of *Limonia*, a walled town on the rising of a hill at the foot of the mountains; and after ten *Italian* miles riding, we baited at a village called *St. Tomaso*.

We observed the vulgar sort of women in these parts, to wear a linen dress about their heads, like those we took notice of in the *Alps*: some of them had white linen plaids about their heads and shoulders, and have their breasts very much bared. Several of them wore their hair braided with ribband, and wound upon a roll behind.

After dinner we pass'd thro' *St. Daniel*, where at this time was a fair much frequented by the country people. This place is walled about, and situated upon a hill.

After we left this town, we forded the river *Timent* several times, which divides itself, and makes a great beach of stones, sand, gravel, &c. that is overflowed sometimes by the floods that come from the mountains; then we ascended a little cliff or bank, and entred the walls of *Spillenberg*, another indifferent town, having *portici* before their houses, built of stone. A castle here. Afterwards we pass'd over two large beaches, and rode in barren plains. About ten *Italian* miles hence we came to our lodging in *Sancto Avogio*.

This day we pass'd by two or three small castles seated on hills, but of no remark, and had a ridge of mountains on the right hand of us. The country about the villages was well tilled, *Sorghum*, *Turkey* wheat, and other grain being sown between rows of trees set at regular distances, and vines climbing about the trees.

The wine hereabouts was scarce fit to drink. The country people in *Friuli*, &c. hire lands of the owners for half the profit the grounds, &c. yield; which, in some parts of *England*, is also practised, where the landlord and tenant are at halves, which signifies the same with this custom. The republick of *Venice* lately took off a tax on their houses here.

October 5. We rode along the plain; and, at ten *Italian* miles distance, came to *Sacile*, a walled town, where the river *Livenza* divides itself, and encompasses

the walls. Over the suburbs gate we entred; under *St. Mark's* lion is written,

Dilectam urbem Ludovicus Cornelius hoc ornamento decoravit. MDLXII.

And over the wall-gate is this following inscription to the memory of *Mary* the wife of *Maximilian I. Imp. viz.*

Maria Austria Imp. Fil. Aug. D. Caroli V. Imp. post hominum memoriam gloriosissimi F. Maximiliani I. Ro. . . Invictiss. olim Conjux Rudolphi II. Imp. Aug. Boemiæ ac Pannoniæ Regis è Germania ad Philippum Fratrem Regem Max. in Hispaniam proficiscens, cum Maximiliano Filio Archiduce Austriæ se . . . et Margareta Filia gratiosiss. huc accedens sancto Contarini Prætoris præfectoque Senatus Veneti jussu, honorificentissime accepta fuit 11X Kal. Octob. et diem proximum commorata x Kal. decessit.

On the town-house are 22 several short inscriptions in memory of the governors; among the rest, under a stone figure,

II. I. S. Alo. Delph. Prætor. Præfque, pæcolmi imaginem posteris visendam. S. Sac. erigi curavit MDCI CCC.

In the market-place is a small pillar, whereon is fixed a pole with a ball on it, and this written underneath.

Pilam hanc et vexillum publica in meliorem usum conversa pecunia M. Antonius Venerius Prætor. Præfque, primus erigendum C. MDXXXIX.

In the chief church are two fair marbles, for holy water, at the entrance. *Portici* before the houses.

We observed many inscriptions, in streets of the places we pass'd thro', on bridges and in high-ways, in memory of the repairers, &c.

When we had baited at *Sacile*, we travell'd about 10 miles further to our lodging in *Conegliano*, a walled town seated on the ridge of a hill. Here is one indifferent street, with cloisters or *Portici* before the houses. The suburbs are large. The river *Mottigan* runs by this place. Where the trench was are fair gardens.

Over

SKIPTON.

Over the gate of one is written,

Clementi VIII. Pont. Opt. Maximo. Jacobus Abbas Sinius prot. Apost. eidem in pontificatu à secretis atq; ab intimo Cubiculo eternè tanti Principis Patroni optimi de se merenti memoriæ dicavit. Anno à partu Virginis MDCVI.

Over one of the town gates is written,

Ecclesia Hieronymo Rom. Marcello hac patria utroq; et Hieronymo et Marcello restaurata Anno MDXXIII.

All the way we travelled hitherto in *Italy*, we had no other bread but what was made of *Sorghum*, which was white, but hard and dry.

Treviſo.

October 6. We travelled about five *Italian* miles, and ferry'd over the river *Anaxus* or *Piave*; and ten miles further we came to *Treviſo* (*Tarviſum*) a large walled city, built indifferently with old houſes. The market-place is handſome, where there is the town-houſe, with walks underneath it like *Lincolnſ-inn* chapel; and inſcriptions to the governors.

At the gate we came in at is written,

Paulus Nanus Geo. F. Aug. Princ. Nep. Præ. Præſq; F. 1518. Porta S. Thomæ.

This part of the town is walled and trenched about; but the other ſide towards *Venice* is very fairly fortified with a ſtrong wall, and thick earthwork within it, and a broad trench. The river *Sile* runs thro' ſeveral ſtreets. A level country round this city. In all the wall'd towns we came thro', is a governor ſent every 18 months by the *Venetians*.

Leti, in his dialogues, ſays, There riſes a river within the walls, that fills the city ditches.

From *Treviſo* we rode a ſtreight broad way for about ſeven *Italian* miles, having a flat country, well tilled, and planted with rows of trees on each ſide the road; and at ten miles diſtance from *Treviſo*, we went thro' the ſuburbs of *Meſtre*, a walled place, where we hired a gondola with four oars, which carry'd us in a cut channel to the ſea. Our boat paid at one place by the way two ſoldi a man toll; and at another place half a ſoldi a man: Then we paſſed by marſhy iſlands; and at five miles diſtance from *Meſtre* landed at our inn door in *Venice*; having travelled 13 days together from *Vienna*, and in this journey rode about 312 *Engliſh* miles.

Meſtre.

Here is
the river
Marzene-
ſa.

Venice.

Between *Treviſo* and *Meſtre* are many pleaſant *Ville* or country-houſes, not

large, but very pleaſant in their avenues, walks, and gardens, having uſually a little chapel at one corner of the garden.

The following obſervations I made at three ſeveral times I was at *Venice*.

The firſt time I ſtay'd from the 6th of *October* 1663. till the 3d of *December* 1663.

The ſecond time was from the 6th of *January* 1663-4 till the 1ſt of *Feb.* 1663-4.

The third time was from the 10th of *Feb.* till the 13th of *March* 1664-5.

We went up *St. Mark's* tower, which is ſquare and high, built in the piazza of *St. Mark*, and ſtands at ſome diſtance from the church and other buildings. We firſt came up 36 ſloping aſcents (there being an aſcent without ſteps on each ſide of the tower) and above them went up 14 ſteps, a ladder of 4 ſteps, and then two ladders more of 27 ſtaves, into a balcony with braſs rails, where we took a pleaſant view of the city and the circumjacent iſlands. The city runs out towards the arſenal a good way in length, but ſhews a great place in the bulk or body of it. The ſtreets are ſo narrow, that moſt of them are not large enough for above two or three to walk abreſt, without crowding; and the houſes are ſo thick built, that, from this ſteeple, we could ſcarcely diſcern one ſtreet diſtinctly.

On the four ſides of the top of the ſteeple, is carved in ſtone,

✠ *xps Rex venit in pace, et Deus homo factus eſt.*

We were told, that *Henry III.* of *France* rode up this ſteeple on horſeback, to a portico ſomewhat below the balconies. Before the ſteeple below are fair marble rails; and on that ſide the ſteeple is adorned with ſtatues, &c. *Schottus*, in his itinerary, ſays, The foundation of this tower coſt as much as the ſuperſtructure. On the top of it is a wooden figure of *St. Mark*, gilt, bleſſing of the people. Nigh it, and juſt before *St. Mark's* church, are three high poles erected.

The piazza of *St. Mark* is magnificent, being curiouſly built with fair houſes, which are uniform, with handſome *Portici* or cloiſters. This piazza may be accounted two piazzas, the longeſt being againſt the weſt end of *St. Mark's* church, and the other that looks towards *St. George Maggiore*. In this piazza near the water-ſide, are two large round marble pillars; and near *St. Mark's* church are two ſquare marble pillars, between which noblemen are beheaded; and nigh them, at the corner of a building, are four porphyry ſtatues of four pirates in armour,

Piazza of
St. Mark.

mour, two and two embracing each other. These pirates had enriched themselves very much; but want of provisions obliged two of them to come ashore here at *Venice*; who, as soon as they were landed, plotted to poison the other two; who, being left on shipboard, conspired against the two ashore; so that two poisoned the drink, and two the meat, and all four died, leaving their estates in the *Venetians* possession, who placed these statues in memory of them. Not far from thence, at the corner of *St. Mark's* church, stands a thick and short pillar, where any one that is to be banished, must stand in the view of all people. Nigh this pillar I once observed an officer, with a red cap, and a cecchino fastened to it, repeat aloud what was first read to him. We heard a nobleman of *Vicenza* proclaimed banditto, Jan. 8.

The piazza of *St. Mark* is neatly paved with bricks set edge-ways, and so are most of the streets.

On that side of the piazza the palace is of, the noble *Venetians* walk in the mornings, &c. no man else being suffered to walk among them; it is called *Il Broglio*.

Every *Saturday* there is a market kept in this piazza.

Every *Sunday* morning there is a sermon preached by a *Dominican* friar; and during the sermon, a fellow gathers peoples charity in a bag at the end of a stick. At the end of the sermon the auditory sung a *Salve Regina* upon their knees.

The pulpit is placed nigh the cloister, under the palace; and on it hung the picture of a duke praying to the virgin *Mary*; and underneath is written,

Hanc FF adm. Rs. Bacc'us F. Vincentius Livae Tripaldi ordinis praedi'um ad restaurandum devotionem Rosarii, dum secunda vice fuit reelectus Praedicator Ducalis et Publicalis platearum S. Marci, et Realti Venetiarum in quibus introduxit primo dictam devotionem publicè recitandi ab utroque sexu fidelium, die 17. Junii 1663.

Opposite to the duke's palace is a fair building, where we saw in a pretty room, several antient statues and heads; under one is written,

*Hic locus
Sacer est.*

A fair old head of *Vitellius*; and this following inscription under a head, viz.

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DIS MANIBVS
A ORGIVIA PAL
HERMETIS
POLYBIVS LIB PATRON
MERENTI
ET IN SE PIISIMO

On another stone is inscribed,

C. IVLIO
CETRO
QVIETO
TITIA QVIETA
MATER
FILIO
PIISSIMO.

Over a door here is written,

*Signa marmorea perantiqua olim à Domini.
Card. Grimano Anto. princ. E. et postea
à Jo. Patriar. Aquiliam ejusdem P. Nep.
Pascale Ciconia Duce magna ex parte
reipub. legata, partim vero marino Grima-
no Prin. à Federico Contareno D. M'ci
Proc. ad absolutum ornamentum suppleta
idem Federi. ex SC. hoc in loco reponenda
C. Anno Domini MDXLVI.*

Within this antiquarium is a large room where cardinal *Bessarion's* library is kept. Over the door is written,

*Bessarionis Card. ex leg. Senatus, jussu Pro-
curator Divi Marci Cura Philippi Trono.
Andreae Leono. Joannis à Lege. Antonii
Capelle Victor. Grimano. Joan. à Lege
Eq. Bibliotheca instructa et erecta M.
Antonio Trevisano Principe ab urbe condita
MCXXXIII.*

At the upper end is a small picture of cardinal *Bessarion*, and this written,

*Ex Aede SS. Apostolis Romae dicata
Bessario Episcopus Thusculanus, sanctae Ro-
manae Ecclesiae Cardinalis Patriarcha
Constantinopolitanus, sibi vivens posuit,
Anno Salutis MCCCCLXVI.*

ΤΗΣΤΙ ΒΕΣΣΑΡΙΩΝ
ΖΩΝ ΑΝΥΣΤΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ
ΣΗΜΑ
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΔΕ ΦΕΥΞΕΙΤΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΡ.

Here we saw many classes of books; among which we were shewn *St. Augustine's* works in several manuscript volumes, fairly written, and adorned with painting, handsome drawings of *Roman* heads, with red lead, &c. the manuscripts

SKIPPON. of Plutarch's lives; Niceti Coniati hist. Herodotus, Thucydides, Dion, Eusebius, &c.

This library is in the building called the *Procuratorio Nuovo*, which is opposite to the palace and grand configlio.

Palace.

The palace is a very stately building of marble, having a double portico, one over the other, towards the piazza of St. Mark. Within is a large court, where we went up a fair pair of stone stairs, which hath, about half way of the ascent, a large statue on each side, viz. Mars and Neptune.

October 10. We saw the duke giving audience to the Spanish ambassador, in a room called the ———, which is not large, but curiously adorned with pictures, and the ceiling richly wrought, gilt, and painted, with these sentences written on it in several places,

*Custodes libertatis.
Nunquam derelicta.
Reipub. Fundamentum.
Robur Imperii.*

The room where the grand configlio meets, is very large, having at the upper end, a throne for the duke and the *Configlio de dieci*; and thro' the length of the room are nine rows of double benches. Round, on the wall, are 75 dukes pictures, and a void space where the picture of Marino Faliero should have been placed, if he had not been beheaded for treason.

Next to this is another great room with 22 dukes pictures and sentences. At the upper end here is a seat or throne like that in the grand configlio, raised some height above the rest of the floor; over which is written,

Qui patriae pericula suo periculo expetunt, hi sapientes putandi sunt, cum et eum quem debent honorem Reip. reddunt, et pro multis perire malunt, quam cum multis; etenim vehementer est iniquum vitam quam à natura acceptam propter patriam conservaverimus, naturae cum cogat reddere, patriae cum roget non dare. Sapientes igitur existimandi sunt qui nullum pro salute Patriae periculum evitant; hoc vinculum est hujus dignitatis qua fruimur in Rep. hoc fundamentum libertatis, hic fons equitatis mens et animus et consilium et sententia civitatis posita est in legibus, ut corpora nostra sine mente, sic Civitas sine lege suis partibus ut nervis ac sanguine et membris uti non potest, legum Ministri magistratus, legum interpretes judices, legum denique iccirco omnes servimus ut liberi esse possimus.

In the wall nigh the grand configlio, is written under the figure of a mouth or slit (wherein private informations by writing may be put,)

Denoncie secrete contro quelli che usurpassero offitii overo ne effercitassero contro la forma et senze li requisiti delle legge.

In the next room to that we saw the Spanish ambassador, are seats that fill the room, and many curious pictures, and a rich ceiling; the pictures of several dukes praying to saints, almost every duke chusing a saint for his patron. Here are two great candlesticks fixed in the ground; and over them hang brass or iron tubes, which are passages for the smoak of the candles that the ceiling may receive no fully.

Beyond this room is a little chapel where the duke hears mass, and where there is a fair marble statue of the virgin Mary.

We saw next a large room where people that have business stay and wait. Good pictures here; one represents the Persian ambassador's giving presents to the duke.

A room where the council of ten sits, having seats placed like a half-moon. Here are rich pictures on the ceiling and walls. Under the picture of the pope and the emperor Henry, is written,

Ad Italiae securitatem firmandam accessit prisca Venetorum pietas.

On another picture,

Pax Italiae Bononiae inita MDXXIX.

Adjoyning to this room are many others called the inquisidore, adorned with pictures, &c. where we saw many books, probably records, &c. All these are in the third story.

The room before-mentioned, where the grand configlio is, in the second story, the ceiling thereof is very curious, and the pictures excellent, which relate the whole story of the quarrel between the emperor and the pope; the pope's flying to the Venetians; the emperor's son being taken prisoner by the Venetians in a sea-fight; the emperor Freder. Barbarossa's submission, and the pope Alexander III. treading upon him, &c. At the upper end is a fair picture of parade, made by Tintoretus.

* This picture is not in the great configlio.

Over

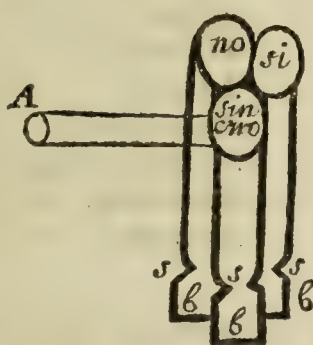
Over one picture is written,

*Andreas Contareno Dux Qui Clodianae clas-
sis Imperator servata patria atrocissimos
hostes felicissime debellavit MCCCXLVIII.
vix. postea An. XIII.*

On one picture the painter wrote his
name, viz.

*Federicus Zuccarus F. An. Salu. CIOICLXXXIII.
perfectit An. CIOICIII.*

In this room we observed the ballot-
ing boxes made thus,



At *A* is a long hollow wood they put
their hands thro', and then let fall a pel-
let of linen cloth into which of the three
boxes they please, which have screws at
s s s whereby they may take out the
pellets distinctly. Over one box is writ-
ten *no*, over another *si*, and over a third
sincero.

See *Contareno de Repub. Veneta*, and
Fanotti, who describe all particulars re-
lating to the government of this common-
wealth.

Those pellets were formerly made of
silver; but the noise of their falling
down was thought inconvenient.

Assembly
of the
great
council.

On *Sundays*, usually at two in the after-
noon in the winter, and at nine in the
morning in summer, and sometimes on
other days, at the ringing of a bell, the
great council assembles, and strangers
are suffered to be present, there being a
bench appointed for them on the left
side of the room. We were several times
there; and once observed, when the
duke came in with some senators attend-
ing on him, one went into a pulpit on
the right side of the room, and read
somewhat out of a paper; and then at
the upper end where the duke's seat is, a
paper was read. After which, gilt boxes
were brought; and then some names
being read and pronounced aloud, many
of the nobility went to the further end,
and came thro' the long middle seats;
and coming to the upper end, took little

balls, and put some into the gilt boxes, SKIPPO.
and some into the hands of those that sat
at the upper end; all this seemed to be
done in some confusion, the gentlemen
walking up and down discoursing one
with another, and many crowding to-
wards the upper end, where sometimes
they laughed very loud. At the opposite
end, against the duke's seat, sat two or
three senators in scarlet, and on the right
side of the room. The duke, senators,
and many noblemen went into another
chamber, whence, after some stay, they
returned into the great room again: then
a company of young hospital boys in blue
were placed before the duke on the
ascent, and every boy had a balloting
box divided into two loculi, one marked
D. si the other *D. no*. and a leather
purse by their sides with green and white
pellets in them. Most of the noblemen
then seated themselves on the benches,
tho' some stood, and others walked;
and when any name was mentioned aloud,
the boys went with their boxes, &c. and
repeating the name, gave a pellet to
every gentleman, who put it into which
box he pleased. When all the suffrages
were thus gathered, the boys returned to
the ascent, and empty'd the negative
boxes into a wooden bason, and the af-
firmative into another: thus the boys
did for the space of two hours. The
names mentioned were put to the vote
for several places vacant.

After the council door is shut, none
are suffered to enter the palace, by a
guard of halberdeers that stand at the
palace gate.

We observed some of the gentlemen
(such, I believe, who had then places
given them by vote) that went to the
rest from one to another, making con-
gees, &c.

Once when we were at an assembly,
the duke was absent.

The *Capi di Dieci* wear black gowns,
with a red flap or stola over their shoul-
der.

The 12 *Savii* wear purple with wide
sleeves.

The *Giovani* that are admitted
into the council, as beginners, have pur-
ple gowns with lesser sleeves than the 12
Savii.

Some of the citizens and doctors of
physick are habited like the noblemen in
black gowns, &c.

We saw several rooms of the duke's
lodgings, and several pictures of dukes,
&c. in little galleries. Some of the
chambers are very curiously adorned. In
one private audience is given to embas-
sadors;

SKIPPON. fadors; in another we saw the duke's scarlet cap and his coif lying on a table. In another room a rich silk bed belonging to the dukes.

In a large publick room are many pictures, among which the famous battle at

Lepanto. At the upper end over the duke's seat is inscribed,

*Antonio Priolo Duci institut. opus decori et usui,
Franciscus Contarenus Dux prosequens ad
perennem gratiarum memoriam MDCCXXIII.*

In a little room between the two galleries, hang up three tables, two of which are pedigrees of the Contaren family; the other I transcribed, viz.

Contarenæ Familæ procuratoria dignitate insigniti.

Antonius	Anno 860		Aloysius	Anno 870
Marcus	1010		Marcus	1138
Marinus	1286	Jacobus postea Dux	Nicolaus	1299
Nicolaus	1326	Andreas postea D.	Stephanus	1347
Antonius	1414	Federicus postea D.	Andreas	1436
Stephanus	1441	Joannes postea D.	Natalinus	1446
Nicolaus	1462	Franciscus postea D.	Leonardus	1483
Bertuccius	1485		Julius	1537
Alexander	1538		Thomas	1545
Franciscus	1556		Thomas	1556
Federicus	1570		Hieronymus	1572
Jo. Paulus	1594		Zacharias Eq.	1600
Bernardus	1602		Simon Eq.	1620
Angelus Eq.	1642		Andreas	1645
Julius	1651			

Most of the rooms are paved with marble, and many of the entrances and doors adorned with marble pillars, &c.

When a new duke is elected, he gives to every one of the senators a medal or *munus*.

Private
Armory.

In the palace is a private armory, where we observed in five rooms these particulars, viz. a standard taken from the *Turks*, with this inscription under it,

*Quod cernis signum Turcicæ classis labarum
est ad Ægeum inter pugnandum x Julii
MDCLI Imperatore Venetæ classis Aloysio
Mocenico II. à duce Navis Aquilæ aureæ
Joanne Kasar vi ereptum, serenissimæ
Reipublicæ fidei observantiæq; monumentum
dono datum.*

The *Vexillum* of *Freder. Barberossa's* son, and another taken from the *Turks* at *Clissa* in *Dalmatia*; *Attila* and his horse's helmets; *Scanderbeg's* sword.

Over a door is the brass figure of *Ant. Bragadeno*, and this inscription,

M. Ant. Bragadeno Salaminæ Cyprio Præfectus in diuturna obsidione substinenda singulari fortitudine clarus summaq; pietate atq; constantia pro Christi fide et pro patriæ vivus gloriosissime cute exutus 17 Aug. 1571.

Over *Henry IV's* arms is written,

Henrici IV. Franciæ et Navarrai Regis arma in tot tantisq; et periculis et victoriis hostili sanguine madefacta immortalis ejus gloriæ trophæum ac veri et sinceri amoris erga Rempub. monumentum.

Two fair halberts with guns in the staves of them; the armour and sword of the duke of *Roban*; the arms and sword of that doge of *Venice* who took *Fred. Barberossa's* son prisoner; two handsome marble statues of *Francisus Sforza* and his wife; a curious and richly embroidered and pictured cloth of gold, presented by the *Persian* to the doge of this state, as is signified by this inscription,

Regie fidei amoris honoris etiam remotissimorum Principum erga Rempub. nobilissimum testimonium Persarum Regis Marino Grimano inclito Venetiarum Principi munus.

A curious small piece of cannon not cast, but bored; another gun having one barrel and five breeches, which may be turned round to the barrel one after another as they are discharged; a statue of *Gattamelata* of *Padua*, in armour, sitting upon a fair brass horse; two brass heads with these inscriptions under them,

Titiani Aspetti R. Op.

1. *Sebastianus Venerio Venetæ classis imperator Qui apud Echinadas Turcarum classe disjectâ ob præclaram victoriam miro totius Reip. Consensu merito postea Dux electus Sept. Octob. 1571.*

2. *Augustinus Barbadeno totius classis Legatus qui apud Echinadas maxima in victoria et consilio et sanguine parta gloriosissime occubuit, Patriæ beneficium, posteris summae prudentiæ invidiæq; fortitudinis præclarum relinquens exemplum. Septimo Octobris 1571.*

The

The effigies of *Hen. Dandolo*, and of *Franc. Carrara* of *Padua*, who rebelled and turned tyrant; a small arrow in a little bow, with which he was wont to kill privately any he had a spite at, as they pass'd by him; an iron collar set full of sharp nails on the inside, which he put about mens necks; *Organo del Diavolo*, or little boxes which he sent to two counts of *Brescia*; they were so contriv'd, that when they opened them, several pistols were discharged, which killed one of the earls; the statue of *Valanoso*, a captain; the picture of *St. Justina* set in a looking-glass frame, upon this occasion; the state of *Venice* were sending ambassadors with presents (among which a looking-glass) to the great *Turk*, to procure peace; but by the way they heard of a great victory gain'd on *St. Justina's* day; so the ambassadors return'd immediately to *Venice*; and, instead of the looking-glass, they put into the frame a picture of that saint, and adorned it with precious stones.

A great crystal lanthorn, with a crystal cup in the middle of it, made by one *Advocato Grasso*, a citizen of this place, who carry'd it to *Constantinople* and other parts, but could not sell it to any advantage; so he brought it back again, and presented it to this commonwealth, by whom it was placed first at the high altar in *St. Mark's*, and afterwards removed to this armory; the workman being rewarded with 400 *Venetian* ducats per Annum for four generations. We saw the *ferratura della Natura della sua moglie*; a gun with 60 barrels; *Grimani's Scrittorio*, being a large cabinet with many idols of the ancients; king *James's* picture; a brass thing like a font, within which are 500 matches, that (by striking of a cock which fires two pans that cross one another) are all lighted at one time; many arms, pistols, always ready charged; helmets, breast-plates, &c.

Against this armory are council rooms; and in the walls are several mouths or slits with these inscriptions,

1. *Denoncie Secrete di Baratti et permutate di ballotti.*
2. *Denoncie Secrete di Bravi et Vagabondi et di Banditi à Relegati transgressori.*
3. *Denoncie Secrete contro l'irreverenti alle chiese.*

In the upper cloister of the palace are these,

1. *Denontie Secrete per li inquisitori all' Arsenale.*

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2. *Denontie Secrete contro ministri delle pompe con l'impunita Secretezza è benefitii giusto alle legge.* SKIPPON.

3. *Denontie Secrete in materia d'ogni sorte di pompe contro ciasduna persona con benefitii 42 per cento giusto alle leggi.*

4. *Denontie Secrete di usure et usurpatione di beni pubblici.*

5. *Denontie Secrete contro ministri del magistrato della militia di mar per estorsioni fraudi o pregiudicii inferiti così all' pubblico come à particolari.*

6. *Denontie Secrete de usurpatione Violenze et ogni altra cosa spettante almag'to di prov'ri sopra li beri comunali.*

7. *Denontie Secrete de Scommesse.*

8. *Denontie contra Becheri et contra Bandieri et altri.*

9. *Denontie du Reduti et giochi proibiti dalle legge.*

10. *Denontie Secrete contro quelli che essercitano officii concernanti maneggio de scritture et conti pubblici che non sono descritti nel Collegio de Raggionati et altro aspettante al Mag'to de gli Eccl'mi SS'ri Revisori et Re-colatori alla Scrittura.*

Over two chambers are these inscriptions,

1. *Leonardo Lauridano Principi*
Cum is annonae provisum iri statuisset quod non modo Urbi Venetae, sed Vicinis Civitatibus quae ob bellor. tumultus summae ejus caritate laborabant subsidio fuit quindicies cent. mil. sextar. frumenti. Michael Salomono Marco Contareno. Alouis Barbaro rei frumentariae Praeff. curantib. sunt intra menses XVI. id quod antea nunquam ex variis regionibus Venetias advecta. MDXI. et XII.

2. *Urbem annonae caritate oppressam V. virum rei frumentariae anni superioris singulari studio sublevatam, hi qui hodie sunt non minore cura industriaq; et urbem et caeteras Imperii civitates sustentarunt, classi omnium quae unquam aedificatae sunt maximae commeatum praebuerunt cunctisq; opem implorantib. victum suppeditarunt, et omnia summa cum laude atq; hominum benevolentia gesserunt, quod ad aliorum inflammandos animos ad bene de republica, merendum hoc est testatum monumento. MDLXX. X. K. Maii.*

SKIPTON. We heard one day (17 October) a lawyer very earnestly discoursing in a pulpit in a room nigh the *Sala di grand Consiglio*, many counsellors being present. When he would have them take notice of any thing remarkable, he repeated the words very loud. In another large room there was one making a speech.

Over the gate that leads into the palace, is a statue of *D. Fuscari* kneeling before *St. Mark's* lion; and the statues of *Charity, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude*.

In the cloister or portico of the palace towards the piazza, is inscribed on the wall,

MDCLVII. XV. *Februario Girolamo Loredan, Giovanni Contareni furono Barditi per l'abandono della Fortezza, del Tenedo lasciata liberamente in mano di Turchi con le arme e munitione publiche con notabile pregiudizio della khristianità e della patria.*

In the portico of *St. Mark's* church is a great stone in the pavement, whereon the emperor *Frederick* kneeled when he submitted himself to the pope. No inscription now (as is mention'd by *Schottus viz. Super Aspidem et Basiliscum conculcabis*) but the figure of a lozenge in lieu of it.

St. Mark's church. *St. Mark's* church hath over the great entrance, a most curious picture of *St. Mark* lifting up his hand to heaven. It is made of *Mosaic* work, and underneath is written,

Ubi diligenter inspexeris artemq; ac laborem Francisci et Valerii Zuccati Venetorum Fratrum agnoveris tum demum judicato
MDXLV.

The pavement of this church is curiously inlaid; in one place are figured two cocks killing a fox, and in another four lions. *Schottus*, in his itinerary, makes mention, That *Joach. Abbas Sanclorius* caused them to be made, and intended a prophecy by them.

Behind the high altar is a lesser altar, having two spiral alabaster pillars so transparent, that the light of a candle may be discerned thro' them. These, they report, did belong to *Solomon's* temple. Here are also two jasper pillars hollowed and filled with wax.

In a little chapel on the south side, is a large marble stone on the wall, whereon, they say, *St. John Baptist's* head was cut off, there being fix'd to it a brass bason, with a head in it of stone.

In another chapel is a marble with the figure of the virgin *Mary* and our Saviour, wherein are three holes, one at the virgin's

breast, the other two under our Saviour's feet, with this inscription under all,

Aqua quæ prius ex petra miraculosè fluxit Oratione Prophetæ Moysis producta est, nunc autem hæc Michaelis studio labitur quem serva Christe et conjugem Irenem.

On the ground stands a large lion well carved in *Parian* marble, and another lion on the side of the altar. In this chapel is a fair monument, with the statue of a bishop on it, having this following inscription,

Joanni Baptistæ Zeno Pauli secundi ex sorore Nepoti SS. Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinali meritissimo Senatus Venetus cum propter eximiam ejus sapientiam tum singularem pietatem ac munificentiam in patriam quam amplissimo legato moriens persecutus est. MPPC. Ætatis An. LXIII. obiit. MDI. die VIII Maii, hora XII.

The roof of the church hath five *Cupoli*, and is curiously painted with *Mosaic* work; the walls and pillars are of marble. The front or west end of the church is adorned with carved work; and over the entrance stand four brass horses in the full proportion, excellently well made, which were brought from *Constantinople*. Underneath are many porphyry pillars.

In this church hangs (from the middle of the roof) a flaggon, whereon was written,

MDXXI. *Verona fidelis.*

Several little square pieces of glass, being inlaid and painted with different colours, make the pictures in the walls and roofs of this church.

On the south side of *St. Mark's* is a neat little chapel, where are four handsome statues, each having an inscription,

Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi justus et salvator.
1. *Parti ab utraque dein concessa est Nomini Jesu Cresceret ut cultus gloria honorque loci.*

Sit nomen Domini benedictum in sæc. et usq; in sæc.
2. *Dein Gemellorum patribus dedit ille colendum Queis Marci ex ultra publica cura foret.*

Ego autem Veni ad te in nomine Domini Exercituum.
3. *Cæpta fovete pii colite mirabile nomen Quo nil in terris celsius esse potest.*

Omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit.
4. *Hanc Procurator Storladus condidit Ædem Divo et Aloysio jussit adesse sacram.*

I observed one day at the end of this church which looks towards the two pillars, upon the rail of a balcony, two lighted candles standing before the virgin *Mary's* picture, which were placed here

here by some friends of a person dangerously sick, who foolishly and superstitiously believed, that, if either of the lights went out within 24 hours, the sick person would have died in that time; but if he be to recover, they will not go out, tho' it blows and rains never so much. This day was rainy, yet the candles kept lighted.

The scuola of St. Roch is a large building, with a magnificent front of marble pillars. In the old church close by, which is fair and large within, are stately monuments of dukes, &c.

St. Roch's church. St. Roch's church hath a fair frontispiece.

Procession: We saw this procession following: first went a large figure of St. Roch, and two standards with pieces of plate hanging on them; a great lanthorn; another lanthorn between four standards with plate; about 40 great silver standards, with lighted tapers in them, carry'd by men in white habits; 70 lesser silver standards with lighted tapers; then musicians clad in white; a huge wax candle and a rich crucifix; six standards of silver; a relique, and a canopy followed to cover it if the weather prov'd rainy; four more silver standards with candles, and two priests before St. Roch; a canopy; four silver standards; eight priests; musick, a very rich crucifix of gold; many Venetian gentlemen, with lighted wax candles in their hands, who were habited with white caps, &c. having tassels hanging down each side of their breasts; a cross wrought in red. Between every 10 of the afore-mention'd 40 standards, came a great deal of plate fasten'd to a frame of a pyramidal figure. There were many men to keep all in order, with torches in their hands, dress'd in white. Some of them carry'd wooden bowls, wherein they catch'd the droppings of the wax-candles. This procession went thro' St. Mark's church (close by the high altar, which is very rich with jewels, &c. and is seldom opened, only now, October 8. and some other times of the year) and afterwards round the piazza.

St. Roch's palace. We went to a nobleman's palace called Legè, where the queen of Sweden lodged. In the court within are heads of the Roman Cæsars of stone, made lately.

ts. Near this palace, before their banishment, the Jesuits had their college, where they attempted to build too large a church, which now remains unfinish'd, which, they say, displeased the state. They are now restored again. One day we observed a Jesuit going with many little boys in white habits, two and two together, singing as they went: and another time we met a Jesuit with many blue-coat boys going two and two.

Nov. 28. We saw the Jesuits church adorned with rich hangings for the feast of St. Xaverius. They have a church and college nigh the *fundamenta Nuova* (a part of the city) where is this inscription.

Il sere'mo Principe fa saper et per deliberation de gli ill'mi et ecc' mi Si'ri Essecutori contro la Biasmata che non sia alcuna persona di che grado stato ò Condition esser si voglia che ardisca giocar a balla, ballon, pandalo, carte ò altro gioco niuno nel campo della chiesa di Cruciferi hora dei Jesuiti et luochi circonvicini ne ivi tumultuar streppitar ò Commetter altre operatione che possino render scandalo et cio in pena di prigione, bando, galera, corda, frusta, berlina et altre ad arbitrio di SS. Ecc' mi hauuto riguardo alla qualita del delitto et conditione della persona et in oltre de lire ducento de picoli del beni del Delinquente da esser date la metà all' Accusator qual sara tenuto, secreto, et l'altra metà alli captori. S. Andrea Morosini. S. Nicolo Capello. S. Giacomo Donado. Adi doi Settembre MDCLVIII publicato il sopradetto proclama da me Giulio Miloni Commandador in Campo de Crose cbieri.

This prohibition is set up by most of the cloisters and churches in this city.

On a gate that leads to the new foundation, is written,

mecccccii. Fraternitatis Artis Varatorio-rum.

We went to Grimani's palace, which does Grimani's now belong to the patriarch of Aquileia. The front of it towards the grand canal, is very fair, and adorned with curious pillars. Sir H. Wotton says, The cornices of this front are too large; and observes the *Atrium Græcum*, or antiporch of eight columns of the compound order, the shafts whereof are made of brick. Over the doors below are figures with inscriptions, viz.

Bacchus dulce Venenum.

Spera ut Mortalis.

Diligentia auget opus.

Consule ante factum.

On the out-side of the gate towards the water, is written,

Domus Pacis.

Above stairs is a large room with pictures of cardinals, and two old and very great maps, one of the whole world, the other of Italy, both made by Joannes Bellinus. In the chambers are fair Mosaic tables inlaid with precious stones: in

SKIPPON. in the middle of one is a jasper worth 10,000 *Italian* ducats; brass figures on the heads of andirons; two small brass ancient figures fixed on pedestals; on one of which is written,

Tu Deus et tanti fateor tu muneris Auctor.

On the other is,

Ex me qui vides promptos mihi reddito honores.

On a cover before a chimney, is written in the *Spanish* language, this,

*No hay fuego que mas arda
Que la lengua que me mal habla.*

We saw here a little cabinet, wherein was one cock to fire six little pistols.

Procession. Every *Saturday* during the war with the *Turks*, the doge of *Venice* and senators make a procession thro' the palace, piazza, and *St. Mark's* church. The manner of it was observed, viz. First came six standards with lighted tapers, and a silver cross in the middle of them; then many surplice-men singing (some with lights in their hands) immediately before the gospel of *St. Mark*, written by himself, and carry'd in a rich cabinet by four in surplices. Over it was a canopy supported by four more in surplices. As this relick pass'd by, the people kneeled. Then followed many with lighted tapers; after them, canons, and the *Primicerius* of *St. Mark*, who had his square cap on his head. After him came several noblemen in scarlet and purple gowns, and three or four in black gowns (which all the nobility of *Venice* are obliged to wear in the city after they are 16 years of age) then the duke himself in his scarlet robes, with a coif upon his head, and his scarlet cap (having a gold embroidery about the lower part of it) in his hand. This duke's name is *Dominicus Contareno*, and he is about 63 years old. After him came four in scarlet and two in purple; and in the rear of all, a great many *Venetian* gentlemen, and a rout of old women.

Arsehal. We saw the arsenal, where over a fair gate is inscrib'd,

*Victoriae navalis monumentum
MDLXXI.*

*Ab Urb. cond. MXXXVIII.
Christi Incarn. MCCCCLX.*

*Duce inclito Pascali
Maripetro.*

*Leo de Molino, Marco
Contareno al Capelo id
ornare censere.*

When we entred the gate, we left our swords there; and then a guide carry'd us round the arsenal. First we saw two chambers well furnished with arms; among which the arms that *Tiepolo*, a *Venetian* nobleman, had designed to use against the state. He was accidentally slain by a woman, who let a pebble fall upon his head from a window near *St. Mark's* gate; many arms taken from the *Turks*; the arms of *St. Theodorus*; the helmet of *Bartolomeo Coglioni's* horse's head; the arms of *Frid. Barbarossa's* son, who was taken prisoner by the *Venetians*.

Over a door into another room is written,

*Omnia hæc usui inepta expedita
Hanc in formam Cerne
Jo. Baptista Fuscarenò
Zacharia Sagredo
D. Marci Procuratoribus
Justo Antonio Belegno
Præfesto
Marco Ciconia
Paulo Vendrameno
Jo. Baptista Grimano
P. Residentibus
CICIDCXXVII.*

Here we saw a saddle and a helmet for a camel, taken from the *Turks*; an exact model of *Sebin*. . . with the hills and country about it; which place the *Venetians* stoutly defended against the *Turks*; *Scanderbeg's* arms. We were afterwards brought thro' an open place, where many anchors lay, among which two very great ones; then we came into a great shop, where smiths were working at several furnaces, preparing of irons for the building of gallies; a room where the stores are laid. We took notice of an iron bullet, with four irons like short swords, made after this manner;



A is the bullet, *e e e e* are the four swords, which are shut close together within the cannon; but when it is discharged, they open several ways.

We saw two rooms where were only nails for the gallies, every galley having 40 long and weighty nails: 72000 irons kept here.

In another place we saw a chair or pulpit, wherein the duke is carry'd on mens shoulders into *St. Mark's* church (after his election) where he is shewed to the

the people, who have money thrown among them by the duke; but if they dislike him, he is presently put out of this seat. We saw the making of the gallies ribs at a fire in a great room. Oars made here so large that they have seven men to row one oar. Oars taken from the *Turks*; then we came to the place where guns are founded, and where they are weigh'd in a great pair of scales. They are lifted into the scale by a crane moved by a large wheel. On the crane are written these figures, 284, which signify so many pounds weight a *French* woman weigh'd in these scales: a place supported by brick pillars, where they make cables an hundred and seventy fathoms long. In one room was a great deal of salt-petre; and in another they make pullies, which are laid up in the next. We saw two guns taken from the *Turks*, and a cannon taken from the emperor of *Germany* at *Kleisack*; it was broke into four pieces, because they could not bring it whole through the mountains. We saw several rooms well furnish'd with armour hanging on the walls, and placed on frames. In one large room *Henry III.* of *France* was entertain'd at dinner, and in that space of time a galley was built in this arsenal. A curious wrought long gun was cast at the same dinner time; guns taken from the *Turks* at *Tenedo*; a large gun with three, and another with seven bores; a small gun cover'd with leather made in *Germany*: arms in two rooms for three thousand horse: one room full of foot-arms: four lanthorns taken at the battle of *Lepanto*: arms for ten thousand horse in another room; and in another, arms for twelve gallies; and in a third room, arms for ten thousand foot; arms for fifty gallies more: shops where small guns and muskets are made: a model of *Cliffa*, with the circumjacent country in *Dalmatia* taken from the *Turks* *Anno* 1648: a very great mortar-piece: many wheels for carriages of guns: a great gun found in *Candia*, all of gold and silver: many carriages in a readiness: lances and colours taken from the *Turks*: a room call'd by some *The Garden of Oranges*, which is full of bullets. We saw many masts. The gallies are preserved from the weather and rain under long roofs supported by stone pillars: several gallies taken from the *Turks*: the general's galley; his name is *Morisini*: the old *Bucentoro*. We went into one galley, and observ'd the captain's cabbin is raised higher than the deck, and is used as the last refuge or castle when the enemy hath boarded the galley. The deck hangs over on each side the body of the vessel; and the outside where the soldiers fight, hath a gallery round; the rowers

have their seats underneath. We saw the new *Bucentoro*, which is a galley richly gilt and carved within and without: they told us the gilding cost thirty-four thousand crowns. At the middle of the entrance stands a fair gilt statue of *Scanderbeg*, under whom is written,

M. Ant. Dunanimis. Frat. Bas. et Au. Cur. Opus.

Over the deck is a richly gilt and carv'd cover supported by gilt figures. Here are four rows of seats, where the senators sit. At the upper end is the duke's seat; and on the left hand of him sits the pope's nuncio, and on the right, the emperor's ambassador; the rest of the ambassadors sit in their order. On some solemn festivals this *Bucentoro* is used, but more especially on *Ascension-day*, when the duke espouses the *Adriatick Sea*, by throwing a gold ring into it every year.

We saw much timber seasoning in water, and the cellar of wine, which furnishes enough every day for two thousand three hundred workmen, who have two thirds water to one third wine, mix'd for their drink in great coppers: every workman may drink when he pleases. We were informed that the workmen's pay every week in the arsenal amounts to five thousand *Venetian* ducats.

The arsenal is walled about indifferently strong; it hath twelve towers, and watches kept every night; channels of water round the wall.

At a little chapel close by, is a narrow slit in the wall, where was written,

Denontie Secrete per l'inquisitori all' Arsenal.

And not far from hence, under such a hole in a wall, is written almost the same, viz.

Denontie Secrete per li Ecc'mi Sig'ri inquisitori sopra l' Arsenal.

Returning to our lodging, towards the mouth of the grand canal, is a large building where biscuit, &c. is baked for the navy, having these two inscriptions on it, viz.

1. *Hæc Ædificia jam Vetustate ad ruinam prona Alex. Grito. Pet. Navagerio supra provisoribus. Pet. Justiniano. Pet. Capello et And. Vendranino Rei frumentariæ Præfectis ad panem Nauticam reponendum instaurata sunt ut ex Urbe Classi ad eam aleredam Cibaria in omne tempus abunde subministrarentur. MDLXVI.*

SKIPPON. 2. *Cadentia præ nimia Vetustate testæ maritimæ classis Pani asservando dicata rei frumentariæ Præfeti in banc meliorem formam restituerunt Anno MDCXCVI.*

La Salute.

On Thursday, October 15, we took a gondola at the fish-market near the piazza of St. Mark, and made this following circuit through the grand canal, and the *Canale della Giudecca*. First we pass'd by a tower call'd *La Donna di Mar*, built on a point of an island on the left hand: and a little distance further on the same side, came by *La Salute*, a round church fairly built, having an angel on the top, and the front curiously adorned with marble pillars; then passing by many gentlemen's palaces on each side, about the middle of the grand canal we went under *Ponte Rialto*, and some distance further by a palace, on the left hand, where the *Turkish* ambassadors used to lodge; afterwards came by the palace of *Grimani* on the right hand, and *S'ta Lucia*; and at the end of this channel we turn'd to the left, and went under a wooden bridge at *S'ta Chiara*, then by *St. Andrea*, and through a shallow water by *St. Marta*, where we entered the *Canale di Giudecca*, and pass'd by the *Giesuati*, a fair building; the *Ospedal*

dell' *Incurabili* on the right hand; we were in view of *Redemptor's* church, and *Le Ciette*, two round buildings; and returning by the aforesaid *La Donna di Mar*, landed at the piazza of St. Mark.

We observed one day a funeral passing the streets. First came a cross, then banners, surplice-men singing before the corps, which is laid upon a bier, dress'd up in a monk's habit (with which it was buried) having the hands and face naked, and a little crucifix lying by the body. Just before it went a mourner in a friar's weed, with his face covered (only two holes open for his eyes) and a lighted taper in his hand; and after it followed a great number of men, two and two together, with lighted tapers in their hands; which tapers are given by the deceased's friends.

At *Venice* every mass said for the dead costs about eight-pence. One gave enough lately for twelve thousand masses.

Nigh the fish-market, by St. Mark's piazza, is a large house, over the door whereof is written,

Ereni Nani Hier. Supes Aloii Reni Sa Provs
10 proc. et S. pro Sa Provs.

Under coats of arms is inscrib'd,

L. C. G. M. B. M.

Templo Deiparæ Salutari aurea lampade, Vola.

Urbem dira pestilentia XVI

Mensum tractu vexatam

Patrum Pietas liberavit

MDCXXXI.

Ut primum exoptatam ægris afferre salutem

Incipiunt Patres horrida pestis abit.

Provisores salutis.

Desit

An. S. MDLXXVII

XII Kal. Sext.

Pestilentia cæpit
An. Sal. MDLXXI
XII Kal. Sext.

Nigh the door is written,

Adi VII Marco MDCVII L'ill'mi SS'ri P'ri alla santa fano publicate intender che non entri alcuno sia chi si voglia denire delle Colonelle stampada qui avanti ill'mo Magg'to in tanto masime che alla riva capitassero barche o copani per receiver pratica ne meno ardisca fermarsi o ligar barche d'alcuna sorte dentro delle penelli Sotto tutte le pene contenute nell' terminacioni di SS. ill'mi in tal materia disponente. L. silvestre Cont'ni P'r. L. Zuanne Quer'ni P'r. L. Piero Brag'n. P'r. Zuanne Moretti Nod'ro.

The fish-markets afford a great variety of fish, viz. 1. Orada; 2. Rubellio; 3. Bodicolo, ò Broncini; 4. Mesoro; 5. Sturio; 6. Joro; 7. Rhombo; 8. Paganee ò Paganello; 9. Zuatee; 10. Spari; 11. Volpine; 12. Passere; 13. Zuatèè, *alius* Punctulis Ciner. 14. Grancepole; 15. Barbone; 16. Lucerne; 17. Boba; 18. Bishe; 19. Menola; 20. Uranoscopus; 21, 22, 23. Echinorum mar. *species tres*; 24. Corvo; 25. Scrofanello; 26. Mezoræ *similis*, pen-

nis duabus inter oculos; 27. Cancer *hirs.* 28. Cancer *parvus viridis*, ò Gote di mar; 29. Panotti; 30. Liceti; 31. Surè; 32. Squillæ *species*; 33. Razza; 34. Barracole; 35. Squiaina; 36. Canis Macul. 37. Gamari; 38. Anguilla barbata; 39. Perca Marina; 40. Canis lævis; 41. Canis aculeatus; 42. Cancer *viridis parvus*, *an. fæm.?* 43. Canc. *alius viridis parvus*, *an. fæm.?* 44. Anguilla; 45. Pignolette; 46. Orada Vecchia; 47. Sardone; 48. Renga;

Renga; 49. Dentale; 50. Tinea marina; 51. Donzella; 52. Paganello radiis dorfi longioribus; 53. Piscis anguillæformis; 54. Sorghè marina; 55. Cavallo marino; 56. Locusta; 57. Sepia; 58. Polypus; 59. Pinna marina; 60. Tinea marina maculâ nigrâ ad caudam; 61. Merluzzo; 62. Pecten major ex una parte planus; 63. Pecten minor ex utraque parte convexus; 64. Purpura; 65. Purpuræ similis, spinis longioribus; 66. Concha Lomaca dicta; 67. Moscoli; 68. Mytilus hirtus; 69. Caporondo; 70. Caporochio; 71. Solenes; 72. Pesce Petro; 73. Carbonaccie di Acqua; 74. Carbonaccie di Sabbia; 75. Picchè, *pectinis species*; 76. Beverone conchæ species; 77. Corvo di fortiera; 78. Concha parva latere longiore appendice juxta calcem; 79. Joto lettè; 80. Beveraccie; 81. Verdone; 82. Sturio rostro brevior; 83. Lomaca major rufescens; 84. Lomaca min. nigricans; 85. Carigoè longo. 86. Carigoè rotondo; 87. Sorghò ò Mormoro; 88. Thynnus; 89. Pesce spada.

The fish called *Cepole* are driven into nets by a great noise we observed the fishermen to make in their boats.

Birds.

In the markets are sold many birds, viz. 1. Arcuata five Numenius Avis; 2. Gallo di Montagna; 3. Sardina vel Tardina, *Aulaudæ species*; 4. Anate di Bastardi; 5. Celega, *an passer Arundin. nostras?* 6. Tringa maxima; 7. Fringilla mont. fœm. 8. Tottin, like a Stint; 9. Perdix ruffa; 10. Pluvialis; 11. Pluvialis cinerea maj. 12. Cocal; 13. Fofano; 14. Garia, five Ardea alba fœm.; 15. Falco minor; 16. Astore; 17. Avosetto; 18. Ardea alba minor; 19. Vetula, *an Godwit*; 20. Serula; 21. Martinazè; 22. Mergus major; 23. Avis Fringillæ lut. similis pectore ruffo; 24. Grus; 25. Lagopus; 26. Gallina cornuta cristata; 27. Capo rosso; 28. Mergus rostro acuto capite albo.

Procession.

Thursday, October 12, being *All-Saints day, stilo novo*, we saw this procession, which began in the duke's palace. First came twenty-four mint-men in long blue cloaks, having red caps, on each of which was fastened a cecchino of gold; then came four in scarlet; next two or three noblemen in purple gowns: an ancient gentleman (whose son is a cardinal) came immediately before the duke, who was attired with a cloth of silver robe, flowered with gold, having great gold buttons before, and his cap imbroidered like his robes; about his waist a girdle: on his right hand went the pope's nuncio, and the bishop of Beziers the French king's ambassador on the left. The duke and ambassadors were covered: gentlemen held up the duke's train; and after him came twenty senators, two and two together, in their red damask robes, with

shoulder-pieces of damask over their left shoulders. When they came into St. Mark's church, the mint-masters stood on each side, and at the entrance a canon stood ready with holy water in a silver thing, which he sprinkled in the duke's, nuncio's, and ambassador's faces, and afterwards in the senators. When the duke entered the choir, he kneel'd a while before St. Mark's altar, which was opened this day, musick playing all the time. Then the duke returned, and placed himself in that part of the choir where our masters of colleges and deans of cathedrals sit: after a little space of time four canons came to him and said somewhat, then made their congees, and returned to their seats on the side of the altar. The nuncio and the French ambassador sat next to the duke, and the senators were placed in two ranks on each side. When the high mass began, the two organs (one on each side of the altar) play'd, and the vocal musick made a concert. One of the canons who ministered to the priest who perform'd mass, read a chapter in the *Revelations*, with a singing tone, in a pulpit; then he brought the book to the duke, who kiss'd it. After this, another chapter was read in the pulpit, lighted tapers and a cross being carried before the book. The duke, nuncio, &c. were smoaked with an incense pot; then a relick was brought to them, which they kiss'd. There were many other foolish ceremonies which were used during the time of mass. When all was done, they returned to the palace in the same order they came.

This day on the three high poles before St. Mark's church, were hung up three flags.

St. Peter's church is a fair building, St. Peter's where are several inscriptions mentioned church. by *Sanfovino*, who describes the city of Venice. It is said, the chair St. Peter used when he was bishop of Antioch, is kept here; also three hairs of our Saviour's beard, the chalice he used with his disciples, and many other relicks. The picture of the three eastern kings is a good picture.

Some of the altars are not yet finish'd.

A large cupola in this church, with a balcony round the inside of it.

The patriarch of Venice's palace is adjoining. The present patriarch's name is of Venice, *Francisco Morosini*. In a piazza here is a steeple not unlike St. Mark's tower. This palace, church, &c. are in the island of Castello, which is join'd to another by a large wooden bridge.

Behind St. Peter's church is a house, whereon is inscrib'd,

SKIPPON. *Cafe VI in effecution delle galo del Mag. M. Alm. Prioli di ordini della mag. M. Hel. lor fu Consorte del mag. M. Bern. Prioli fatte sopra questo terreno dalla sibola di miser. MDLXIX.*

S. Salvatore.

Not far from *Ponte Rialto* is a fair court; church pav'd with fine marble: the high altar is rich. Three cardinals of the family of *Cornara* are buried here, and *Catharena Cornara* queen of *Cyprus*. *Franciscus Venerius*, *Laurentius Priolo*, and *Hycronymus Priolo*, dukes of *Venice*, have stately monuments here. A fair tomb of *Andreas Delphinus Procurator D. Marci*. The roof of the church hath cupola's like those at *St. Mark's*. One cupola is very large, with a balcony round the inside of it.

Nigh this church is a building with a fair front, whereon is written,

D. O. M. Divo quoque martyri Theodoro, Vota Jacobi Galli magnificentia relicto ære pario marmore ornavit Anno D. MDCL.

On *October 30*, many pictures were hung both without and within a large room, which hath an altar in the side of it. Opposite to it is a fair double ascent, (hung also with fair pictures) which brought us into a large room or chapel. The pictures were sent hither this day by mercers and other tradesmen belonging to this fraternity.

S. Giorgio Maggiore. Benedittines.

S. Giorgio Maggiore is a church belonging to a monastery of *Benedittines*, which is built in an island over against (and some distance from) the piazza of *St. Mark*; a neat area before the church, which is a stately building; the front whereof is adorn'd with statues, pillars, and two heads, viz. of *Tribunus Memus*, and *Sebastianus Nanus*, both dukes of *Venice*: the first of them retired, and lived a monk in this cloister, as appears by the inscription under him, printed in the afore-mentioned *Sanfovius*, who takes notice of many particulars here; some of which we saw. The church within is very fair, having thick pillars, and in the middle a large cupola, round the inside whereof is a balcony: the pavement is of fine marble. At the high altar is *St. Stephen's* body kept; and behind the altar is the choir, where the seats are in the manner of an amphitheatre. Pictures here drawn by *Tinctoretus*; the monuments of *Zani* and *Leonardus Donato*, dukes of *Venice*. In the north wing of the church is an altar, where are fair marble pillars; in one of which some peoples fancies are strong enough to see our Saviour upon the cross, naturally re-

presented; and at the same altar they also fancy a death's head in the marble table; but the ornaments of it hindred our sight of it.

The convent hath two fair cloistered courts, one of which hath double pillars, whose distance and proportion we observed, viz. the diameter of the pedestal is eighteen inches and an half, the distance between pillar and pillar five feet and almost seven inches *Ionic*.

The area of the courts are planted with cypress trees.

We went up a very fair ascent, which is adorned with the statues of *Venice*, &c. and came into the *Dormitoria*, where the cells are on each side of the long walks, one of which is very broad and long, and makes a fine perspective; nigh this there is a portico, whence we had a view of the city and the water about it. Here we observ'd the *Ionic* pillars, their diameter thirteen inches and an half, and the distance six feet seven inches. The *Refectorium* is a large place, at the upper end whereof is a great picture describing the marriage feast in *Cana*, drawn by *Paolo Veronese*. In the wall of this room is a marble pulpit, where a chapter is always read at meals. Over the entrance within is written, *Silentium & Pax*; and on each side of the door is a fair cistern of marble, having pillars of the *Corinthian* order; their pedestals are nineteen inches in the diameter, their distance six feet four inches. Pillars at the afore-said ascent, of the *Corinthian* order; the pedestals twenty inches in diameter, and the distance five feet seven inches.

The garden is very pleasant, having fair arbour'd walks, &c. From a terrace walk we had a prospect, and observed a great space of mud at an ebb tide; which mud in the winter time smells offensively, but in the summer gives no ill scent. Many such muddy places about the city, and we were told that the sea retires from it.

SS. Giovanni & Paolo is a large and fair church within; the pillars are high, and the pavement is finely marbled. Round two of the pillars nigh the entrance into the choir, are many pictures, and other devout expressions of such persons as fondly believe they have been miraculously cured at the altars nigh these pillars. Fair monuments here of dukes, noblemen, &c. among which the tombs of *Edward* earl of *Windsor*, &c. the lord *Henry Stuart*, who died 1637, when the lord *Weston* was ambassador in *Venice*; three statues on horseback, with inscriptions mention'd in *Sanfovius*: the horses are

SS. Giovanni and Paolo.

are brass. This church belongs to the *Dominicans*. We observed several persons to sit here with their hats on; one was a clergyman: and within the church doors we saw poor old women spinning and begging.

Before this church is the figure of *Bartolomæus Coleonus* on a brass horse upon a high marble pedestal.

Mendicant nuns. We heard good vocal musick in a *Mendicant* nuns chapel, which will be very handsome when it is finished. The entrance into it is adorned with fair marble pillars. We observed all the even-song, the men sat with their hats on.

Hospital. Nigh this nunnery is a stately hospital. Before the entrance into the fore-mentioned chapel, is a large portico, wherein are these two inscriptions, viz.

1. *Bartholomæus Bontempelius à Calice piis largitionibus insignis magnus Xenodochii hujus institutor erectior et Altior, cujus eximie gratiæ gratioso æmulo Fratre perauetæ hinc saxea ex Icone Adamantinaq; pauperum memoria Superis æternæ micabunt. Gubern. pia gratitud. recolitur. A. MDCXLI.*

2. *Dominico Blayæ de Carattis Berg'tæ, Ara, templo donis Xenodochio additis magnanima ubiq; pietate, spectato Mendicantium Virginum Gubernatori Mæcenati Patri optimè merito, perenne in lapide, perennius in animis simulacrum Præsides Unanimes P P. Anno MDCLVII. die xx Decembris.*

St. Geminiano's church. St. Geminiano's church is opposite to the west end of St. Mark, at the further end of the piazza, where, on November 10. I observed very much plate hanging on the pillars, and about the roof, but most nigh the high altar, which made a very resplendent shew, by reason of the many lights placed here.

Nov. 11. being a day devoted to the *Madonna della Salute*, there were many masses said at that church. We pass'd over a fair wooden bridge made upon boats cross the grand canal, and, among a crowd of people, went into the *Salute*, first ascending a fair stone ascent, and viewed this stately building, which is of a round form, and is high and large; the roof was not quite finished: Four curious white marble pillars nigh the altar. The duke, pope's nuncio, and *French* ambassador, with some of the senators, came by water from the palace, in a gilt barge covered with red velvet, and drawn by a lesser boat with rowers; then followed two other barges with senators, trumpeters, and officers. On the barges were flags, banners, &c. When they landed, there went first 30 mint-men in long blue cloaks, the fore-

most of which carry'd flags and instruments, then some in red, and gentlemen before the duke, who was habited in his robes and ermins. Just before him was carry'd a rich cushion and a gilt stool. On his right hand went the pope's nuncio, and on the left the *French* ambassador, both with their hats on. One carry'd an umbrella behind the duke, and three gentlemen held up his train. After them came 40 senators in their damask robes, who had some of them purple pieces of velvet, which they threw over their left shoulders. The first of the senators carried a great rich sword. After the duke had said his private devotions, he seated himself in his throne some distance from the high altar on the left hand, and on each side of him sat the nuncio, *French* ambassador, and some of the senators. Opposite to the duke sat the rest of the senators. In the time of mass (which was but short) a relick was brought to the duke, &c. which they kiss'd; and when mass was done, they returned to the barges in the same manner they came. A little before the duke landed at the *Salute*, many silver standards with lighted candles, went over the bridge, and fetched many canons, and a relick, which they placed upon the high altar: and when mass was finished, they carried it back again with the same solemnity. Among those that went in this company, there was one habited in purple, which all gave respect to, whom we guess'd to be the patriarch of *Venice*. In the *Salute* we observed a great number of beggars, some selling little candles and books; and we took notice of begging women in nuns habits.

After this we came to St. Mark's piazza, where three flags were hung up on the poles. The duke, &c. came thro' the palace into St. Mark's church, where he made his private devotions, and then he went to his seat. After that, high mass began, and there pass'd this procession following, by the altar. First came many lighted candles in their silver standards, carry'd by men in white habits, having St. Mark's lion wrought in red upon their breast, the effigies of a saint, and a rich gold canopy by it; other effigies of saints in silver, and their canopies; then follow'd the several orders of friars (the *Jesuits* were not in this procession) with their banners. Among the orders came some boys and youths in religious habits; then the canons of several churches. As every one pass'd by the altar, they look'd downwards, and made a low bow to it first, and then to the duke. Before all the procession was ended, the mass was ended; and then

SKIPPON. then one in a surplice (who stood all the while to keep order) spake to the fathers and canons to sing *Te Deum*, which was begun by those that were nigh the altar, at the conclusion of the mass. During the mass a relick was brought to be kiss'd by the duke, &c. good musick all the while; and many musicians with their instruments went in the procession.

S. Maria Formosa. *S. Maria Formosa* hath a large piazza near it.

S. Fufca. Nigh *S. Fufca* we observed preparation for bonfires, which were made upon the election of a new pivoan at this church.

Murano. We were much beholden to one *Borrel* of *Collen*, a merchant, who shewed us great civility. He spake *English*, and carry'd us one day, in his gondola, to *Murano*, which is some distance from the city, and consists of some islands built with many houses, most of which are inhabited by glass-men.

Making of looking-glasses. We saw some of their furnaces, and observed the making of looking-glasses after this manner. First a workman dipt one end of an iron pipe into a crucible with liquor that was in the furnace, where he turn'd the iron three or four times, and takes up some quantity of the liquor, which he carry'd to a smooth iron, and rolled it thereon; then he blowed it, and rolled it again; after that he put it into the crucible, and took up more of the liquor, and turned the iron round some time over the crucible; then he blew again a little, and brought it to the smooth iron, where he blew it, and rolled it, as before; next he rolled his iron pipe over a tub of water, and cooled it by sprinkling some on it; then he went and took more liquor out, which he rolled, and blew within the furnace, resting the iron on an iron like an andiron spits move on. He came then the last time to the smooth iron, and there roll'd and blew the glass bigger and bigger. After this he put it into the furnace, and turned it about a little while; then he took it out, and placed it over an iron held cross, where he turned it about, and another pinched it a little with a kind of tongs or pincers, whilst the glass was blowing; then he that pinch'd it, took a sharp iron, and made at the end of the glass, a hole, and immediately it is put into the furnace, and turned about; then presently taken out, and placed over the cross iron, and is widened to its full bigness by the pincers or tongs which the other man used whilst the glass was turn'd about: after that the glass was measur'd, and put into the furnace where it was roll'd again, then presently taken out, and

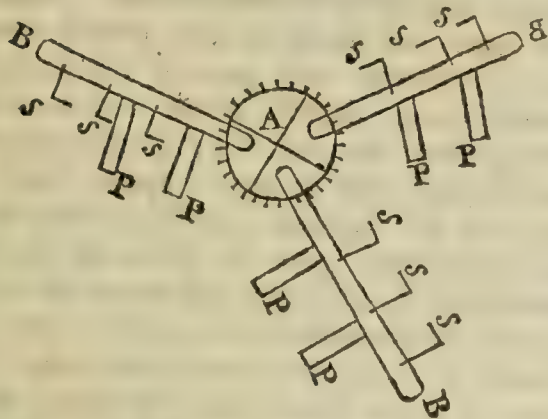
given to another fellow (who stood upon a bench) where, with a pair of scissars, it was cut half thro' the length; then where the pincers had made a furrow or circular impresson near the iron pipe, a little water was put, and the glass knocked off, but it was first fastened to another iron at the other end; then the glass thus inverted was put into the furnace and rolled, and presently given to the man again on the bench, where the glass was cut quite thro'; immediately then it was knock'd off upon a great peel, whereon it was flatted, and then both peel and glass were speedily put into the furnace, and oftentimes (four times) changed the ends which were put in, first one and then the other; after that they took it off the peel, and placed it on a smooth stone on the top of the furnace, where it was to be nealed many hours, to avoid breaking. While the glass was upon the peel, they flatted the glass oftentimes with an iron, and a piece of wood like an oar. The afore-mentioned pincers were waxed when the glass was widened, which caused frequent flashes within.

The *Venetians* use glass chamber-pots which are preserved from breaking by being put into strong flasks.

We saw at another furnace (where Making of drinking-glasses. of a wine-glass with many ornaments. First the workman fastened an iron to each thigh, and, as he sat, took out a little liquor with his blowing-iron; and, after he had blown it a little, he rolled it about within the furnace; then he took out more liquor, and blew again; after which a hole was made at the further end, then put into the furnace, and taken out again presently, and the whole was widened by the pincers; so the body of the glass was made: the foot of it was made after the same manner, only at last it was flatted broad enough. The round pedestal was fashioned in a hollow iron screwed within, and fastened to the flat bottom by putting a little fresh liquor, which cements both together, and to the bottom of the upper glass by the same. The handles and other ornaments were made at several times by several drops of the liquor, which is shaped as the workman pleases, who turns them into their forms with a little pair of pincers. Crucibles in this furnace, with several coloured liquors.

At one house we saw a great quantity of cogallie or pebbles, of a glittering white colour, which are found in the river in the duchy of *Millan*. These pebbles are broken with a hammer, and

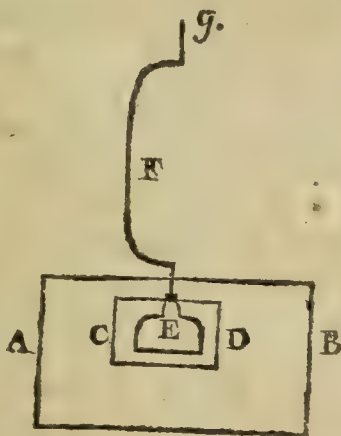
and afterwards into powder, by stamps, which are moved thus,



Oxen on a floor above move the wheel *A*, which turns the axes *B B B*, supported by the posts *P P P P P*, and those axes lift up the stamps *S S S S S S S S*, that beat the stones to powder, which is mingled with an equal quantity of kali ashes, and then melted together in the furnace. If the ashes of kali or berillia be too strong, then they put more of the beaten stone.

They have observed that they cannot make so good glass on the other side of the street, or in any other part of *Murano, Venice, &c.* as they do where we saw the furnaces.

Grinding of looking glasses. In a shop at *Venice* we saw the grinding of looking-glasses, after this manner,



A B is a smooth iron (placed on a table) whereon is sprinkled water, and the dust of a stone called *C D* is an iron frame, wherein the glass is fixed by a cement. *E* is a knob of wood plained very smooth, and which rests upon the glass. *F* is a handle that is joined both to the knob, and to the ceiling at *G*, the motion whereof grinds the glass.

St. Barnaby's bridge is noted for a fight at fifty-cuffs every *Sunday* in warm weather, between the *Castellani* and *Nicolita*, two factions maintained among the common people, in memory of the *Istrians* stealing away the brides and their portions one night out of *S. Maria Formosa*; but the *Castellani* overtook them, and reco-

vered all again. The two parties meet on the top of the bridge, and beat one another with their fists only. Some are thrown down into the water, and others (but not often) are more dangerously hurt: sometimes some are kill'd. Noblemen stand by, and encourage each side all the while.

We went by gondola beyond *St. Pietro di Castello*, to an island (not far from the castles) where the *Carthusians* have a cloister, which hath a large meadow and vineyards before it. In their garden we saw many pots of flowers, &c. which are kept alive all winter, by removing them out of the air in the night-time, and setting them in a little room where the pans of coals keep them warm. *Spanish* jasmine and many flowers grew against the wall, which are sheltered by a penthouse and mats. The monks cells are round a court, about 25 in all. Every monk hath a little house and garden by himself. In one we had the freedom to observe these particulars. In every one of their gardens there is a well, and they keep land-tortoises in banks of earth, which lay about 7 or 8 eggs apiece in the summer time, in holes they scrape for them. These eggs are thus buried in the earth, without any other warmth, till the next spring, when young tortoises come forth. They are counted pretty good meat, and are eaten by these monks. Every cell hath a neat out-room and a press of books. Within that room is a bed-chamber cleanly and neatly kept. They do not lie in sheets, but between warm blankets on straw. Their habit is of white serge, having a cope of the same, which they always wear over the other: their *cuculli* are also of serge. They wear no linen shirts, and are shaven very close on their heads. Their rules are strict, being not permitted to speak one to another, but only on *Sundays* and *Thursdays*, and great festivals before and after dinner, when they dine altogether in the *Refectorium*. If any stranger comes to speak with one of them, they first ask leave of their prior. He and the sub-prior (but none of the rest) have liberty to go out of the convent. They go to the choir about five hours of the night, which is about midnight, and stay two hours, then return again to their beds, and at 12 hours they are in the choir again; after that they retire to their cells, and before dinner they have their devotions once more, and in the afternoon say their vespers. They have their meals (except on *Sundays, &c.*) brought to their several cells. We observed one of them thus served at supper; a servant unlocked a little wooden win-

SKIPPOW.

Carthusians.

Land tortoises.

SKIPPON. dow by the side of the door, and put in there a pot of wine, three poached eggs, a little dish of boiled spinach, a piece of cheese, and two apples; these the friar within takes and puts upon his table, which is let down from the side of a wall, within which appears three or four shelves with glasses and other conveniences like a cup-board. The lay-brothers of this order have the same fashioned habit with the fathers, but the colour is like the *Capuchins*. Every *June* the prior, or some delegate from every convent of this order, is sent to their general council held at the grand chartreuse nigh *Grenoble* in *France*.

St. Bruno was the institutor of this order of friars.

Nov. 18. We went with our padrone, or master of our lodging, to a court in the palace, where all strangers are obliged to shew themselves (this is called the *Bolletín*) and then they are permitted to stay what time they please in the city.

St. Steffano's church is handsome, having within over the west entrance, a statue of *Dominicus Contarenus* on horseback, and an inscription under him, printed in *Sansevinus* p. 133. Nigh this church is an indifferent piazza, and adjoining is a fair cloister.

A comedy We went once after supper to see a comedy, where at the door we paid 16 soldi, when others paid but six soldi apiece. In the cock-pit were chairs, let for eight soldi a chair, many of which were bespoke and marked. Round about were four or five rows of boxes of a small size, where the *Venetian* gentlemen and others sat. The stage was very mean, having four great tapers on it. Before the play began, the gentlemen and company were impatient, and call'd out often, *Fuora, Fuora*; and they made a great noise when they stamp'd and whistled, and call'd to one another. Those that sat in the boxes did frequently spit upon the company in the pit, so that all appeared very rude. We observed but three acts in the play, which was very immodest and obscene; nothing that was sober would please the company, who were ready to hiss, and they disgust any thing that was not filthy. The gentlemen, and some with their wives or whores, came masked and disguised. Some of the noblemen that stood near the stage, would often interrupt the actors, and discourse with them.

Funeral of a Spanish ambassador. Decemb. 1. We saw the funeral of *Fernandes Antonio Carolo de Vera*, Spanish ambassador. In the middle of St. Mark's church was set up a cupele covered with black. On the top of it were set many

lighted candles in the figure of a pyramid. From hence the funeral procession began, which I observed in St. John and Paul's church, where the interment was. Round the choir and body of this church hung black, whereon was painted the ambassador's arms, death's heads, the arms of *Venice*, &c. In the body of this church was erected also a high cupele, with a pyramid of lighted candles on the top, and two broad pair of stairs up to the middle of it, one towards the west door, and the other towards the choir. At the bottom of both these ascents, on each side, stood a large statue made of cloth, &c. black all over; and at the top of the ascents were lesser statues, besides four about the body of the cupele, every statue having a lighted candle in his hand. There came in at the west door of the church, first a great number of banners and images, among which were lighted tapers; next some priests in their surplices, then more tapers; and there followed eight religious orders with their banners, besides friars of mount *Olivet*, and two orders more; canons in blue habits with surplices over them, having a blue flappet over their left shoulders. After them came canons of eleven several churches, which may be distinguished by their tippets over their surplices, viz. some had gold tippets flowered with velvet, some scarlet flowered with gold; others red velvet; blue, and flowered with gold; gold, and flowered with red velvet; gold, and flowered with green; broad gold tippets flowered with red; red flowered velvet with a gold list; black velvet and gold edges, with the picture of the virgin *Mary* wrought in it. After these went many other canons before the statue of the ambassador, dress'd up in his own apparel, having his *Spanish* hat on his head, his sword lying upon him, and his spurs on. Over him they carry'd a canopy, and candles before and behind the herse; then came the duke's officers before the duke; after him went the pope's nuncio and the *French* king's ambassador; then some senators, and 24 close mourners, who had long black gowns which trailed on the ground, and a black mourning hood. Each mourner had a *Venetian* nobleman went by his side; and after them came hospital boys and girls. The ambassador's effigies was laid in the cupele, and the duke seated himself in the choir, and against him was a seat erected, where one of the *Somaski* order made an oration in praise of the deceased ambassador. This friar's order hath its name from a place in the territory of *Venice*, and was founded by *Hieronymo Miny*,

airy, a nobleman of this state. They differ little from the Jesuits in their habit, &c. In his speech he said the ambassador was descended from *Numa Pompilius* and *M. Aurel. Anton.* and that most of the kings in *Europe*, especially *Arragon* and *Hungary*, were related to his family. The ambassador's father was *Joan. Antonius Comes de Rocha*, a great scholar, and his son's tutor. That the ambassador understood *Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch*; that he was the youngest in the king of *Spain's* council. He died of a late epidemical distemper, which killed many people; and that in his sickness he told the *Venetian* senators, It was his greatest comfort he should leave his body where his mind had always been. He concluded his oration with saying, That he might use the same epitaph *Hermolaus Barbarus* did, who was born at *Venice*, and died at *Rome*; *Non potuit nasci nobiliusq; mori*; so the ambassador was born in *Spain*, and died at *Venice*. His wife's name was *Avida de Guzman*, &c. to whom part of the speech was directed; for he told her, She might be comforted, because her husband died in favour with his prince, and was buried by the *Venetians* *regiâ magnificentiâ*.

When the speech was ended, the *Primicerius* of *St. Mark*, who had a mitre on his head, and several priests performed some ceremonies at the cupele, with singing, &c. After that, the ambassador's statue was carried into the chapel of *Madonna di Rosario*, where it was laid upon the ground, and some service said over it; then the statue was carried out to another place, and so the solemnity ended. Usually the burial of a duke does not exceed this.

Every *schuola* of this city is obliged to send 28 standards with their candles, to any such solemn funeral.

Adjoining to the *schuola* of *St. Roch*, is a convent of *Franciscans*, where, round the walls of a great cloister, are fixed many marble monuments, and the walls painted. The like we observed in other cloisters of *Venice*.

The *schuola* of *St. Mark* is a large building, with a curious marble front. The lower room of it is long, with two rows of pillars; at the further end whereof is an altar. Two fair ascents lead up to a very great room, which hath a roof rarely carved, and the sides adorned with pictures. At the further end of this is an altar. This place is adjoining to the *Dominicans* at *St. Giovanni & Paolo*.

One day we hired a gondola for 10 soldi an hour, and went by *St. Georgio Mag-*
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giore, the islands of *Maria di gratia*, *S. Spirito*, *Povegia*, &c. on the left hand of us, having monasteries in them. We were told, That in *S. Spirito* there did live 10 or 12 monks of the order of *St. Servadore*, who took too much liberty and pleasure; and that the whole order was abolished by the pope about 10 years ago, and all their revenue in the *Venetian* state, forfeited to the state. Then four miles from the city we came to *Malamocco*, built with many houses, where we saw *English* and *Dutch* ships, &c. which first come (about a mile from *Malamocco*) by two forts or castles that command the passage between the two out-banks or necks of land.

... church hath a very fair front, and the inside handsome. On a large gravestone here is inscribed,

Ossa Marci Antonii Trivisani Principis. Vixit annos LXXIX. in Principatu I. MDLIII.

In the choir is a fair monument erected to *Andreas Gritto* duke of *Venice*. See the inscription of this and others in *Sansevinus*. Many little chapels in the isles; in one of which is an inscription to *Baduarius*, a procurator of *St. Mark*. On the south side is a chapel, the walls whereof are curiously crusted with marble; a fine altar and a rich gilt roof here. On one side of it is an inscription to *Franciscus Contarenius* duke, and on the other side is written,

D. O. M. Joannes et Aloysius Eques ac Divi Marci Procurator Nicolai Contareni Filii, Serenissimi Ducis Francisci Nepotes obsequentissimi, sacellum hoc exornarunt et grati animi memoriam posuere An. Domini MDCLVIII.

Nigh this church is a great palace, over the gates whereof are the pope's arms, and over one gate is written,

Has Aedes Xysto V. Pont. Max. dono Resp. Ser'ma dedit, grata renovatur memoria Clem. VIII. Pont. Max. regnante.

Within the court-yard is another inscription, viz.

Jacobus Altovitus Archiep. Athenarum et Alexandri VII. PM. apud Venetos Legatus Quo erga sedem Apostolicam Venetæ in hisce tribuendis ædibus pietatis fructus uberior; sibiq; ac successoribus jucundiores et ampliores illas forma varia pictura, cæteroq; multiplici ornatu decorandus curavit. An. Sal. MDCLX.

double pulley Z, and is fastened to the chain X fixed towards the bottom of the scoop. It is shut by winding up the rope S at P, and moving the rope over the pulley O, and at the same time loosening the rope T. The scoop being full of mud, and shut against the spade N, the spiral is turned back, and spade and scoop are lifted up over a large mud-boat, and immediately the scoop is pulled open, that the mud may fall out. Every scoop full is equal to at least three good cart loads, and may be thus empty'd several times in an hour.

When G is down the spiral, the mast bends a little forwards; but when it goes upwards, the spiral mast stands streight. At the bottom of the spiral is a very thick piece of wood strengthened with four cross irons; and the whole spiral mast stands in an iron hollow, wherein it moves backwards and forwards a little.

The iron work of this engine cost (they say) 700 ducats. This *Cavo-fango* boat may be raised higher or lower in the water, as the workmen please; for at AC8 are long poles; *ex gr. a b* is a pole fixed in the mud, and fastened to the boat by an iron hook at 8, and *d* is a rope, which being wound up at g, on the axis at d, the boat is raised higher.

Five or six of these engines belong to Venice; and in each are seven or eight men, besides two men to manage the mud-boat.

It is said a *Frenchman* invented it, and a *Venetian* reformed and perfected it.

We saw on the 22d Jan. being *Candlemas* day, *Sti. Novo*, the duke, &c. go in procession from *S. Maria Formosa* in memory of the brides recovered out of the *Istrians* hands.

Tragedy.

One night we saw at *S. Samuello* a tragedy, wherein was much drollery, and a design laid to abuse the memory of our queen *Elizabeth*, she being represented much in love with the earl of *Essex*, whom she at last beheaded. The occasion of his death they made this: one *Lucinda* being also in love with *Essex*, she seeing him and the queen talking privately together, discharged a pistol at the queen, for which *Essex* was suspected, and so lost his life. The fool in the play kissed the queen.

At the *Mendicanti* one *Busbnell*, an Englishman, is carving a monument for *Aloysius Mocenigo*, who hath deserved this following inscription.

*Ne molem quam cernis
Mausoleum puta spectator
Triumphus hoc est qui Cretæ positus
Aloysio Mocenico
D. Marci Procuratori
Huc per Civium lachrymas adveetus est
D. Marcus Sospitator*

*Qui Mocenica genti
Suum jussit militare Leonem
In Aloysio vel Extincto rugit
Cives illius exemplo
Ad gloriam provocaturus
Hic Maris Mars; Terræ Terror
Venetæ classis bis Imperator
Patriæ semper salus
Religione, Consilio, Pietate,
Bellica Virtute clarissimus
Habes tot documenta
A Turcis Jesu Bethleemi
Martinenghi Vitturi.
D. Demetrii propugnacula
Penè expugnata propugnavit
D. Theodori Turluli munimenta
Ex unguibus hostium evulsit
Thracum classes victoriarum aura tumidas
Adversum Martem pati nescias
Cladibus assuescere docuit
Parvaq; manu profligatus
Toto Aegeo profugas egit
Assanum Bassam Babylonicæ domitorem
Interfecit
Natalinum Furlanum
Othomanarum navium Moderatorem
A Christo, Venetisq; Transfugam
Catenis oneravit
Turcarum cuniculis lacerata Creta
Per murorum hiatus
Se in Urbem hoste effundente
Perterritos Duces, plorantes Cives
Milites abeuntes revocavit
Fugæ consiliarium virga castigavit
Solut senex ferreum se murum objiciens
Hostes percecudit, fugavit
Veneto imperio in una Urbe
Totum regnum restituit
Nescio Romanum Metellum
An Venetum Aloysium.
Cretensis vocabulo aptius honestes
Ille regnum domuit, hic asseruit
Hinc à Cretensi senatu populoq;
Aureo, æreoq; numismate donatus est
Triumphorum plenus
Palmas accepturus obiit
Anno MDCLIII. mense Octobri die XVII.
Aloysius et Petrus
D. M. Procuratores ex Testamento
Commissarii, magno Patruo
Lachrymabundi posuere.*

In 1663. Sig'ri Simon Giogalli and Guilielmo Samuelli were my merchants.

In 1664-5. Signior Pietro Paolo Campana was my merchant.

1663.

The first time I was at Venice there were Englishmen.

Dr. Willughby and Mr. Swale, a Yorkshire papist, students of Padua.

The earl of Castlemain, Mr. James Palmer, fellow of Trinity college Cambridge, Mr.

SKIPPO. Mr. James Oxinden, Mr. Beck, fellow of King's college.

Mr. Hales, an ill-conditioned merchant to Mr. Willughby, Mr. Jones, consul of the English nation, who kept an entertaining-house.

Mr. Henry Massingberd, lately of Trinity college, Mr. Comer, a musician and a picture drawer.

Mr. Ravenscroft, a Venice merchant, and Dr. Harper, both papists; one . . . who is an engineer employed by the republick of Venice; his son speaks many languages; Mr. Darcy.

1664-5.

The last time I was at Venice there were also several English, viz. the earl of Sunderland, Sir Edward Stradling, Mr. Henry Savil, Sir John Williams, two Mr. Skipwiths, Mr. Soames, Dr. Paman, Dr. Cross, Dr. Stokeham of Padua, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Wormly, Mr. Grosvenor, a merchant, Mr. Smith, Mr. James Oxinden, Mr. Brown, Dr. Brown of Norwich his son; Mr. Massingberd, Mr. Hobson and Mr. Dryden, merchants of Venice; Mr. Stanton and Mr. Bishop, merchants that lately came from Aleppo.

The carnival began the next day after Christmas day; but it was prohibited for some time by the council of ten, but afterwards permitted again. This time there is a great deal of liberty and licentiousness. The gentlewomen disguise themselves and go masked; and usually there followed after them some men likewise in masquerade. Sometimes there are thousands in masquerades, walking for the most part about the piazza of St. Mark. One time we observed a company dressed all in a yellow stuff or coarse silk, having tauny vizards, and huge roses on their shoes, knots on their garters, hat-bands, &c. of the same stuff. First came two of them with staves, making way thro' a crowd of spectators, then two or three trumpets sounding; next followed five with yellow spears, then one who represented a king with a crown of feathers, his train held up by two boys, and five or six attendants followed with spears in their hands. We saw many other extravagant inventions; some had baskets of eggs attending on them, which they threw at those that looked out of their windows. Some of the eggs shells are filled with rose-water to throw at their friends, and some are filled with ink. Some of the maskers play on instruments, others dance, &c. Many women were disguised in the noblemens gowns, others were habited in priests cassocks. One day there were five or six French officers richly habited, who came to see

Venice and the carnival, but were more gazed at than any of the maskers.

In the carnival time there is a publick ball allowed for the ordinary sort of people, who may in several rooms play at cards. In one large chamber we saw, about the beginning of the night, a great number of people. At the upper end of this room two fiddlers played, whilst several walked a dance; and round about on benches sat many whores masked, who expected when any of the company would take them out, and lead them round in the dance. If they were somewhat pleasing in their carriage, then their mates would withdraw, and discourse with them a little more privately; and if they liked them when they saw them unmasked, a bargain was struck, and away; if not, the masked whore was placed in her seat again, and then she was free for any other. Every round of the dance each couple paid a foldo to the musician. In the middle hung a branched candlestick, and many lascivious pictures were exposed here.

The opera's of Venice are comedies acted in carvinal time, with a great deal of magnificence and curiosity. We saw three of them, two at the *Theatro Grimano* (so called, because *Grimani* built it, and contrived the scenes.) In the morning we hired chairs in the cockpit for five, paying two livres, besides four livres a-piece for our bolletini or printed tickets. About two hours of the night we took our seats, which were marked with one of our names, and observed the playhouse to be oval and high built, having seven stories of little boxes or balco's for the noblemen, merchants, &c. who pay a set rate for every box; and the first time they take them, they pay a year's rate before-hand. Just before the stage the musicians have a place.

The name of the first was *Rosilena*. Before the curtain was drawn up, a trumpet sounded, and a violin answered it very well. The scenes were stately, and seemed natural. In the prologue some of the actors hung in the air, and then flew cross the stage, and one flew downwards, who represented a fury with two boys holding him by his legs, and then he flew up again. (See the schemes afterwards of this and the scenes motion.) The removing of the scenes was very neat and artificial; clouds seemed to move, and the walls of a castle to be blown up. There were exactly represented gardens, houses, &c. On each side of the stage was a fair statue. There were but three acts in this play, all of it sung excellently well; and she that acted the part of *Rosilena* was a

Roman

Roman born, and is reputed to have the best voice in the world. After the two first acts there were antick dances rarely perform'd by persons dress'd like *Armenians* and pages. When any thing pleas'd very well, the company cry'd out, *Bien, Bien!* The gentlewomen came in masquerade; but when they were in their boxes, they pull'd off their vizards: they wear broad falling lac'd bands. The noblemen were indifferently silent; and those in the boxes did not spit so often into the pit, as they do at the common plays.

We saw another play (at *Grimani's* theatre) called *Scipio Africanus*. Before they began, the trumpet and violin play'd, then the curtain was drawn up, and there appear'd a magnificent scene representing an amphitheatre fill'd with spectators; and at the further end sat *Scipio Africanus* in his triumphant chair, before whom gladiators danced, and fought very well. After this there was remarkable, the flying down of one (like *Fortune*) with a sail from a tower, and two more falling from another tower; a dance of spirits very antick; another dance of martialists. Ships were burnt at sea; a *Sybil* vanish'd into the ground, and a flame is made: other curious representations and fair perspectives. *Ericlea's* part was acted by her that acted *Rosilena*, who acquitted herself very well, and received great applause. This was counted the best opera. These two plays were acted near *S. Giovanni et è Paolo*.

We saw a third opera, which was at *S. Salvatore*. The theatre was not so large as *Grimani's*: the scenes were very fair, and there was represented an earthquake, gardens, a palace, castle, and a curious perspective. In the prologue *Juno* and *Pallas* hung in the air in their chariots, which moved cross the top of the stage. At the end of the two first acts, were dances, the first performed by pages, and the last by fencers, who fenced very neatly and artificially, making their thrusts regularly, and to the humour of the musick, which play'd all the while. All was sung, and one woman, *Deidamia*, receiv'd great applause; but the humour of the play seem'd much like the two former, having an old woman that made some sport, &c. The actors cloaths appeared very rich and splendid, tho' they wore false jewels and bad silver.

At the opera of *S. Giov. è Paolo* we observed the scenes to be chang'd after this manner. See Plate 521.

Note; the stone *S*, and the pulley *F* seem false represented in this scheme; for the stone should appear downwards in the motion, below *M*.

Over the top of the stage are many floors; and there is under the stage a long

axis *AB*, which hath fastened to it the SKIPPON. cords *ddddd*, with iron hooks *bbbbbb*, and a long rope *E*; which being pull'd down by the weight of the stone *S*, moves over the pulley *F*, and unwinds at *CD*. This stone, by the help of the cord *q*, is wound up over the stage, at the turnstile *M*; and that being let go, the rope *E* unwinding off the axis *AB*, turns the axis from *C*. to *D*, and winds up the cords *ddddd*; and the forementioned hooks being put into the nooses of ropes *iiiiii*, &c. pull towards the axis the *anime* or bottoms of frames wherein the painted scenes are, and bring them forward in sight of the spectators: *yy*, &c. is a cord that couples two of those *anime*; and as the hook *i* is placed in the noose, so the bottoms of the frame or *anime* move forward and backward, *ex gr.* when *xv* is drawn forward, then *bc* is pull'd backward, the cord *y* moving on the pulley *z*. There is a man always stands ready at *M*, who, upon a sign given, lets the stone fall, and changes a great number of scenes on a sudden, there being many of these hooks and *anime*. Before another scene appears, the stone must be wound up again.

Those scenes which fall downwards, as arches, &c. are let down by a long axis above, just in the same manner.

The frames of the scenes move within the flits *oooo*, &c. made in the floor of the stage *A*.

The floor of the stage rises as prospects do from the eye.

The pictured scenes are very lively at a good distance, and by candle-light; but near hand the work is very great and coarse.

The curtain before the stage, is drawn up by a great many ropes lapp'd about an axis, which is also turn'd by the weight of a great stone.

The Engine us'd to fly down with. See Plate 521.

ABCD are two furrows in a long frame cross the top of the scenes. *EEEE* are four wheels belonging to a chariot that hangs underneath, and wherein an actor sits, who flies down by the help of two small chains *HH*, which chains unwind off the axis at *GG*; and as they unwind, a rope, tied to a beam at *K*, is wound up on a wheel *i*, and the chariot runs from *M* to *K*. Another rope ty'd to the back of the engine at *M*, unwinds off an axis at *L*; which being wound up again, draws back the engine.

In the carnival time there is a publick Ridotto. allowance of playing at cards in the ridotto, a great hall where, in the night, we saw many large rooms fill'd with gamesters. Several Venetian noblemen sat before a table and a heap of gold; and many that play'd with

SKIPPON. with them were in masquerade. In a cloister underneath were many porters and waiter-men playing. The game is basset, after this manner: he that keeps the bank or stock of money, shuffles the cards; then any one that stakes what he pleases, names a card, as ace, two, &c. no matter of what suit; then the banker turns the cards with their faces upwards, and deals two at a time, laying them down by him till the card comes, which if first of the pair, the dealer wins; but if the second of the pair, the other wins. When that card is dealt out, another card is named, and so on till they be dealt; and if the card call'd for be the last of the first pair, the banker loses nothing; but if it be the first of the first pair, he wins two thirds of the stake, which is the advantage the dealer has by a *fasard* (this being so call'd.) As many as will, may play at a time; but they must carefully mark their card. If the card named be in the first pair before the pack be turned with the faces upwards, it is no *fasard*, for either the dealer or the other wins, as the card is first or last. Many that play, come in masquerade, win or lose a great deal of money, go away and never speak a word. The banker is obliged to pay as far as his bank will; but if he hath not enough, he leaves his bank to the winner, and goes his way.

Che gioca guadagna, che mette perde, che taglia ariccha, is a proverb.

The cards in use here are the same in number with ours, and are divided into four suits, viz. 1. *Spadi*, 2. *Bastioni*, 3. *Denari*, 4. *Copi*, being differently painted from ours. The king is known by his crown; the cavallo, or a man on horseback, is instead of the queen; and the fanti or footman instead of the knave.

Ponte Rialto.

Ponte Rialto is a bridge of one very large arch over the grand canal, and is very broad, having shops of each side. This bridge being engrav'd, and common to be met with in every nation, I shall refer thereto.

Nigh this bridge is a building whereon is written,

Principatus Leonardi Lauredani inclyti Ducis
MDXXI.

Jews.

The *Jews* have their quarters in a part of the city, where they are shut up every night, a *Jew* and a christian keeping the keys of the gates. In this place call'd the *Ghetto*; they have a large piazza built about with houses seven and eight stories high, three or four families living in a house. They have five or six synagogues.

We met with one *Jew* who spoke *English*, and had lived with his uncle *Ferdi-*

nando, a rich merchant in *London*. He told us many of these particulars following, viz. That the *Jews* in *Venice* were about 4000, men, women, and children, and were divided into three nations, 1. the *Italians*, 2. *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, 3. *Levantins*. Each nation hath its judges, the *Italians* three, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* three, and the *Levantins* one, chosen by the several nations once in three years, who govern and order chief affairs. In every synagogue they also have rulers or elders, chosen once every year. In the *Spanish* seven are elected, but in the others the number is uncertain.

They read the law and the prophets once over in a year. The law is divided into 52 *Parasas*. Every day of the week they have service three times, viz. in the morning, afternoon, and the evening; and thrice a week they read the law, viz. on *Mondays*, *Thursdays* and *Saturdays*. On *Mondays* and *Thursdays* they read it only in the morning; but on *Saturdays* they read it both in the forenoon and afternoon. When the law is to be read, the rulers of the synagogue appoint every time seven readers, the first of which must be of *Aaron's* family, the second of *Levi's* tribe, the other five are taken out of the common *Israel*.

They observe three feasts, the passover, the feast of tabernacles, and the giving out of the law. The passover is kept eight days: the first and last day are solemniz'd in the synagogues; but the other six are observed only as holy-days, being oblig'd not to work in that space; but may go abroad and take their pleasures. When the law is read over, it is carry'd round the synagogue within, with great singing, &c. Those that carry the law, buy that honour, and the money is bestowed on the poor, and for the maintaining of the synagogue. The passover is not kept here with a lamb, but with unleavened bread made into cakes. When they are at service in the synagogue, they cover their heads with a veil, at each corner whereof is written the name *JEHOVAH*, that is wrought in. On each arm, and on their breasts they wear that name. The rulers of the synagogue chuse a rabbi, who preaches to them once a month, and is allow'd about 100 *l. per Annum* sterling. There is no creation of rabbi's, or ordaining of ministers; only those that have studied, and are learned, are usually elected by the rulers of the synagogue, to be ministers. All the *Jews* children are taught to read the bible in *Hebrew*; and he that teaches them is allowed as much as the minister or rabbi. Circumcision is usually performed in the parents houses. The father

ther redeems the child by giving the rabbi or minister some pieces of silver; but if the parents be poor, he goes to the mother, and tells her, God hath given the child to him, but considering she would be a good nurse, he bestows that money on her to bring up the child. If the parents be rich, and the priest not poor, he gives the money to the poor.

One *Saturday* morning we saw their service, which was perform'd in a singing tone that continu'd a good while; then one in a large desk (having four marble pillars supporting a canopy over it) sung, and all the congregation sung, standing up with their faces towards the end of the room, where the law is kept in a press, with a curtain before it, and adorn'd with marble pillars, and rails about it. When they had sung thus for a long time, he in the desk, and one or two more, fetch'd the law, all the people standing up, and singing very loud, till the law was brought and laid down in the desk. They went on one side of the synagogue to fetch it, and brought it the other side, one of the synagogue carrying it, and the reader following him. When they came up into the desk, the silver tops of the *Umbilici* were taken off, and an embroidered cloth unbound; then he that brought it, open'd the law, and held it up towards the congregation, turning himself round. We observed when they were bringing the law, some of the synagogue windows were open'd. The reader read aloud in the law, and then he that brought it read to himself, and after a little time he whisper'd somewhat to the reader, who spoke it out aloud: we were told, it was his charity to the poor, for redeeming of *Jews* in slavery, &c. After this manner seven went up into the desk, read, &c. and as they came down and went by some, they said something to them. We observed some of these seven, when they were returned to their seats, touched many near them on the tops of their hats; and some of the seven went to others and were touched themselves. When the seven had done, the law was carry'd back the same way they fetch'd it, all the people standing up, and singing aloud. Before it was put into the press, somewhat was sung near that place, and after that, all stood with their faces that way, and once they made a low bow together, with a general great stamp, and then they made a prayer.

Before the law was brought out, we observed between their prayers and hymns, a boy that sung for some time alone; and after the seven had read, a boy read somewhat out of a book in the desk, in a singing tone.

Between their prayers, before the reading of the law, one in the desk spoke somewhat in *Italian* (which we did not well understand) to the congregation; and the reader, between the reading of the law, spoke also in *Italian* to such as owed monies to the synagogue. Afterwards the other fellow told them in *Italian*, that one (naming him) would preach in the afternoon.

This morning service being done, they went home to dinner, and returned presently after to the synagogue, where they did as in the forenoon; then we heard a *Jew* preach in the desk. He discours'd in *Italian*, with his hat on, and his veil about his shoulders. He spoke concerning *Jacob's* prudence in getting his brother's birthright; and he used much action with his body and hands. After he had done, a prayer was said, all the people standing up, but none uncovering their heads (which they never do in their synagogues) they all at that time muttered somewhat. When the sermon was ended they all thanked him aloud.

All the *Jews* wear such veils in the synagogue as they do at *Amsterdam*; but these at *Venice* only cover'd their shoulders with them, and not on their heads, except the reader and one or two more.

The synagogue we were in, is large, and towards the roof, hath an oval gallery latticed, where the women come once or twice in a week.

There were many brass candlesticks and lamps, some of which, before the place where the law is kept, were lighted.

These *Jews* have procedures among themselves against creditors, &c. and do also use the laws of *Venice*.

Under every synagogue are entrances, with benches round, where many that come too late, sit and say their devotions. None of them dare to attempt the pronouncing of the name *JEHOVAH*. All the men wear hats cover'd with red; the women have a head-dress hanging backward in their necks, and some of them wear red head-dresses. The *Levantine Jews* wear turbants, and are girt about the middle of their loose gowns, their habits being not much different from the *Turks*.

We went into some of the *Jews* houses and shops, which were crowded up with all sorts of household-stuff, they generally trading in buying and selling of old cloaths, &c.

The *Jews* swear too freely *per Dio santo*, &c.

In this city many *Greeks* are tolerated the freedom of their religion; and they have a *Saint* church dedicated to *St. George*, which is not *George's* large, but adorned with pictures, and a church cupola in the middle of the roof. The *Greeks* us'd by the high.

SKIPPON

high altar hath many pictures of Christ and saints about it, and on each side is a little altar. Before them is a screen or partition of wood, with a door before every altar. On the outside of the partition are the pictures of our Saviour, the

virgin Mary, St. George, St. Nicolas, Moses, Cosmas, &c. before which stand eight candles in high brass standards. On each side of the church are double seats or stalls. Over the door to the great altar is the picture of our Saviour's head, and this underwritten,

—|— ΧΕΘΘ ὁ ἐλπίζων εἰς σὺ ἐκ ἀποτυχάνει ποτε.

On grave-stones are these inscriptions,

1. Προσδοκῶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τῇ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

Γεωργίῳ τῇ ἡγουμένῃ καὶ Ἐπφάνῃ τῇ Ἀδελφῇ αὐτῇ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων. A. X. M.E.

2. Προσδοκῶ καὶ ζωὴν τῇ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Μιχαήλ τῇ Πιτρῇ ΔΗΜΕΚΟΥ τῇ Κύπρῃ καὶ τῶν κληρονομῶν αὐτῇ. A. X. H.

3. Προσδοκῶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν. Λιονταρμυντάσι καὶ τῶν κληρονομῶν αὐτῇ μὴν ἰσίου. i. e. α. χ. ζ.

† ΖΩΤΟΣ Ὁ ΤΖΗΑΡΑΣ. Ὁ ΕΞ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ. Ὁ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΟΝΤΟΣ,
Κ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΣΙΣ ΜΟΛΔΟΒΟΒΛΑΧΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΧ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΧΝΕΣ
ΤΧ ΙΡΦΤΟΣ ΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ Κ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ ΑΤΟΝ ΑΞΙΦΟΣ ΕΚΛΕΧΘΕΙΣ
Ὁ ΛΑΜΡΦΟΣ Κ ὉΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΒΙΦΣΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΔΕ ΤΩ ΜΗΜΕΙΩ
ΤΩ ὙΠΟ ΤΧ ΑΔΣΑΦΧ ΑΠΟΣΟΛΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΕΝΤΙ ΑΤΩ
ΤΕ Κ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΑΝΑ-
ΣΤΑΣΙΝ. ΗΡΕ. ΜΕΙ. Α. Φ. Ο. Θ. ΑΙΡΙΛΛΙΧ.

5. Arca de Bernardo Acris de Cipro Fæta in memoria di Giacomo suo Padre de Vicenza Muscorno suo Zio. Anno MDCLVI. x. Die X'bre.

6. Thomæ Flangino Patronorum disertissimo Maria Uxor Viro benem. H. M. P. ex Testam. obiit An. ab Incarn. MDCXLVIII. Ætat LXX.

Over the door of the altar are two curious small pictures of Aaron and Melchisedek, and these inscriptions, viz.

Ὁ Ἅγιος προφήτης Ἀαρών. On his forehead, Ἀδναὶ Σαβαώθ,
Μελχισεδέκ ἱερεὺς τῇ Θεῷ τῇ ὑψίστῃ.

Below is written,

Ἐμμανηὴλ ἱερεὺς Ζάνης ὁ ῥηθυμναῖος ἐποίησεν.

On the curtain that covered these pictures,

Δόσις τῇ δάμῃ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥ παλαθλόγῃ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτῇ Μαρίᾳ.

Over the Door is an inscription, which I could but imperfectly read, by reason of the distance, viz.

Τῶν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀπάσαις εὐδοκίμησαντι

ἱερεῶν δια μνήμην τοῦ ἀνέθετο.

Memorie immortalis, Gabrielis Seviro Archiep. Philadelph. ut Q. doctrina, pietate et sanctitate excelluit. Ser. Reip. ob eximiam fidem carus extitit, posteris quoque præclar. exemplum foret. Græci incolæ et advenæ. Beneficor. mem. nunquam satis Venerabundi. MDCLXIX.

We observed one Sunday, before they began their service, many Greeks, as soon as they came into the middle of the church, turned their faces towards the high altar,

cross'd and bow'd themselves three times, and afterwards went up to the pictures, and before each of them cross'd and bow'd themselves three times, and then kiss'd them.

them. Many of the people then seated themselves, and put on their hats; the better sort, among which some *Venetian* noblemen, sat in the stalls near the altar, and those of lesser quality took their places in the lower half of the church, and many stood on a mat which covered the pavement: the upper half or choir had no company but those in the stalls. The archbishop of *Philadelphia*, and many monks attending him, came into the church; and making their reverences to the altar, the bishop went to his chair raised two steps on the south side of the church, having a carpet under his feet, and the monks took their seats in the stalls on each side of the choir. Immediately the altar door was opened, and a curtain drawn, then the priest that was to officiate, came to that door, being habited with a rich cope, open before, under which he had a long coat embroidered, and a tippet before. The priest standing here with an incense pot in his hand, censured the pictures with a great deal of reverence, and then censured towards the bishop, who received it with a bow and opening of his hand, and after that he censured the monks and people. A boy that stood by him, kissed the bishop's hand, and then the priest read in a singing tone at the altar; a boy answered, and the people crossed themselves; the priest read again, and the boy answered: after that the monks and priests in the choir sung first on one side, and then on the other. The priest and boy sung again, and the monks and priests sung again; after this there were two surplice boys, girt about the middle, one from the right, and the other from the left door of the high altar, standing some time by the doors; then they came towards the candles, where they also stood a while; afterwards went up the steps before the altar door, one standing on each side of the ascent; then they went down, and each of them took a standard with a lighted candle in it, first making a low reverence to the altar, and then to the bishop. With these candles they went towards the left door of the high altar, and expected a little till the priest came out with a book in his hand, which he brought to the bishop (the bishop with the priests stood bowing together to the altar) who came down one step from his chair, and kissed it; the priest then made a low bow to him and the altar, and returned by the middle door, the boys and candles going before him. All this time the people were very devout, bowing their heads, &c. The boys brought the candles to their places, and put them out, the monks and priests singing. The priest

then read, and the boy answered; the monks, &c. sung. A fellow went up a ladder and lighted the candles by the lamps (seven of them) that hang before the pictures. The priest said somewhat at the door towards the people: a boy in the middle read; and at his beginning to read the priest said somewhat again. When the boy had done reading, he kissed the bishop's hand. The priest said somewhat, and the choir sung. A desk covered with a carpet is brought to the altar door, and the boys take their candles, and stand some distance off before the door, whilst the priest read the gospel (part of the *x cap. Lu.*) in a singing tone, the people being very attentive, tho', at other parts of the service, they were remiss in their devotions: the desk is removed. About the beginning of the priest's reading the gospel, the boy said somewhat, and at the end all the people crossed themselves: the bishop blessed the people. The altar curtain was drawn, the priest read and boy answered; then a pause, the priest at that time reading a mystical prayer. The priest then read aloud, and the boy answered; a second mystical prayer. The boy answered, when the priest read again; a third mystical prayer; and so till there were ten mystical prayers; between every one the priest read and the boy answered: then all the people crossed themselves, and the choir sung whilst the priest censured. The two boys with their candles making their bows to the altar and bishop, went to the north door of the altar, where they waited a little for the priest, who came out, the boys going before him with their candles, and one boy before him, censuring as he went, and another boy followed with two tapers held cross-ways. The priest held in his right hand the cup, which was covered with a silk or cloth, having the picture of our Saviour on it; and when it was brought out, the bishop repeated the creed and the Lord's prayer. In his left hand the priest held over his head the bread, which was also covered; and in this posture he went to the middle of the choir and said something; then he went to the bishop, who step'd down from his seat, and bowed with his bare head toward the altar, all the people being then extremely devout, bowing their heads and crossing themselves: the priest then returned, and read at the high altar, and the boys and monks sung. The two boys brought their candles to their places, and put them out. After this the priest came to the altar door, and censured as he did before; then several collectors went about with silver dishes, and desired peoples charity; and all the poor people then in the church

SHIPPON. church went up and down begging; in this time the priest said something at the altar door. The boys candles are lighted again, and they fetched the priest out of the left door, carrying the candles before him, and the boy who read in the middle of the choir, censured him. The priest now came out with the bread in his right hand, and over his head somewhat veiled in his left hand. Behind him followed the boy with the two tapers held cross-ways: the priest went again to the bishop, as before. He returned to the altar, and then there was singing. The boys stood with their candles before the altar door, where the curtain being drawn open, the priest held the cup, all the people bowing; then the priest said something, and set the cup again upon the altar, bowing to it several times, and crossing himself. The choir sung, and the priest went to the left altar, and read there, the boy answering. Then the priest came out into the body of the church (after he had said something at the altar door, and the candles were put out by the fellow that lighted them, and after the consecrated bread was brought in a silver dish, by a monk, from the altar, who held it by the archbishop) with his censuring pot, and a little book in his hand, the choir singing all the time. Then the priest went to the middle door, and said something there, and after that came out, and stood before the door before he went last in. The bread in the dish was cut into many pieces, and, as the service was concluding, those of first quality (after the monks) came and took the bread out of the bishop's hand, first kissing the bishop's hand, and ate it, and then the ordinary sort of people received the bread, and after them the priest that officiated took the dish, and carried the bread to the women and the poorest sort at the lower end of the church. Every one of the *Greeks* that took bread, went to the saints pictures and kissed them.

After all was done (leaving our swords without) we went into their *Sanctum sanctorum*, which some of their priests seemed very angry at.

They used no holy water in this church, and have no images.

The archbishop was an old man; his name was *Michael*, but now changed. He is chosen by the patriarch of *Constantinople*. He had a long staff, black and silver'd over. The top of it was like a crutch. His habit was purple, having hanging before him three lists of red between silver laces, and a piece of blue taffety on each shoulder, and a piece at that part of his habit which covered his knees. He had on his head a black cap,

not unlike that the vulgar *Italians* wear, and over that a black serge hood, which hung loose about his neck and shoulders.

The monks wear black gowns with open sleeves. Over their heads they have such caps and hoods as the bishop's is, and, when they walk abroad, they wear broad brim'd hats over all. These monks are of the order of *St. Basil*, and never eat flesh. They change their first names when they enter into the order. Every priest that officiates in the church, may marry, and he wears a black gown like the monks. They never cut their hair.

November 22. being a holy-day, there was a canopy supported by four silver standards, placed in the middle of the choir of the *Greek* church; and then we observed these particulars: When the poor went up and down begging, the priest came out at the altar door, and said something, and, while the people received the bread, he said something again in the same place. The boys that carried the candles, were, this day, habited in red, having a little white cross on their backs. The priest had hanging behind his neck the picture of our Saviour, and *Greek* written about it. Under the canopy stood a desk, and on it a picture, which was kissed after the receiving of the bread. The boy read at this desk.

November 30. being a festival dedicated to *St. Andrew, Stilo veteri*, which the *Greeks* use, we observed in their church a gilded desk, on the middle whereof the picture of *St. Andrew* was laid. Before it stood two silver standards with lighted candles. When the people came in, they bowed, &c. to the altar; then went to this picture, and kissed *St. Andrew's* foot. The priests that officiated, before they put on their vestments, bowed and crossed themselves together before our Saviour and the virgin *Mary's* pictures; then kissed them and the picture of *St. Andrew* on the desk; after that they habited themselves. When the archbishop and monks attending him came in, the altar door was immediately opened, and the curtains drawn. The bishop crossed and bowed himself before the altar; then went to our Saviour and the virgin *Mary's* pictures, and afterwards to *St. Andrew's*, the monks singing in the choir all the while.

The archbishop came then into his seat, and four priests came out in their vestures, and another priest in a white satin habit, over whose left shoulder was cast a long and narrow fascia of red, whereon was wrought the word *αγιος*, six times. In his hand was the censuring pot. Two little boys in scarlet habits brought a bundle of vestments, which were put on the bishop

(his

(his ordinary habit being first taken off) at his chair, in the sight of all the people, by the four priests, who first kissed his hand, and when they took up any vesture, they kissed it, and then the bishop kissed it before he had it put on. He was habited with several things, and over all had a loose cope, open before; and about his neck was hung a square embroidered piece of cloth, and a gold picture or relict. All the time he was dressing, the priest in white crossed him, and sung somewhat, and sometimes the choir sung. The service was not much different from that formerly observed; only these particulars we took notice of, *viz.* that, while the boy read in the middle of the church, the bishop, who went into the altar-room presently after he was habited, sat in the door before the altar, the white priest holding a silver candlestick with three candles in it, standing at one side of the door. This priest came and stood several times before the altar, and sung somewhat. The bishop's staff was given to a little boy, who was in his usual habit, and stood on one side, without the altar door, holding up the staff. The priest in white went with his book up into the pulpit, which had a candle on each side, the two boys with their candles, and the boy with the bishop's staff held up between them, going before him and standing on the ground before the pulpit all the time the priest was reading in the gospel. The bishop at one time came to the altar door, and having a silver candlestick with three candles, blest the people. At other times he held the candlesticks within nigh the altar, and three or four times came to the altar door with one candle in a single candlestick, and blessed the people. The priest in white standing one time before the altar door, had his red *fascia* tied about his shoulders in the form of a *St. Andrew's* cross. When the cup and bread were brought out, the two boys took their candles, following the boy with the bishop's staff; then came the white priest with the book, and in the middle of the church said somewhat towards the people. Next came a priest with the cup, and he said somewhat in the middle towards the people. After him a third priest, with the bread over his head, speaking also in the middle. A fourth priest came with a saint's bone, and he said somewhat. The fifth priest brought another relict; and spake somewhat towards the people. Behind all came the boy with his cross tapers. The priest in white went towards the altar door, where the bishop stood, and censured him, then took the book, and kissed it, and laid it on

the altar table. This priest then went in, SKIPPON. and the next priest stood before, while the bishop censured him, took the cup, kissed it, and placed it on the table; then the third priest, whom the bishop censured, and took the bread, &c. The fourth and fifth priests were also censured by the bishop before the altar door; but he took not the relicts from them, they bringing them in themselves. Every time the bishop took the book, cup and bread, he gave the censuring-pot to a servant. One of the monks in the choir repeated the creed and Lord's prayer this day. The bishop, at the conclusion of all, came out, and seated himself in his chair, where he gave out the bread as at other times. When he went first into the altar room, the choir sung three times about the patriarch of *Constantinople*, three times of this bishop, and three times *αγιος Θεος*.

Many *Roman* catholick beggars with their beads in their hands, came hither to receive alms, &c. and some of them, we were told (notwithstanding the *Roman* priests forbid them) came to be cured by going into the altar-room, where a *Greek* priest sets his foot on their heads, and says somewhat.

Some of the *Greek* women wear long black veils.

When we returned from *Rome* to *Venice* in *February* 1664-5. being lent-time, we observed these following particulars one morning in the *Greek* church, *viz.* We heard a sermon in *Greek*. Before the preacher began, he bowed himself to the people, and kissed the pulpit; then he prayed a while to himself, and after that said an *Ave Mary*, with his face towards the crucifix; then began his sermon, which lasted somewhat more than an hour. Two or three times he made great pauses, and the people seemed to applaud him by hawking and spitting much. While the collection was making for the poor, the preacher exhorted the congregation as they do in popish churches.

One *Sunday* in lent, after sermon was done, the sexton brought a dish into the middle of the choir, and, on each side, placed a standard with a lighted taper; then two boys, habited with white frocks, took two other candles, and making their usual reverences, went to the north door of the altar, and expected the priest, who brought out a silver dish upon his head (a boy with a censer perfuming him) which he placed on the desk, and then took out of it a silver cross, and many nosegays, laying them on the desk; then the priest went round about it, censuring the four sides. This done, the archbishop came and stood before the desk, a priest standing on each

SKIPPON. each hand. After certain prayers and bowings the bishop kissed the cross, and returned again to his seat. The officiating priest did the like, and then took the cross and nosegays in his hand, and goes to the middle door, where he stood before it. In the mean time the *Panis benedictus* is distributed as formerly. After that the people went to the priest who held the cross, which, bowing themselves, they kissed, and the priest gave every one a nosegay, and they put some money into the silver basin held by one that stood by.

Armenians.

The *Armenians* have a small, square, low-roofed room for their church, hung round with gilt leather, where there is an altar dressed like the papists, being adorned with pictures and candles, &c. The altar is in a hollow of the wall, and in the middle of it is a gilded tabernacle, the front whereof hath a crucifix. On the right side is our Saviour's, and on the left the virgin *Mary's* picture. There are also the pictures of *St. John*, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. From the middle of the roof hung a brass branched candlestick, and before the altar three lamps, the middlemost of which was lighted before they begun service. The priest was an old man with a long white beard, habited in a flowered cope, (like the *Greeks*) girt about. Over his neck was put a flowered tippet, which stood up behind like a high collar. On his head was a fine wrought cap. The deacons or assistants were dressed in a long white habit. Some of them had a red cross wrought behind, and letters written, and a red cross below their breasts. The people crossed themselves with holy water three times.

One *Sunday* morning we observed the manner of their service. First, we took notice of the priest in his ordinary wearing habit, reading and praying at the altar. At one time he kneeled before it, and bowed his body and head nigh the ground for a good while together, praying all the time; then he went into a by-room or vestry. After this a deacon lighted the uppermost candle on each side, and he goes into the vestry; then two deacons came out singing. Next entered the priest in his habiliments, holding the cup, which he set upon the table; then he turned about and blessed the people. The priest then kissed the altar-table, and one of the deacons censured him and the people. The priest dressed up the cup by covering it, &c. He stepped down, and prayed towards the altar with his hands shut, three deacons singing. The priest said somewhat, and the deacons answered. One of them took a little glass plate and cruse, another held a handkerchief, and the priest washed

his hands, the deacons saying somewhat. The priest bowed low towards the table, and turned about bowing towards the people, then spoke something in a mournful tone, a deacon answering. The priest stood up and spoke somewhat, then turned to the altar, prayed and bowed; he spread out his hands, the deacons answering. The priest prayed and kissed the table, he uncovered the cup. Two deacons sung, and one gave him the wafer, which he blessed or consecrated, and put it into a plate, then covered the cup. He poured wine into the cup, which he consecrated by crossing, &c. then he laid the plate upon the cup, and over all a red silk cloth. He muttered somewhat, three deacons all the while singing. He opened on the right side of it. A fourth deacon now came in, and the singing stops. The priest spake somewhat, and two deacons answered. The priest crossed his forehead and breast, and turned about blessing the people. The deacons sung again. The priest said somewhat, the deacons answering and singing again. The priest muttered, crossed, and bowed towards the altar. One of the deacons laid a napkin upon the priest's hands, then he took the evangelists, kissing the book, and laid it on the napkin. The priest said somewhat, and the deacons sung. The priest elevated the book, and turned about towards the north, south, east and west. A deacon censured the people, and they crossed themselves. A deacon kissed the book, and then the priest waved it over his head, the assistants or deacons stooping all the while. A deacon took the book from the priest, kissed it, and laid it upon the table, all the deacons still singing. The priest muttered, and then said somewhat aloud. A folding stool or desk was brought into the middle, upon which the epistles were laid, and in the book one of the deacons read. After the deacons had sung a while, the deacon read towards the people, holding a small wax candle in his hand. This done, two deacons held each of them a lighted candle behind the priest; all the deacons sung; the epistles and stool desk were taken away; the priest blessed the people; a deacon ascended one step on the right side of the altar, the two deacons holding their candles on each side of him, while he read the gospel; which done, he turned to the altar and prayed, the rest of them muttering somewhat. One of the deacons candle was put out, and the other was carried about by the other deacon, who censured the people, and they crossed themselves. The deacon that read the gospel continued praying; the priest kissed

the

the gospel, and said somewhat; all the deacons sung. The two next candles on either side of the altar were lighted; the priest said somewhat, turned about, and bless'd the people; a deacon took off the priest's embroidered cap, and laid it upon the altar. Then a third candle on either side was lighted; the priest said somewhat; the people kneel'd, and some kiss'd the ground, the deacons crying *Ob*; the priest bless'd and kiss'd the table; he cens'd the cup and pictures; the deacons kneeled. The priest elevated the cup which was cover'd, a deacon cens'ing behind him. The priest waved the cup over the table, and then turn'd round, and waved it towards every quarter; the people stood up; the priest cens'd the cup; water is brought, and he washed his fingers; the deacons sung all the while; the priest uncovered, or folded the cloth to the edge of the cup; he blest the people; the deacons sung; the priest kiss'd the edge of the cup, and a deacon kiss'd the right side of the table, and then the right shoulder of the priest; this deacon kiss'd, then another, and so this *Osculum Pacis* was communicated to all the people, who kiss'd first the right shoulder, and then the left cross ways. The priest bless'd the people, and he quite covered the cup. The deacons sung, and the priest said somewhat, and bless'd the people. The deacons sung. The priest mutter'd, then spoke aloud. On the right side of the altar a bell was rung. The priest cross'd the cup, and mutter'd somewhat. The deacons sung. The priest took off the silk cover, and then the little dish, out of which he took the wafer and kiss'd it; he laid it then in the palm of his left hand, crossing or consecrating it; he kiss'd the cup, and the people cross'd and beat their breasts; the priest covered the cup again, elevated and waved it over the table, he mutter'd somewhat. The deacons sung. The priest bless'd the people; he cross'd, bow'd, and kiss'd the table; he cross'd the cup and uncover'd; he took off the dish, put it on the cup again and cross'd it; he laid on the silk cover and mutter'd somewhat. The deacon that read the gospel kiss'd each side of the table. The priest said somewhat, and the deacons sung their answers; they sung a great while together, and loud. The priest mutter'd. The deacon who read the gospel kiss'd the left side of the table. The priest said somewhat, and the deacons answer'd singing. The priest bless'd the people. Alms-boxes went about; the priest turn'd and bless'd the people. The great candles were lighted. A deacon or priest in black said somewhat, the rest in white answering. The priest spoke somewhat, and is cens'd

on both sides by a deacon, and then all the people were cens'd. The deacons sung. All the people kneeled; the priest blessed them. The deacons kneeled. The priest and all the people bowed; he kiss'd the table and cross'd the cup, took the dish off. The bell was rung again, and the priest elevated the wafer; he laid down the dish and elevated the cup, the bell being rung a third time; he put the dish on the cup, and the silk cover on that. The priest cross'd himself and said somewhat. The deacons sung. The priest uncover'd the cup; he took the wafer and put it a little way into the cup, and there holding it, turned about and shewed it. All the people rose up. The priest steeped the wafer with his finger in the wine. The deacons sung out of a book. A great wafer was brought by one of the deacons to the deacon in black, who consecrated it; then the deacon that brought it carried it to one side of the altar, and broke it in pieces. The priest held his fingers either in the cup or over it a good while together. The priest bowed down with his mouth over the cup, and ate some of the wafer; then he drank, and shewed the cup round, holding it just by the brims; the remainder of the wafer he sopp'd in the cup; he bowed to the cup and eat the wafer. The great candles were put out. The bell rung. More wine was poured into the cup, which he drank off, and more wine was put in the last time, which he shook about before he took all off; he wiped his mouth and the inside of the cup very clean with a handkerchief, then laid on the plate, and thereon the cloth he wiped it with, and over all the red silk cover. The priest's cap was put on; he kiss'd the table; a napkin was put on his hands, and one of the deacons gave him the gospel (which was covered with silver.) The priest came down a step, and pray'd with his face to the altar. The deacons made a doleful groaning, then they sung. The priest said somewhat, and turned about to the people, some bow'd and touch'd the ground, crossing themselves. The priest holding the gospel, stood towards the people, who came and put their benevolence into a dish held by a deacon on the left side of the priest; they kiss'd the gospel, and then the priest's hand, and receiv'd a piece of the wafer, consecrated by the deacon in black, of a deacon on the right side of the priest. All the candles were put out, but one on the right side of the altar. The priest stood with his face to the people, and read out of the gospel; then he elevated and waved it, holding it always on the napkin. The priest then spoke somewhat, and the last candle was put out; he bowed, crossed, turned about and bless'd

SKIPPON fed the people; he uncover'd the cup, and all the people left him alone standing at the altar table.

On each side of the altar were five candles, and a very great one, set gradually one higher than another.

Before the service began, we observed one habited in a purple veil, and a cap set upright like a *Capuchin's*.

The holy lamb was pictured before on the altar; the men put their turbants off, and many of them their shoes, yet some of them had their caps and turbants on sometimes.

There are but two priests in *Venice*, who are ordain'd by their patriarch. They have one patriarch at *Constantinople*: He must not be a marry'd man, tho' widowers are capable of that dignity as well as those that never had wives. He lives among a kind of monks they have. *S. Gregory*, an archbishop, is their patron.

The *Armenian* priests must marry but once.

The priests in strange countries in their habits differ not from secular persons, but in their own country they wear black. The usual habit of the *Armenians* is after the eastern fashion, with a turbant, &c.

A priest is obliged to lie in the church two or three nights before he celebrates mass. The deacons are seculars, who yet must have their heads shaven, and none else may assist at mass or make responses, unless he hath some particular command, or a ceremonious institution.

The seculars in the *Turks* and *Persians* dominions may not walk abroad after it is night, a prison or severer punishment being the penalty; but the priests have liberty at all times, and may go with their wives whither they will, there being at this time in the *Lazaretto* of *Venice* a priest's wife lately come out of the *Levant*.

The *Armenians* and *Grecians* have great enmity between one another, and we were told the *Turk* and *Persian* will not permit either *Greeks*, *Georgians*, or *Armenians* to carry their wives, &c. out of their country, because they want people to breed; for every male, after 15 years of age pays to the *Persian* an annual rate; a *Greek* gives about four rials and an half; an *Armenian* about five rials, but the women are poll-free. The reason why the *Armenian* pays more than the *Greek* is, because they wrote *Mahomet's* life, with some circumstances that displeased the *Mahometans*; before this, they assisted the *Turks* against the *Greeks*.

They have mass on *Sundays* and holidays, and they eat fish on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. They keep *Lent* very strictly, eating neither flesh nor oil, and drink no wine, feeding only upon herbs, &c.

In *Armenia*, and those parts where the *Armenians* are most frequent, are *Greeks*, *Surians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites* and *Georgians*, all in friendship with the *Greeks*, but the *Armenians*. Nigh *Aleppo* live *Jacobites*.

We were told, that if any one omits communicating the *osculum pacis* in the mass, it is a deadly sin; this kiss begins when the priest says the *Pax Vobiscum* in their language, which is always used in their service. The priest, when he turn'd his body, always turned from the right to the left. The *Armenian* lay people receive not the cup.

After a lay *Armenian* hath had three wives, it is unlawful to marry a fourth.

In the voyage of father *Philippe*, a *Frenchman*, l. 5. c. 5. 'tis said the patriarch of the *Armenians* privately consecrates a king of that people.

At one signior *Bovi's* I bought some *Armenian* books, and there I saw many pictures of *Armenian* men, and two pictures of *Armenian* women, their habit not much differing from the usual represented in printed books concerning the *East Indians*. Signior *Bovi* hath printed a good part of the *Armenian* bible, but some think it will scarce ever be finish'd.

We had some discourse with *Bovi's* ser-
vant, who was of the *Georgian* religion, and born in *Georgia*. The *Armenians* and they are different in their religion. They have an hereditary prince or duke, whose territory is small, and not rich, but his power is absolute. The city of his residence is called *Padian*. Not long since, the *Persian* took a town from them, and afterwards resolv'd to banish them thence; which the *Georgians* understanding, they made a conspiracy, and on a sudden destroy'd all the *Persians* in the city.

We visited one *Rosachio*, a reputed astro-
loger, who was a mountebank that sold
medicaments in the piazza of *St. Mark*.
He shew'd us his collection of rarities,
which were kept in pretty good order.
His lesser things were in boxes divided
into small partitions, with a wire-grate
over them, so that they were all expos'd
to view without danger of being mispla-
ced. We observed the tail of the *Pasti-
naca piscis*; *maxillæ piscis Lamia*, [an shark]
serpens volans, which had a long furrow
on either side, in which were cartilagi-
nous parts (he said) when it was alive, that
served for wings; a *Pyraustes* or salaman-
der, shaped like a lizard, but broader
and flatter and bigger than a rat. It had
five claws before and behind on every
foot: the tail consisted of 20 annuli spinosi.
It is found in *Africa*. A great chamæleon;
a lion's head; a serpent curiously and
lively represented in a carved stone; the
horns

horns of the *Gazella Ind.* and of the *Rupicapra* or *Gazella Alpina*, called *Gimps*; a huge *Indian Scollop* shell or *peſten*; a *Bachur-lar's* head, which is a bird taken in *May* about *Modena*: he told us, it hath much kindness for a man; the skeleton of a *Marmotto*; a living *Marmotto*, which sleeps all winter; they are taken in the *Valteline Alps*, &c. He had five sorts of parrots in cages, which hung in a chamber together, warmed by a fire in the middle of the room; a fine paraquito with a red bill, a very long tail, a black spot and ring about the neck; white hollow *tubuli*, furrow'd on the outside, which, he said, are found between *Bolonia* and *Florence*: he said they were excellent against sore throats, hoarseness, &c. if hung about one's neck. These we found in the shore of the river *Tanner*, nigh *Aſte*, in our journey to *Genoa*.

We saw a pretty puppet-play, which had changes of scenes; and the figures were moved by indiscernable wires from above, and were made to act and dance with much art. We saw here a *Marmotto* awake; it is *Mus Alp.* the head of it was like a rabbit, belly reddish, other parts of a griseous colour mix'd with some red; the tail black at the end: each fore-foot hath four digits, which he uses as squirrels do; the hinder feet have five toes apiece; the head is depress'd and blackish; it sleeps in the winter under ground upon the *Alps*; it eats bread, nuts, &c. this was a female: it is shorter and thicker than a rabbit, and in the upper jaw are two strong and long *incisores*.

The mint-house is a stately building behind the *Procuratorio Nuovo*. On each side within the entrance, is a huge marble statue; a square court, where, in one place we saw the furnace they melt brass plates in, which are afterwards cut into long narrow pieces by a great pair of scissars fix'd in the ground. A workman took a good quantity of those squares, and put them into a large frying-pan among glowing charcoal; then the workman took the pan, and set up one foot on a stone, and laid the handle over his knee, and ventilated the coals and pieces of brass together; and when he perceives the brass is turn'd into a darkish blue colour, he, at several times, toss'd out the coals into another pan on the ground, so that at last nothing remains but the brass; which being thrown out and cool'd, they are steep'd for some time in oyl, and then one takes a dish-full, and one by one beats them into an orbicular form with his great hammer and anvil. After this they are beaten with the same hammer again, which makes them more round; then they are brought to the stampers, who strike one impression of iron on it, as it lies on another iron impression fix'd like an anvil.

In the same manner we saw *Cecchini* stamp-ed. There were many at work, but most were employ'd in the making of brass soldi.

The values of money are very uncertain at *Venice*, the council of ten crying it down one week, and within few weeks after the people raise the value again.

When we returned from *Rome* to *Venice*, Signior we visited one Signior *Travaglini*, a very ingenious person, and an admirer of *Des Cartes*. He is a good chymist and natural philosopher. From him we received information how to make a *pulvis fulminans*, viz.

Take one pt. of *Sal Tart.* two of *sulphur*, and three of *nitre*, which must be all beaten together in a mortar, and mingled very well. This powder we saw put into a spoon placed over a flame or hot coals; and when the sulphur began to melt, and all the powder began to look black, a great clap was given like that of *Aurum fulminans*.

He told us also, that *Vitrum Antimonii colore Rubini præditum*, is thus made,

Equal parts of common salt and antimony, reduce them to a fine powder, and mingled well, put them into an earthen pot, which must be placed upon the mouth of a glass furnace, where a reverberatory flame is made; there let it stand for three or four days till the antimony be calcined; let the powder be then wash'd and freed from the salt: after it is dry'd, put it into a crucible with a little crude antimony and borax, and then melted, it is of a rubin-colour.

He shew'd us the furnaces where *Castile* soap is boil'd, and this account he gave us of the *Fattura* or making of it.

It is made of the best olive oyl, and a *lixivium*. The *lixivium* is made of the ashes of kali and other sea-wreck brought from Spain, and by us in England called *Berillia*: of this *Berillia* two thirds, and of the ordinary sea-wreck one third. These are mingled and broke into pieces with a hammer, and then they grind them into powder with a stone, as we use to grind apples for cyder; after that they sift them, and the powder then is mingled with a little slaked lime, and made up into small pellets, which they put into leeches or troughs, and there pour water upon them to make a *lixivium*. The caldrons they boil the soap in are of a huge size, which have at the bottom a copper vessel, but above that the sides are built of stone, very close cemented together, and bound with irons, and round about inclosed within a case of wood. Into these caldrons they put a great quantity of oyl, one third part of the measure, or more or less, as they

SKIPPON.

Travaglini.

Pulvis fulminans.

Vitrum Antimonii colore Rubini.

The making of Castile soap.

Marmotto.

Mint-house.

SKIPPON.

they please; then they fill up the vessel with the lixivium, kindle a fire in the furnace, and so cause all to boil continually; and as the lye boils away, they still fill it up with new lye, till all the oyl be consumed; and being united with the salt of the lixivium, is turned into a soap, which rises continually up to the top like a scum, which, by degrees, condenses there: this scum rises as long as there is any oyl remaining, and so the cremor of soap grows thicker and thicker. Those that are skilful can tell by their smell when the oyl is all boyled away. The lixivium is counted strong enough so long as it will bear an egg. The water they use here is taken out of the sea, but it may be as well made of fresh water. To hasten the making of the lye, they take some of the boiling lixivium out of the caldron; to which purpose there is a pipe that conveys it out of the caldron into a pit or trough, which, with cold water, they pour upon the ashes to expedite the separation of the salt. When the oyl is boil'd all away, then they let all cool; and taking off the crust of soap, they give it up, thro' a hole in the plancher, into another room, where it is spread upon a floor, and smoothed the thickness of a brick, with a brass instrument used by one man's hand. After the soap is dried, they cut it into the shape of long bricks, there being nicks in the borders of the beds the soap is spread in, on purpose to direct the instruments to cut it into oblong parallelograms; this done they pare these pieces, and free them from impurities which may stick to them as the soap is spread in the beds; for they are strewed always with lime-dust to hinder the soap from sticking. They use a plane to pare with, and the pieces are divided into less with a wire, and then knock the seal on.

The reason why they mix kelp with the Berillia, is, because the latter alone would make the soap too soft, and the first too brittle.

To colour the soap green, they take the juice of Beta, a good quantity of it, and put it into the caldrons with the lixivium and oyl. The Germans desire it thus. Perhaps the nitre in the juice may add some vigour to the soap.

The fire is continual, and the liquor always boils till the operation be finish'd.

The canons della Donna di Loreto wear purple habits.

One day when we were at Venice, a good quantity of English scarlet cloth was burnt publicly in St. Mark's place, it being unlawful here for strangers to bring in some commodities, which they burn as soon as discover'd. Wine is given to the hospital, but the casks and boats it is brought in, are burnt.

The wines in request are, 1. Vin. Rosso & Garbo; 2. Vinum Creticum sive Malvaticum; 3. Vinum Hispanicum; 4. Vinum Censenanum.

The citizens and noblemens houses of Venice, have all their doors to the street, open'd by a latch which is lifted up with a wire that is pull'd above in the upper rooms, as we observ'd at Augsburg in Germany. The upper rooms are floor'd with a fine plaister, which is laid very smooth, and colour'd with a shining red very neatly; and in the middle of the room they usually lay a long piece of green cloth to walk on.

Sansovinus, in his description of the city, says, There are 70 parishes in it, every parish having a church. The compass of Venice is eight miles. It hath 31 monasteries for men, and 28 nunneries. There are more than 450 stone bridges, between 9 and 10,000 gondali. The grand canal is in length, from the sea custom-house to St. Clara, 1300 paces.

A Venetian Braccia is equal to $26\frac{3}{4}$ inch, which is to measure cloth by: the silk measure is equal to about 25 inches, or $25\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

Measures.
Braccia di
lana.
Braccia di
seta.

About the middle of October 1663. there was a great storm of thunder and lightning one night, and soon after the winter began, which was very sharp sometimes; and about the beginning of February the weather grew warm again.

Some of the Venetian noblemen are so poor, by reason of their debaucheries and ill husbandry, that they go to strangers lodgings, and beg their charity. At several times there were two used to come to our lodging in their gowns and caps, asking our relief with a great deal of humility. We were told, that there is a publick purse to maintain them, and that some of them do live according to their quality, keeping house, a gondola or two, and yet go up and down a begging.

When any die in a shop-keeper's house, the shop windows are shut up for three or four days, and on the outside is written the death of the person, *ex gr. Per la Morte del Fratello del Padrone*, which in English signifies, For the death of the master of the house his brother.

There is in Venice sometimes a naked man or woman hired for the painters to draw the muscles of the body by; the naked person being expos'd in a publick room provided by the master of the academy, every painter giving somewhat.

Venice treacle is famous, and is carefully compounded by several apothecaries; two or three noblemen, and two or three of the physicians college, being always present.

A young

A young *Irish* priest visited us, who is tutor to a son of procurator *Mocenigo*, one of the richest noblemen in this republick. All commerce with *Amsterdam* and *Holland*, was, by *lando* or proclamation, forbidden here, because of the plague.

Bernacle-shells.

We observed a great number of bernacle shells sticking to the sides of an old *Engliff* vessel which lay here at this time. These bernacles we afterwards observed sticking to the back of a tortoise we took between *Malta* and *Sicily*, and saw them in the fish-market at *Rome*.

The *Venetian* noblemen, in the winter, have their gowns furr'd; and one side before is lined with the white or belly of a *Muscovy* squirrel, and the other side with the back or grey of the fur; which they changed. In the first part of the winter they folded the white over the grey, and after *Christmas* the other. They girt in cold weather their gowns about with a black leather girdle fringed, having silver buckles before. The place where they walk in the piazza, is call'd *Il Broglia*.

Venetian women.

All the young women (except the ordinary common whores) are close kept within by their jealous husbands and parents: and the gentlewomen, when they go abroad, as to mafs, &c. are attended by old women, who observe their behaviour; the old woman being one of the first things the husband provides after he is marry'd: and one old woman will undertake the care of three or four gentlewomen, getting a good living by this means; and sometimes they prove bawds underhand. Few women walk the streets besides the old bawds, &c. who wear a black scarf or white linen over their heads and shoulders. Those of better quality have, instead of a black scarf, a white one, which they put over head and shoulders in the manner of a veil, and shew but little of their faces abroad in the streets. Most of the noblemens daughters are put into nunneries after they are come to some age, where they live till they are marry'd out. The suitors scarce ever see them till the wedding day, all the business being transacted by the parents and the mediation of an old woman, &c. The greatest matches are solemnized with balls and open house-keeping for three days for all comers, and then the gentlewomen meet and play at cards together by themselves. No women but such as are counted courtesans look out of their windows. The *Venetian* women are generally of a low stature. Those that are fatish, and but indifferently handsome, are reputed beauties.

netian toms.

The inhabitants of *Venice* cloath themselves very warm in the winter. The shopkeepers wear gowns, and most of the women have loose coats lined with fur; and

some of the men and women have their shoes lined with cloth, &c. The hostesses in inns, when they go up and down their houses in the night, carry a little iron lamp in their hands, which is like the old *Roman* ones.

The common sort of people, as porters, gondaliers, &c. are insolent exactors of strangers, if they be not agreed withal before you hire them.

The generality are well habited; and every one of the lowest quality (except beggars) wear a gold ring or two, and the women have also bracelets, &c.

The beggars that are lame, &c. lie on bridges at church doors, &c. and beg for *S. Antony's*, for *S. Antony* of *Padua's* sake, &c.

Most tradesmen make no conscience of asking at least twice as much as they intend to take, tho', at first, they will repeat variety of oaths, that they cannot afford the commodity cheaper: yet they have this good quality; if they give you bad money, they will change it four or five days after. Their shop signs are taken down every night. They write under the sign what it is; and some of the signs are absurd, as the two *Jesus's*, the two *St. Peter's*, &c.

The *Venetians*, (as all *Italians* do) swear frequently, *per Dio*, *per Dio santo*, *per Diana*, *Corpo di Christo*, *per Christo*, *Cospetto di Dio*, *Cospetto di Diana*, &c. Some will make a cross, and then say, *per questa Croce*. Others will say, *per Catzo di Dio*, *per Puttano di Dio*. When they scornfully admire any thing, they say *Catzo*, *Heibo*: and if they see any thing very strange, they will sometimes cross themselves.

The *Venetians* are not counted by the highest sons of the church, very good catholicks, and therefore they say *Venetiani mezzo Christiani*, i. e. *Venetians* are half christians.

The *Italians* roast their meat over the Italian coals, and boil their meat for the most part in pipkins. They strew scraped cheese on most of their dishes, and eat much garlick, which they put into most of their sawces. *Vide Mr. Ray's* observations.

When three persons walk together, that every one may have the middle by turns, they walk thus, *A B C*, from one end of the walk to the other. *B* steps back to the left before *A*, who coming behind, steps into the middle; then *A* steps back to the right before *C*, who coming behind, steps into the middle.

There is this usual *Latin* rhyme on the monks,

Monachorum Stomachi
Pocula Bacchi
Vos estis, Deus est Testis,
Populi Pestis.

SKIPPON.

Gioco
d'amore.

The *Italians* have a sport which they call *Gioco d'amore* (*digitorum lusus seu micatio*) which is thus; two stand together with their hands clutch'd, and both of them, just at the same time jerk out of their hands, and stretch out what number of fingers they please, each of the players naming a number, and he that chanceth to name the number of fingers thrown out by both parties, wins. *Ex. gr.* If one throws out three, and the other two, and one says five, he wins; but if both hit on the same number, and say five, neither win. A game or set is to win the first five, ten, &c. All the art is in speaking the number, jerking out the hand, and stretching out the fingers in the same instant of time; for if they should not do so, he that can see the other's finger first stretched out might always win. Three, four or more may play together; but usually there are but two, tho' many will very attentively look on.

This was a sport among the old *Romans*; for *Cicero*, in his third book of offices, page 129, speaks of a common proverb; *Cum enim fidem alicujus, bonitatemque laudant, dignum esse dicunt, qui cum in tenebris Mices* (i. e. *Mices digitis*) i. e. Such a one is a very honest man, you may trust him.

Their clocks here have their dials marked not as ours, but are figur'd from one to 24, and they count from six of the clock at night till six in the evening; therefore if it be our seven at night, they call it one hour of the night, and so the clock strikes, and so it is for the day.

The first foundation of *St. Mark* was laid on the first of *March* 421. and therefore they begin the year on that day, says *Leti*.

A very
little man.

We saw at *Venice* a very little man, three quarters of a *braccia* high; his name was *Daniel Sack*, aged 46 years, born at *Japan*. His voice was manly: he had a beard and face like a man: his hands and fingers were monstrous, having short pads and fingers without any bones in them: his feet and toes were not very unlike his hands: he stood with his legs across, and ate tobacco, &c. His father was a hand-ful higher, and lived at this time in *Genoa*; and his mother came of a small generation which hath continued for many ages in *Japan*.

All that come from *Turky* or any infected places, are shut up in the lazaretto (a place where all necessities and conveniencies are provided) for 40 days; but if any of the company should fall sick in that time, they are confined for 40 days longer.

From *Venice* to *London* the merchant pays for freight usually about 4 l. 10 s. sterling every ton.

Signior Pietro Paolo Campana was my merchant.

Jo. Baptist. Ferro, an apothecary of *Venice*, is very well skill'd in plants, and hath fair books of dry'd plants, and one book with plants drawn rarely well with a pen.

The ground in *Italy* (as we observed) did not chop or open with chinks in the heat of summer, as it does in *England*.

The art of painting upon glass at *Venice*.

1. To make the *Carnation colour*; take one part of iron dust that is beaten off by smiths, one part of bloodstone, half a part of gum arabick, and as much jet as the weight of all together; grind all upon a copper-plate, sprinkling water upon them (or mixing water with them) then mingle them with water to the thickness of milk, and set them in the sun for two or three days till they settle; pour off the top, throw away the dregs at the bottom, and let the rest dry in the sun.

2. To make another *Carnation colour*; take the same iron dust, one part, twice as much jet, and one part of the silver stone letters are dry'd withal, as much red chalk as the weight of all together; grind and dry them as before.

3. *Yellow*; take one part of burnt silver-lace, twice as much antimony, and four times as much brimstone; put all in a crucible, and let the brimstone be burnt away; then grind and dry as before. *Memorandum*, to put nine times as much yellow ochre and grind, &c.

4. *Grey colour*; take one part of iron dust, as much jet, then grind, &c. as before. This is the ground for other colours.

5. *Grey colour*, which is to hold, and not be painted over; take one part of iron dust, half of red copper dust, twice as much jet as all together, grind them fine, and keep them without drying in the sun.

6. *Light purple*; take one part of bloodstone, twice as much jet; grind, &c.

7. *Red*; take three parts of menie, one part of bloodstone, and six times as much jet, then grind, &c. and keep it for use.

8. Another *carnation colour*; take one part of yellow burnt ochre, and two parts of jet, grind, &c.

9. The colour of jet that is used in all these, is made of half of a very white pellucid sea pebble, which must be burnt and put hot into water to make it fall to powder, and grind it upon a stone without water; melt in a crucible, and keep it for use: half a part of menie must be taken.

10. *White*; take two parts of jet, one of glass, painters green, half a part of strow

strow blue (*Qu. an stone-blue?*) grind them in water, &c.

II. *Blue*; take one part of strow-blue, one third ægle marine, *i. e.* mollie, which goldsmiths enamel blue with, grind in water, &c.

Note; To work the grey or ground colour, take of the same grey colour about the bigness of a small nut, grind it two hours upon a copper-plate; take also as much gum arabick as the bigness of a pea, grind it and keep it in a copper dish; mingle the same quantity of gum in water, and pour it upon it; and if in summer (to keep it from drying, and to make it stick the better to the glass) pour a drop or two of stale; with this draw the out-lines upon glass, and let it dry a day or two; then with a great soft pencil or brush lay another ground very smooth of the same grey; then let it dry as before, and lay the same colour thicker the third time, where you would have shades; then with a pen without a slit, scratch away the ground colour (where you would heighten the colour) to the bare glass: let the glass be very dry, and lay on the carnations for the face, hands, &c. then the red colours, if there be need of any, and then the whites for linen, satin, &c. then blue, green, and purple; and last of all the yellow upon the bare glass, on the wrong side of it.

Note; All the colours are laid on in gum water. When this is done, lay a floor of unburnt lime in an oven; upon that lay clear glass a finger's distance from the sides of the oven, or else it will break; upon the clear glass lay the painted glass, with the coloured side upwards; upon that lay a floor of unburnt lime very finely powder'd; upon which, if you have more painted glass, lay another floor, with the colours downwards, and, as near as you can, the same colours one above another, green over green, &c. and so one floor of glass and another of lime, &c. Over the uppermost floor lay four or five panes of several colours, as green, red, &c. some also at the bottom under all, and some above all, and some in the middle between the floors. These are to be taken out with a pair of tongs to see whether the glass be burnt enough; for if they look clear and transparent, they may all be taken out; but as long as they appear dark and not pellucid, you must let them lie in still: the mouth of the furnace must be stop'd with thin tiles, leaving a little hole in the middle, and at every corner, to put in charcoal. When the oven has been heated three or four hours with charcoal, put in beech-wood, very well dry'd, for eight or nine hours, or till the glass

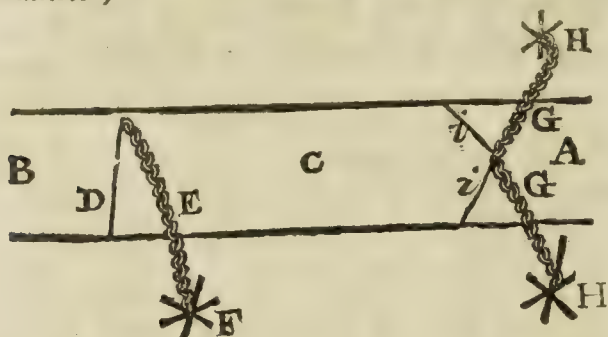
be burnt enough. Let the furnace or oven SKIPPER. cool for three or four days before you take out the glass; for if it be not thoroughly cool, the glass will break; and after it is cool'd and taken out, rub off the yellow on the back-side with a hard brush, there being always enough of the tincture drunk in by the glass. The lime floors must be half a finger thick, and must always be spread so that the glass may be in a plain.

The pan in the furnace must be two feet long, one foot and an half broad, half a foot deep, the sides of the pan about a finger thick. This pan must be set upon an iron grate in a greater furnace, so that there may be a hand's-breadth distance quite round the sides, and a hand's-breadth above; but underneath where the fire is to be put, two hands-breadth: the thickness of the sides must be half a brick. Both the trough or pan and the furnace must be made of the best earth to endure the fire. The furnace is left quite open at top; and at equal distances are laid three iron bars or plates cross-ways, which are three fingers broad. Upon these must be laid thin tiles made of the same earth, in number eight, four in a row on either side, made so, that every tile may rest upon half of two of the bars, and in the middle there must be a hole left, and one at each corner. By stopping or opening these five holes the fire may be increased or abated; the chinks between the tiles must be stopp'd with lime mingled with hair, or any good cement. At the front of the furnace are two holes, the lower-most, under the grate (upon which the trough stands) to put in fire at; the uppermost above the grate, thro' which they take out the panes of glass, to see whether the painted glass be enough. These must both have stoppers fitted for them to take out and put in, as in chymical furnaces.

Thursday, Decemb. 3. About an hour before day we entred the *Padua* bark, a large boat covered like our barges, and went from the middle of the grand canal, pass'd by *Santa Chiara* and the *Giudecca*, then came by a pair of gallows in the water, whereon hung the quarters of *Turkish* pirates; after this we went by *St. George* . . . a monastery in a little island; and a good distance off, on our left hand, saw the island call'd *St. Angelo*, where gunpowder is made for the republick of *Venice*; then came into the mouth of a river between marshes; and at five miles distance from the city, pass'd by *Fusina*, a small village on our right hand, where the boat was dismiss'd which tow'd our bark, every one giving four soldi. Here came out a long-boat with 10 or 12 oars, who presently

SKIPPON sently boarded us, and searched all trunks, portmanteau's, &c. One gentleman had all his ribband taken away, which he had bought to trim a new suit with, because it was whole in the piece. At this place we pass'd a *fostegno* or sluice, after this manner;

Sluice.



The stream of the river ran from *A* to *B*; and supposing the boat coming down the stream, it stays at *A* till the water of *C* is of the same level, which is done by opening little sluices or portelli *ii*, in the two valvæ, which make an obtuse angle against the stream. When the superficies of the water *A* and *C* is even, then the valvæ are drawn open by chains *G G*, which are wound up the turnstiles *H H*; then the boat enters, and the valvæ are shut again. After this a portello at the gate *D* is open'd, and the water of *C* falls by degrees to the level of *B*; then the gate is drawn open by the chain *E*, and wound up the turnstile *F*, for the boat to pass down stream.

Five miles from this sluice we came by *Oviago*, a village on the right hand, and pass'd thro' a third sluice (having pass'd the second soon after that which is describ'd); we came here into the *Brent*, a large river, which hath a long wooden bridge over it. The stream of the river is divided at this place into two currents, and makes a small island, on one side whereof is a row of mills driven by the stream. We pass'd a fourth sluice five miles before we reach'd *Padua*, and left the main river on the right hand, entering a straight cut, which lasted to the walls of that city. At the fourth sluice there is a brick bridge of two large arches over the river *Brent*, and a bridge of one arch over the sluice. At every sluice is an inscription set up by the republick, signifying the several rates.

Between *Fusina* and the fourth sluice are many pretty *villæ* or country houses seated by the water-side, that belong to *Venetian* noblemen. One about the middle of the way is large and handsome, which is *D. Valerius* his son's. From the fourth sluice to *Padua* there is no building worth the notice. Two miles before we arriv'd at *Padua*, many porters got into our boat, being

importunate to carry our luggage; and landing at the portello gate, where there *Padua* is a fair ascent by stone steps, a great number of rude porters crowded into the bark, for to be employ'd in carrying the passengers things.

During our stay in this city we observ'd these particulars following. First we went to *St. Anthony's* church, call'd *Il Santo*, which is a fair and large building within. On the north side that saint's body is enshrined in a chapel adorned with admirable brass sculpture, expressing the most notable circumstances of *St. Anthony's* life: the figures of men and women are lively carved. The workmen were *Tullius Lombardus* and *Joan. Sansovinus*. Devout people go behind the altar, and kiss the marble that contains the saint's body, which, they say, always gives a sweet smell, that more probably is caused by perfumes the monks craftily will have the people believe to be the odour of a dead carcass. A *Venetian* nobleman, upon his recovery from a sickness, gave to this altar a picture of massy silver.

Within this shrine is inscrib'd,

Anno Christi Natalibus MDXXII. Petite et accipietis. Onerati estis et ego reficiam vos. Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis.

There is a marble ascent to the choir, and a curious carv'd pair of brass gates between a marble rail. This was given by a friar, and the value of it is esteem'd at 2500 crowns. In the roof of the church are six cupole. Behind the choir is a walk, and many chapels round about. In the chapel at the east end is a stone thus inscrib'd to *Andreas Argolus*, a mathematician.

D. O. M.

1. *Andreas Argolus ex S. C. Eques D. Marci et in Pattav. Gymn. P. Matheseos Professor. pro familia sua inter Marfos jamdudum clarissima, non magis quam pro Rep. Astronomica improbis pene laboribus perfunctus animum æternæ quieti advortens. V. S. L. M. ætatis anno LXXVII Red. Mundi CIOIOCLVIII.*

*Nobilitas, virtus, proles, absentia, honorq;
Auxit non patriam sustulit invidiam
Astrorum motus omnes arcanq; prompsit
Dextera, Mens hæret qui movet astra Deo.*

Præfides Nosocomii D. Francisco dicati ad quod cum Turchette genti hæreditate jus sacelli hujus pervenit Viro præstantissimo ac celeberrimo locum monumenti summo assensu concesserunt. Anno Sal. MDCXLVIII Kal. Junii.

There

There are these inscriptions following on the tombs of Sylvaticus, Sala, and Vestlingius, in this church.

2. Perenni famæ Jo. Bapt. Sylvatici Pat. Patricii Eq. e Consultor. Primarii I. Pont. Interpretis, cujus imprimis muneribus facundiam, fidem, consilium patria semper suscepit, Academiae fecundum, acumen pleno Gymnas. Venerata est, quem certatim Principes ob magnum rerum usum amplis præmiis evocarunt Natio Germ. juristar. Patrono et Advocato heu quondam suo optime merito unanimis P. An. Salut. MDCXXIX.

3. Joanni Dominico Sala Patavino Medicorum Principi Qui antiqua artis miracula revocans fugientes animas non semel repressit membrisq; suis hæere compulit, et ad demerendos laude postera mortales per sex et triginta annos salutis arcana florentiss. gymnasio evulgans id plures docuit quod pæne solus poterat, Jacobus et Franciscus Filii Parenti optimo P. P. Vixit annos LXV. decessit anno MDCXLIII.

4. Joanni Vestlingio Mindano Equiti Naturæ Veriq; scrutatori solertissimo qui sapientiæ atq; exoticarum stirpium studio, Ægypto peragrata ab Veneto senatu rei herbariæ et corporum sectioni præfectus, eum Latinitatis et Græcæ Eruditionis cultum mutis artibus circumfudit ut illic Naturæ ludentis pompam æmuleretur hic spectaculi diritatem oratione deliniret, ut quantum oculi paterentur tantum sibi placerent aures ad extremum laboris fractus dum miseræ plebi gratuitam operam commodat noxio contactu publicæ saluti Vitam impendit. xxx mens. Aug. An. Chr. CIOIOCLIX. Ætat. LI. Joannes Pueppa Lotharingus Socero B. M. P. Curantibus Octavio Ferrario et Joanne Rhodio.

At a chapel in this church is inscribed,

Ad digniorem sanctissimi corporis Christi custodiam sacellum hoc ex pia concessione illustriss. D. D. factum à Lei. Com. Sanguineti obtentum Ven. agr. Arc. S. Antonii ære suo ampliavit et exornavit, dominio jureq; eorundem ac successorum Salvo. MDCLI.

Under a Statue in the chapel,

Dux Bello insignis Dux et victoribus armis
Inclytus atq; animis Gattamelata fui
Narnia me genuit, media degente, meoq;
Imperio, Venetum sceptræ superba tulit
Munere me digna et statua decoravit equestri
Ordo senatorum, nostraq; pura fides.

Before this church is Gattamelata's figure on a brass horse upon a pedestal, whereon are these verses,

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Te quoq; Joannes Antoni immitia fata
Morte licet doleant, eripuerunt tamen.
Clara tibi fama, necnon victoricia signa
Inq; acie Virtus, fulminis instar erat
Unica spes hominum, nam tu juvenilibus armis
Consilio fueras et gravitate senex.
Gattamelata Pater decorant pietasq; fidesq;
Ingenium, mores, nomen et eloquium.

Decemb. 15. being Christmas day, new stile, we heard one of the Franciscan friars this church belongs to, make a sermon in the afternoon. After he had done, two (of the four) organs played, and other musick till the evening. Before the musick began, the prior with six monks in their cloth of silver copes, went to the north side of the choir nigh the altar; then two other stood (each with a candle in his hand) before them, whilst the prior said something, and crossed himself; then he sat down in a red velvet chair, having three monks on each side of him, who sat down by him, and pulled white coifs over their heads, and the two candles were carryed away.

We heard a sermon another time in this church: the friar first bowed to the crucifix in the pulpit, then crossed himself and said an Ave Maria. He repeated his text in Latin. About the middle of the sermon several of the lay-brothers went up and down among the people with little purses at the ends of long staves, receiving of alms.

Cardinal Bembi's monument is in this church.

Santa Justina's church is stately within, finely paved with marble. It hath great pillars and cupoli in the roof: it is after the fashion of S. Georgio Maggiore at Venice, but bigger. The front was not yet covered with marble, as is intended. Here are few altars and ornaments, except what is in the choir; the convent of Benedictines this church belongs to, being charged with taxes during the present war with the Turks. St. Justina's body lies under the high altar, which hath a canopy over it that hangs down from the roof. The altar is marble, and curiously adorned with Mosaic work. Behind it is this inscription,

S. Justina's church.

Divæ Justinae mortales exuvias, Arcana Urbis
pignora tot seculorum depositum Civium
pietate mille cladibus ereptum Monachi
Cassinenses regia templi mole complexi Veneta
Majestate cuncta reserente his demum penetralibus sacrarunt An. MDCXL.

On each side this altar is an organ very richly gilt. Behind the altar is the choir,

SKIPPON. the seats whereof are wood, and rarely carved with the story of our Saviour's miracles and sufferings. Before every stall is a box of bran or saw-dust, which saves the floor from spit. The middle of the choir is neatly paved, and a long box of bran stands there. At the east end is a rich picture.

The convent is great and well built, consisting of four or five fair courts: one is large, and cloistered with handsome pillars. In one of the cloisters are these inscriptions,

1. *D. O. M. Albertinus Mussatus Poeta Laureatus hic denuo funeratur, ut Nominis charitati par cineribus sit in hac luce splendor.*
2. *Pie Abbatum ac Monachorum Memoriam Quorum sepulchra altera extructo Cæmeterio hic desierunt, ut Posteris his persolvant quod sibi exoptant P. X. Kal. Junii MDCIII.*

Silentium is written over the picture of a lizard, and a goose with a stone in her

mouth. The monks have convenient cells, and a large cellar well stored with wine: Their revenue is said to be 100,000 ducats *per annum*.

Nigh the church is a great green piazza, called *Prato della Valle*, where S. Antony's fair is kept, and where the gentry make the tour with their coaches in pleasant weather. Every first *Saturday* of all the months is a market of beasts here, for which no toll is paid.

A fair building here, whereon is inscribed;

Collegium Amuleum à M. Antonio Cardinali Amuleo, Propinquorum Commodo ac Reip. Ornamento institutum, Joannes Baptista Bernardus, M. Antonius Grittus, Augustinus Amuleus erexerunt.

The schools are a handsome building, largely described in *Gymnasium Patav. Schottus*.

In the roof of the cloisters are the names of these *Englishmen*, under their coats of arms.

Geo. Rogers
Tho. Sheaf, *Berthensis*
Tho. Cromwell
Gul. Pound
Fra. Houst
Gualt. Wilsford, *Cantuariensis*
Car. Rich.
Tho. Buckenham
Rich. London, *Norfolciensis*
Joa. Dunellus
Gul. Harveus
Hen. Hunerstonus
Bern. Brun, *Westmidensis*
D. Hen. Peyton, *Colonel et Eques*
Ill. D. Alger. Percy, *Baro*
D. Oliv. Cave
Rob. Lloid
Tho. Brandon
Joan. Finciamus
Joan. Fread
Gul. Stokeham, *Angl. Conf.*
Tho. Turnerus
Fra. Willibeo
Laur. Wright
Rich. Lumly

D. Joan. Dalton
Rob. Canfield
Joan. Abdy
Rob. Child, *Cantianus*
Hen. Stanly
Gul. Langham
Levinus Flud, *M. D.*
D. Geo. Rock
Rich. Harris
Joan. Erskin
Gul. Chaloner, *Eques Baro*
Ludov. Chichester
Rich. Sheeletus
Jo. le Rous, *Suff. Anglus, à Cubic. Regis Thesaur.*
Petrus Ball, *Devon. Consiliarius*
Tho. Hungerford
Tho. Morris
Jacobus Parravacinus, *Ph. et M. D.*
Tho. Harpour
Joan. Hauruins
Ric. Vitus
Joan. Mapletost
Carolus Willughby
Tho. Lawrence

Odoard Pax
Anton. Rooper
Joan. Rooper
Petrus Vavasour
Gabriel Onifield
Joan. Kirton
Tho. Browne
Hen. Tichbourne
Joan. Frewen
Edw. Cholmely
Tho. Peyton, *Armiger*
Tho. Haruris, *Cantii*
Edw. Varner
Fra. Povy
Alex. Balaam
Gul. Leet
Tho. Cademan
D. Rob. Poyntz
Jacob Griffidinus, *Cardiff.*
Tho. Turnerus
Joan. Finch
Tho. Baines
Jacobus Randolphus
Rob. Henchman
Ill. et Ecc. D. Isaac Wake, *Eques, et M. Brit. Regis Legatus Anglus.*

All these names are under *Anglica Natio*, and besides 'em are these of other countries, viz. *Georgius Lombardus, Cretensis, Annibal Cornacceus, Casulanus.*

These following inscriptions are made to some *English*, that studied in this university;

Ricardo Wilobeo Anglo Vicario bene Merenti. M. P. G. 1611

The arms of this and the forementioned *Fra. Willughby* are quarterly; the first hath three water budgets; the second is gules a lion passant arg. the third is sable a fesse arg. between three heads of the same; the fourth is the same with the first. *Charles Willughby's* coat is three budgets, &c.

In the lower cloister, under the marble picture of Mr. Finch, (since knighted) is inscribed;

Privilegiorum Scholasticorum acerrimo Defensori nec non Restauratori Joanni Finch Nobili Anglo, qui fasces sibi renuenti publica acclamatione delatos mira animi nobilitate simul ac moderatione gessit hoc tantæ Virtutis, præmium sibi adhuc regenti decretum renuit, quod tamen universitas jurist. Anno subsequente restabiliuit. Prorect. ac Syndico Mariono Nob. Veronensi Regiminis ac Virtutum hærede. Anno Salutis MDCLVII.

*Tho. Baines, Nob.
Anglus, Consil. & Assessor.
Michael Marchius, Nob.
Apulus, Consil. & Assessor.*

The law-schools is a great room, where there is another inscription to the same person, viz.

Immortali Famæ Joannis Finchii Nobilis Angli, qui Syndicatum non ambivit sed admisit, Violentia enim amorque nesciens frænum invitis humeris magistratus togam imposuit quam ille dignitati suæ restituit privilegia hujus Archigymnasii nutantia confirmavit deperdita recuperavit ita ut qui Bove lætante intraverit eodem gemente exiverit Universitas juristarum H. P. M. P. C. Anno Domini MDCLVII.

In the upper cloister is a marble picture, to Dr. Stokeham, and this inscription;

Quod intueris Marmor Spectator expressit Virtutis admiratio in illustrissimo Gulielmo

*Henricus Lindefavus
Alexand. Falconarius
Tho. Somervil, Cambus-
nethensis Glottianus
Ant. Lantrophes
D. Arrig. Erskin*

*Henr. Suenton
Gul. Cranstonus
Rob. Newton, Edinburg.
Joan. Mineus, Edinb.
Georg. Sibbaldus
Nicol. Harus*

*Tho. Forbes
Patricius Clunensis, Ref-
sens
Tho. Camerarius
Rob. Bodins
Jacobus Cadenendus, Aberd.*

An inscription under Henr. Lindefavus's coat of arms, which is printed in *Gymnasium Patavinum*.

On a wall is written;

Almæ Universitatis DD. Consiliariorum perenne Decus marmoreis stemmatibus P. meritis expressum P. C.

Over a school door is inscribed;

Ad Lauream studiorum cultoribus Sermæ Reip. auctoritate conferendam ob polymathiam Hieronymus Lando Eques in Prætura erexit, Anno MDCXXVII.

*Stokeham Nob. Anglo, qui ingenti expecta- SKIPPON.
tione acclamatus Prorec. & Synd. ingenita
Minerva vicit expectationem traditum sibi
privilegiorum firmavit jus, alienatum asse-
ruit impensis quotannis perperam erogatis
levavit ararium cujus rationibus accurate
expediendis futuro consuluit augmento Pro-
rect. posteris æmulando plenius acclamationi-
bus dein Calculis Unanimis hoc Mnemosynon
grata statuit Univer. jur. An. MDCLXI.
Reg. Parmenione Trissino Co. Vic. &
Nob. Veron.*

In the law schools is another to the same, under his coat of arms;

Gloriæ Immortali Gulielmi Stokeham Nobilis Angli Prorectoris & Syndici cujus summa moderatio ad sui exemplar componens juventutem Euganiæ Themidi insuetam conciliavit quietem, qua Urbis & Gymnasii Patavini moderatores rarâ administratione sibi percaros devinxit univ. juristarum DD. Anno MDCLXI.

Ludovico Evano Britanno Equiti et Reçtori Dignissimo Universitas juristarum P. C. MDCV.

Adolescenti Eximio Roberto Napiero Nob. Anglo Qui in Athenæi Patavini regimine ut perimat furiales furias, ne feriant et furiant in Mortales justitiæ habenas non frenavit sed strinxit, Archigyceum Artistarum hæc insignia struxit, MDCLXII.

Under Natio Burgundica is Thomas Westby Lancastrensis.

Under Scotia, Gul. Valdegravius Anglus, Joan. Hawkins Anglus, D. Tho. Ryder Anglus; and these Scotchmen, viz.

Near the coats of arms is written;

Bene de Republ. literaria meritorum memoriam ad perpetuum successorum exemplar sic erigi jusserunt.

In the wall of the upper cloister is a stone thus inscribed;

Con decreto dell'excelso consiglio di Dieci de VII Giugno MDCLVII. Fu bandito Gio. Battista Tonessio per haver proditoriamente assassinato et interfetto il Dottor Guid. Antonio Albanese Lettor publico per ingiustissima et iniquissima causa del promajori hauuto nel suo dottorato.

The

SALIPPO.

The university hath this government: The students are of 34 nations, divided into two bodies, 22 are of the university of jurists, (of which number the *English* nation is one) and 12 of the university of artists or physicians.

Not under three of a country, that are matriculated, make a nation, who once a year elect a consul; if they be under that number, the syndic of that body the nation is in chuse a consul where he pleases.

These consuls chuse every year by balloting two syndics; one is called syndic of the jurists, and the other of the artists, each being chosen by the consuls of the two bodies distinctly.

The syndic of the jurists may, if he will, be *Reſtor Magnificus*; but of late the charge of maintaining ſo great an honour hath perſuaded them to be content with the title of syndic, finding the expences of a good table, and the keeping two ſervants in livery, to be enough for ſuch an office: All the profit he receives is a ducat from every doctor created here.

The syndic hath power to command any ſcholar to his lodging, and confine him, if there be fear of quarrelling, &c. if the ſcholar diſobeys, the syndic hath authority to expel him.

The syndics and consuls make the two university ſenates.

None of the profeſſors, or any that have taken the degree of doctor, can be of this government.

The consuls, in proceſſions, take place of the profeſſors.

Every nation hath a profeſſor, or perſon of note, who aſſiſts them in buſineſſes; he is complimented by the conſul, and uſually he is preſented with a new-year's gift, which all the nation contributes towards, giving about half a ſcudo a man.

The conſul looks after the nation's affair, and the syndic minds the buſineſs of all the nations he is choſen for.

Every nation hath a beadle, who brings the book of matriculation to ſuch as are to be admitted in the univerſity, and therein they write their names, and give a piece of money to the beadle. The *English* give a piſtole a man, whereof five livres of *Venice* are given to the beadle, and the reſt is kept for the benefit of the library belonging to the nation: The conſul hath the books in his cuſtody.

In each body, or univerſity, the syndic is one year an *Italian*, and the next year a *Tramontano*.

The manner of creating a doctor.

The day before a doctor is created, the promoter accompanies him to the great college, which is held at the *Domo*; in an adjoining room there are three urns, in which are placed the names of all the books the

puncta or questions are taken out of; the candidate takes out two of the books names, and then the *puncta* of theſe two authors are put ſeverally into two urns, and the candidate draws one out of each. The candidate from that time to the ſame hour the next day is to ſtudy, and make a ſhort diſcourſe upon it. The next day he comes with the promoter and hears maſ, a beadle with his mace attending on them; after that they go up to the forementioned room, where the promoter leaves the candidate alone for a good while; then the promoter returns and ſits by him behind a table at the upper end of the room. The biſhop, or in his abſence a canon, who ſits in a chair on the right hand, and doctors of the faculty, that are gentlemen of *Padua*, with the profeſſors of the ſame faculty the candidate is to be created doctor of, take their ſeats, (being on each ſide of the room) none elſe being admitted except the syndic, who ſits next to the biſhop. When the diſcourſe on the *puncta* is read, three doctors are choſen by lot, the two firſt diſpute againſt the *puncta*, and the third propounds a caſe, which the candidate is to reſolve; when this is done he and his promoter go out, and then the doctors and profeſſors ballot whether he ſhall paſs or no: If he hath all their votes, there is written in his patent, *Nemine penitus atque penitus contradicente*; and if he wants a ——— tho' he hath above half, there is put into the patent, *Pro majore parte*, which *Pro majore* is counted a great diſgrace, and the candidate may reſuſe it, and try for his degree the next year. When the vote is paſſed, the promoter brings him in again, and the beadle opens the door, ſignifying to the ſcholars without, that he is made doctor, which news is received with their applauſe, crying *Viva, Viva*, and ſome of his friends throw verſes about in his commendation; the ſcholars then croud in, crying *Viva, Viva*, again: The biſhop then makes a ſpeech to the new doctor, and a ſhort one to the company; after that drums without beat, and the promoter makes a ſpeech, uſing the ceremonies of our univerſities, giving him a book open and ſhut, a ring, kiſs and cap; then the ſcholars cry *Viva* again: At laſt the beadle places him between the biſhop and the syndic, and then the new doctor thanks every doctor in the room: After this he pulls off his gown and walks home, being attended by his friends, and ſometimes with the ſolemnity of drums beating, &c. The charges of this publick creation are about 100 crowns; and the papiſts who are made doctors ſwear to the pope's bull which proteſtants reſuſing, the republick of

of *Venice* allows a private college, (held at the schools) consisting of eight doctors, who ballot and use all the forementioned formalities except swearing to the bull: Here five suffrages are called a *Pro majore*, and six, seven, or eight are *Nemine contradicente*, and the expences amount not to much above 40 crowns, half of which is deposited before the balloting, and is paid whether the candidate passes or not. Part of these new doctors charges goes to the publick stock, which pays for the arms, inscriptions, and statues erected to the syndics and consuls. The doctor of physick's cap hath narrow brims, and the body of it folded into welts.

Ferrarius's lectures. We heard some of the professors lectures, but those we were most pleased with were *Ferrarius's* lectures. He usually had many auditors, and at several times we heard him discourse of these particulars, viz.

1. That the *Romans* brought in several *Mense*, or tables, one after another, with dishes on them, called, *prima mensa*, *secunda*, *tertia*, &c. sometimes they were so luxurious as to bring in 25. He read on this verse of *Virgil*,

*Postquam exempta fames epulis mensæq.
remota.*

He explained the *Promulsidarium Gustatorium*, that it was a table brought in before the solid meat came, whereon was placed *mulsum*, or *gustus*, i. e. wine mingled with honey; next to this they had a table of slighter fare, among which they used to have artificial eggs made of meal, and little birds peppered; on the table they had the *Zodiac* pictured, and thereon were set *Fercula*, or dishes of meat answering to the figures of the signs, as two mullets on *pisces*, &c. He spoke of the vastness of their *lances*, some for winter, which were called *Argentum Hyemale*, and some for summer, called *Argentum Æstivum*; some of these weighed 100 lb. He mentions one that weighed 500 lb. for which they build furnaces on purpose. He spoke of another way of feasting without tables, when a servant held a dish to every guest.

2. That there were three sorts of *Purpura*, 1. Of the shell; 2. Of an herb, and the third made of cochineal, now in use; the last sort grew so rare among the ancients, that the kings took it upon occasion of great solemnities from one of the gods. He said that the *Roman* boys went in the same habit with the senators, who did not wear purple gowns, but over them a piece of purple which came over each shoulder, and about the middle made a

point where the flaps or ends met, and were called thence *Glavius*.

3. He discoursed of the *Vasa Argentea, Aurea, Myrrhina* and *Vitrea*; he said the antients had the art of carving glass, which was often broke under the workman's hand, and for that he quoted out of *Martial*,

Ab quoties perdidit Author Opus!

The *Vasa Myrrhina* were not known by the antients what matter they were made of, because the *Romans* had them from the *Partians*.

4. He read on *Theophrastus* his characters, and discoursed on the description of a rustick, that he wore shoes too big for his feet, that he wore nails in his shoes, and tucked up his garment immodestly; whence he inferred that the *Grecians* wore no breeches: and proved also that the *Romans* had none, because *Cæsar* when he was killed in the senate-house, let down his habit to cover his nakedness, which he was unwilling should be exposed to publick view after his death.

5. He read about the *Palladium*, and concerning *Talismanical* figures, which gave him occasion to tell several stories, among the rest one of his knowledge, that when he went to school a *Spanish* lieutenant was troubled with an ague, which he cured by writing a few words to this sense, *Febre fuge*, and cutting off a letter from the paper every day, and he observed the distemper to abate accordingly; when he cut the letter *F*. last of all, the ague left him; the same year about 50 more were reported to be cured after that manner.

6. He discoursed on the *Lustrum*, (he said *Lustrum* did also signify *Popina*) why it signifies five years, because the *Exta* of animals were then shewn publicly to the people, who did *lustrare* those entrails, and were at the same time censured. The *Lupercalia* were sacrifices to *Pan*, who was called *Lyceus* by the *Greeks*. The *Luperci* were the priests of *Pan*, who ran about the streets naked, with whips (made of the skins of goats cut into thongs) in their hands, whipping men and women they met with; the women would put out their hands, and be greedy of their blows, *fecunditatis causâ*. This custom he said came from the *Mendusii*, a people in *Egypt*, who did *Hirco subicere Uxores*. The *Purgatio publica et privata*; these purgations were called *Februa*, thence the time was called *Februarius*, the first month of their year. On the 24th of *June*, being the *Natalis Dies* of the city of *Rome*, it was a custom to leap thro' fires, and in the duchy of *Milan* (his native country)

SKIPPON. *Ferrarius* had observed on the same day dedicated to *John Baptist*, boys and men to leap through fires. The *Romans* called this feast *Palillia*, from *Pales* the gods of corn.

The *Amburbia* was another kind of purgation, when they went about the city. The *Ambervalia*, when they did *ambire arva*.

7. He told a story of a duel, or *monomachia* (duelling he said is the same with *bellum*) between two fellows who were thus fitted to fight; the hair of their heads was cut off, that there might be no spell in their hair; their nails were cut, and their habit was of leather; then a tub of grease was brought, with which they anointed their cloaths. Each had a club in his hand of the same length and weight. Before they fell to blows they were both sworn upon a bible, concerning the matter of their strife; one swore the thing was true, and the other denied it upon oath. Sugar was set by them to refresh themselves when they were at any time weary.

He spoke against single combats, and the shootings too frequent among the students, &c.

Marchetti. We heard . . . *Marchetti* read in the physick schools about the *Erysipelas*, and after his lecture (as at the beginning) his auditors cried *Viva*. When he had done here, he went to the hospital nigh the *Franciscans*, where in a little room he discoursed about the *Partus Caesarius*, having the dead body of a woman before him.

At another time he demonstrated the way of tapping the *Abdomen* for a dropsy.

Fra. Bonardus.

We heard *Franciscus Bonardus*, protector of the *English* nation, make one lecture in the physick schools.

Steph. de Angelis.

We heard also *Stephanus de Angelis* (a monk of the order of the Holy Spirit, whose habit was of a cinnamon colour over white) read on a problem in the third book of *Euclid*, and demonstrate the longitude and latitude on a sphere.

If any scholar comes late to a lecture, the rest usually shew their dislike of it by stamping with their feet. When the professor has done they cry *Viva*; then he comes down, and the scholars make a lane for him within the school, and as he passes along he gives them his thanks, and then he stands just without the door and salutes all the scholars as they come out. After this, many of his auditors attend him home. Most of the professors wear gowns. They walk in the cloister about half an hour before the beadle cries *bora Domine*, then the professor follows the beadle into the school, and all the auditors that belong to his lecture go in presently after him.

There are about 11 or 12 schools, an anatomy theatre, and a room where the syndic and the consuls make an university. There are three terms in a year, which they call *Terza's*; about six or seven days before the end of a term, the scholars usually break up, that is, when the professor begins his lecture, the auditors presently make a great noise with stamping, and will not permit him to speak. This term we were in *Padua*, the republick of *Venice* sent order there should be no disturbance, and commanded all professors to continue their lectures notwithstanding the scholars knocking and stamping; in that order a considerable abatement was threatened out of the professors stipends, for every lecture they should miss. The order was obeyed both by professors and students.

The physick garden is of a round figure, and kept neatly; the botanick professor is *Georgius à Turre*, who in the summer reads lectures on plants; he is allowed here a very convenient house to dwell in. The physick garden.

Almost all the *Padua* students (especially the *Italians*) wear pistols in a girdle under their cloaks. One day being at the schools, a pistol was observed to be discharged, which happened by accident, a scholar shewing a new pistol to another, and we took notice that all the students about the schools run out, and had their pistols in their hands, imagining the beginning of a quarrel.

In this city none dare stir abroad after it grows dark, for fear of scholars and others who walk up and down most part of the night, with carbines and pistols, 20 or 30 in a company, every one habited in dark cloaths, their hair under a cap, and a pair of pumps made of an old hat on their feet, that they may walk softly and firm. The streets are generally cloistered, and if any come within hearing, every man stands behind a pillar, and they call out *Che va li?* i. e. Who goes there? and they bid them go back; but if there be another party on the other side of the street, and they will not retire, then they shoot at one another, and will keep each other from moving for a whole night; and at last, without any mischief done, will suffer one another to pass. If one should be wounded, and he cries to confession, they immediately carry him to his lodging (the other party giving leave) and privately endeavour his cure, or if he dies they bury him very silently. When they go thus about, they usually put somewhat in their mouths to counterfeit a strange voice, that they may the better conceal themselves when they take to the contrary side. If they be not well skilled in the streets, and do not under-

Che va li.

understand how to keep their pillars, there is great danger. Sometimes they will let one or two persons pass by them, if they have no suspicion of another party or *Chivali* (for so they term these disorderly night-walks) and if strangers; tho' the safer way is to retire, for oftentimes the *Chivali's* are in drink, and some have been killed for venturing too far. Every night, during our stay in this city, we heard frequent shootings, but no mischief done, except one scholar's being slightly wounded.

The city of *Padua* is governed by a *Podesta*, sent from *Venice* every . . . who as soon as he is chosen makes these four officers.

1. The *Vicario*.
2. *Judex Maleficiorum*.
3. A third called *de Aquila*.
4. A proveditor for victuals, &c. which four are all strangers.

There are 12 *judices Pedanei*, who are *Paduan* gentlemen, chosen by lot once a year out of the *Collegium Juristarum*; and every one hath his name while he is in office, viz. 1. *Orso*. 2. *Volpe*. 3. *Cervo*. 4. *Camelo*. 5. *Cavallo*. 6. *Grypho*. 7. *Bove*. 8. *Porco*. 9. *Afino*. 10. *Scorpione*. 11. *Gambaro*. 12. *Leone*. One told us, that they have distinct courts. For every sentence given they receive four livres; and for a contumacy, *i. e.* when one is cited and does not appear, eight soldi. From these are appeals to the *vicarius*, and from him to the *podesta*, and sometimes from the *podesta* to the council of *Quaranti* at *Venice*.

The *Orso* hath 100 ducats *per annum*, and the rest (except *Camelo*, who hath but 25) 50.

The notaries who make all publick instruments, deeds, &c. for every 100 ducats in the bargain, have 24 soldi for their fee; and for 1000 ducats and upwards, tho' the sum be never so great, they have five ducats.

When they begin a suit, the actor goes first to an advocate, and then fees a *com-manda dore* or *præco* to find out the *Reus*, and demand satisfaction, which, if refused, he is cited to appear in court.

All the *Padua* gentlemen above 30 years old, make a great council, and, by lot, chuse 32, who are the private council. Four of these are *Assessores* with the *podesta*, four are supervisors of the *Mons pietatis*, five are *Provisores sanitatis*; and if the plague be in the city or country, five more are added.

The privy council hears civil causes.

An hundred thousand ducats is the usual rate given by a gentleman of *Padua* to be made a nobleman of *Venice*.

The hospital hath a distinct government to take an account of the revenues (valued at 15000 ducats *per annum*) and to inspect other affairs. The *Collegium Juristarum* chuses by lot 12 noblemen of *Padua* to be governors; and they elect a prior (who is also a gentleman) once a year, and these officers following, for life, viz. a sub-prior, who is a citizen, and hath a house, &c. allowed him; three doctors of physick, who have each 80 ducats *per annum*, and presents on great feasts. They are obliged to come every day and visit the sick. There is also a *Medicus Assistens*. A chirurgion that lives in the city, hath 30 ducats *per annum*; and a *Chirurgus Assistens*, who may give outward medicines, hath six ducats *per week*, a house, bread, wine, &c. The *Assistens* every morning inquires after the condition of the sick, and relates it to the doctors when they come. Two apothecaries; two priests; the *Agens*, who gives out all necessaries for the sick; an *Infirmarius* and an *Infirmaria*, who let blood and attend on the sick persons, looking after the rooms, cloaths, &c. two cooks, two butlers, one baker, a lawyer, a porter, &c.

No sick person can be admitted here by the *Chirurgus Assistens*, if he hath the itch, or any incurable disease, unless he procures a letter from the prior, one of the 12 jurists, or from one of the doctors.

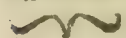
We visited . . . *Marchetti*, younger brother to the professor we heard in the schools, who hath many curiosities in anatomy. We saw the veins, arteries, and nerves dried, and laid out distinctly according to their natural situation, as well as could be done, on three boards, to which they were glewed. The *Nervus sextiparis*, and the veins of the *pulmo* were not done, because they would have obscured and confounded the rest. The veins, &c. are taken out whole, by beating the *parenchyma*, &c. and often macerating in hot water.

We saw also upon a board the branches of the *Vena porta* in the mesentery, liver, and spleen, well pictured.

The great hall called *Palazzo della Ragione*, is a very large room, somewhat narrower and shorter than *Westminster* hall. It hath a stone pair of stairs up to it. At the upper end is an inscription to *Livy* and *Speronius*, both which are mentioned in *Schottus*. Here is also erected a marble effigies of a lady, with this following inscription,

Venerare pudicitiam Simulachrum et Victimam, Lucretiam de Dondis ab horologio Pii.

SKIPPON.



Pii Æneæ de Obizzonibus Orciani Marchionis Uxorem. Hæc inter noctis tenebras maritales asserens tædas, furiales recentes Tarquinii faces casto cruore extinxit. Sicq; Romanam Lucretiam intemerati tori gloria vicit, tantæ suæ Heroïnæ Generosis manibus hanc dicavit aram Civitas Patavina decreto die XXXI Decembris Anni MDCLXI.

The story of this lady's death was thus related to us; That about midnight she was assaulted and stab'd by one that would have violated her chastity; and she crying out, her son overheard her; and coming to her chamber-door, was thrust back by a bloody hand, and struck over the face. The murtherer presently escap'd, and inquiry was made after him. The magistrates imprisoned her husband upon suspicion, but he cleared himself by proving his absence from *Padua* at the same time. A nobleman of *Padua* was also severely examined and rack'd, but he did likewise acquit himself. Notwithstanding, the fore-mentioned son imagining him to be the author of the murder, procured some *Bravi*, who were disguised in rustical habits, and they shot him dead as he was coming out of the *Santo* one morning from mass. Some of the *Padua* gentleman's company let fly immediately, and killed two of the *Bravi*. The rest hastened away with the marquis's son to the nearest gate, where they had horses ready. The marquis's son was published a banditto for this fact. He went afterwards to *Rome*, whence he was also banished for giving a cuff on the ear to one of the pope's court.

Many in *Padua* think the marquis himself, being jealous, was the cause of his wife's death; but to the best of our inquiry little satisfaction could be given.

Courts of judicature are kept in this hall, which is well floored with a plaister. On each side of it is a portico with marble pillars and rails of a red colour, and below on each side is another portico. Over four doors here are the marble pictures of four famous men, and inscriptions under them printed in *Schottus*.

1. *Paulus* the jurist holding a book, whereon is written, *Locus rectè jus appellatur*.

2. *Albertus*, having a book thus inscrib'd, *Beati qui custodiunt judicium, et faciunt justitiam in omni tempore*.

Over this figure is a picture of the *Trinity*, being here blasphemously represented by an old man with three faces and three beards.

3. *Livy*, with a book wherein is written, *Parvus ignis magnum sæpe excitavit incendium*.

4. *Apponus*.

Podesta's
palace.

Adjoining to this hall is the *podesta's* palace, where, in one room, are many

inscriptions set up by the university in honour to the several *podesta's*.

I transcrib'd that which was made for the last, viz.

Bernardo Donato Prætori optimo fascibus domi forisq; conspicuo, sanguine magno, Virtute maximo; Qui summa vigilantia, pietate ac prudentia populo annonam, gymnasio pacem, urbi beatitatem, omnium supra fidem præstitit, Viro omnibus seculis invidendo, in observantiæ cultusq; triumphum hoc ex cordibus coacervatum monumentum Publicus jurist. Ordo D. et C. An. Dom. MDCLX. exequente Syn. ac Pro-re. Gulielmo Stokeham Nob. Anglo.

A fair stone pair of stairs leads up to a hall of the *podesta's* house, which was hung round with pictures, and adorned with statues and inscriptions. Three inscriptions are under the picture of *Franciscus Grimanus*; the pictures of *Hieronymus Justinianus* and *Joan. Venerius* have also inscriptions. A coat of arms here with *Richard Trevor Conf. Anglus*, written on it. A handsome little court with a double portico, the uppermost whereof is painted with arms, &c. On one side is a fair and large library, having over one of the doors this inscrib'd,

Senatus Venetus Musis Euganeis An. Dom. MDCXXXII. Francisco Ericio Duce.

Over the other door,

Ἡ Ὀπλοθήκη Ἀθῆνας.

Quæ ex SC ad Ædem D. Mar. Magdal. primum, posita Fran. Mauroceno DMP. Hier. Cornel. Eq. et DMP. et Dominico Molino RL. IIIVIRI. Vince Capello Præt. et Petro Sagredo PV. ut in hanc basilicam redigeretur successit Aloys. Valareff. Eq. P. V. Fran. Mauroc. DMP. Hier. Cornel. Eq. et DMP. et Petrus Foscarenus IIIViri Auctores facti MDCXXXII. Kal. Octobris Fran. Pisano Præt. Aloys. Valer. Eq. P. V.

The *domo* is a very mean church: the choir is raised up many steps. In the south wing is a handsome brass canopy over an altar of marble. A monument here to queen *Bertha* and her husband. The monument of the *Zabarels* are in this church, mentioned in *Schottus*. Under the choir is the body of *St. Daniel* (one of the patrons of *Padua*, whose feast is 24 Dec. S. N.) enshrined in a marble altar, having the story of his death, &c. well carved in brass.

In the bishop's court, differences among the clergy, divorces, &c. are heard. The bishop is chief judge; next to him is the *Vicarius*,

Vicarius, the chancellor, vice-chancellor, two notaries, two advocates, and one *Fiscalis*. In a vacancy the chapter chuses a *Vicarius* and two *Oeconomi* to look after affairs.

Nigh the piazza del *Capitaneo* is a fair prison, and another handsome large building call'd *Mons pietatis*, where there is a stock or bank of money, which is lent upon pledges brought in by the poor, &c.

Mons pietatis.

Jesuits college.

The *Jesuits* college was visited by us, where we had discourse with an *English* father, one *Barton* or *Hamerton*, who is reputed an ingenious scholar, skill'd in astronomy and other parts of mathematicks. He seem'd to be somewhat discontented at many things in his own order, &c. and afterwards we heard he made a private escape out of this college, and in disguise went for *England*.

There were not above twelve or fourteen *Jesuits* in this place; that order being little regarded in the state of *Venice*, especially in *Padua*, though they behav'd soberly.

Arena.

The *Arena* was formerly an amphitheatre, but is now the court-yard before signior *Mocenigo's* palace, which is built at the farther end, amphitheatre-wise.

Signior Mantua's palace.

Signior *Mantua's* palace is a handsome building, where, in the court, is a huge statue of *Hercules* standing on a pedestal carv'd with goats heads, &c. this inscription on it,

Hercules Buphiloponus Bestiarius qui tristitiam orbis depulit omnem peramplo hoc signo Mantuæ Cura reflorescit.

Here is also an old stone thus inscrib'd,

C PAPIRIUS
CL
SODALIS SIBI
FI FLONIAE
LL MVRRAE
VXSORI
V .. E

An ancient head here of stone, and another being a masqued head, as the *Paduans* formerly went.

These two sentences are written on the house,

*Id facere laus est quod decet, non quod licet.
Deus nobis hæc otia fecit . .*

Sylvaticus the professor's palace is fairly built.

Thomas Becket hath a church dedicated to him in this city.

A cloister belonging to the order of *Philippus Neri*.

An old house call'd *Livy's* house.

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The *Augustine Eremites* church is a long dark building, shap'd like *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*. These monks wear a white habit in their cloister, but abroad are in black.

SKIPPO. Augustine Eremites.

St. *Augustine's* church is a good old building, the body whereof is supported by tall round pillars. The choir is behind the high altar, which is curiously made of fine marble, and adorn'd with rich *Mosaic* work, representing our Saviour at the last supper with his disciples, &c. Behind it is inscribed,

St. Augustine's church.

Adis quicumq; hæc sacra limina teris, nam sine Bebeloel et Ooliab Ara Domini sacratissimum hoc Augustale Tabernaculum splendidissimum Ubi Omnipotens habitat cum hominibus Pietate Patrum fundavit Charitas fidelium auxit, cunctis autem complementum dedit Deus; Disce quod pietate res parvae crescunt impietate maximae dilabuntur, nil sine Numine Divum, Hoc te volui, Numen pronus adora et abi. Pres. die xx Mar. Anno Christianae aere. MDCLXIII.

The *Dominicans* have a cloister here; and we saw in the *Dormitorium*, *Albertus Magnus* his cell, where they have now placed an altar. Over the door is written,

Quam legis Alberto Domus hæc fuit hospita magno

Parva quidem haud parvo sed tamen amplo viro

*Parvus erat, subiit parvae cum limine portae
Magnus at exiguo sub lare factus erat
Senserat hoc dixitq; superba Ratisbona magnum
Hospitem in hospitio dispare Padua Colis
Archisacerdotis Mitram magnosq; penates
Accipe magne Ratis sic Bona navis erit
Post majora Deus referans palatia Magne
Dixit babe magni magna theatra Poli
Audiit et magni propylaea petivit Olympi
Num majore capi limine magnus habet?
Deo ter Maximo Numini
Alberto ter Magno Lumini.*

In this city we saw the making of viol-strings, after this manner: First they take the small guts of lambs, weathers, kids, wolves (but use no cats guts), and after they have separated them, and cleansed them from the mesentery, excrements, &c. they put them into the river for half a day, and then keep them for eight or ten days in water mingled in a great tub with a good quantity of *Griepoli*, i. e. tartar, and a small quantity of roach allum.

Making of viol-strings.

Note, That this water at the beginning is not so strongly impregnated as at the latter end.

Before they use the water, they scrape off all the fat, &c. with a piece of cane

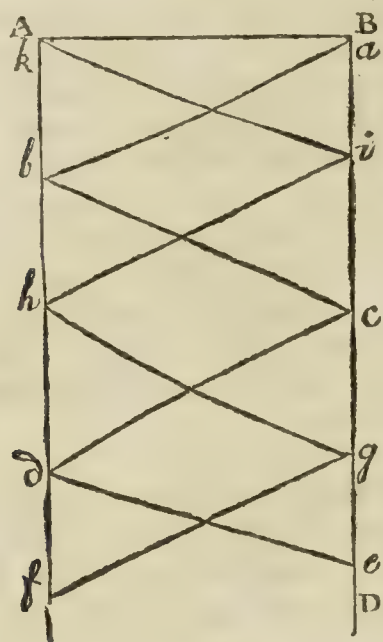
6 Y

hollowed

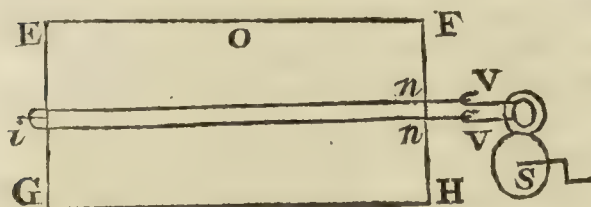
Thomas Becket.

Livy's house.

SKIPPON. hollowed like an apple scoop; then they take several dishes of the water, and steep the guts in them, and draw them every day twice out of the water, and twice out of dishes without water; thus they are order'd for eight or ten days together; for the oftener they are drawn so, the fairer the strings are made. The workmen have smooth thimbles of brass, through which the guts are drawn. When they are wrought enough, they wind the gut upon the frame *ABCD*, on the pegs *a b c d e f g h i k*.



The guts are twisted after this manner on a frame *EFGH* fasten'd at *o* to the wall,



The middle of a gut is put about the peg *i*, and the ends of it are fasten'd to two hooks *vv*, where the gut is twisted by the wheel *S*, till the gut is shortned to the length of the frame; and then the ends *vv* are tied to pegs at *nn*, two sticks being put between the two parts of the twisted gut or string, to keep them from touching one another: Many strings are thus twisted and fastned to the frame, which is put into a pit about the length and depth of a grave, having on one side of it within, a hole where brimstone is burnt, and the pit being shut close with a wooden cover, the smoak of the brimstone smothers within, and makes the strings look white: After an hour or two the frame is taken out, and the strings are exposed to dry; and as the season of the year is, so they are sooner or later dried; then the strings are oiled by drawing them thorow a piece of a hat that is oiled: After they have ex-

pos'd them to dry, they take a small rope, made of horse-hair, and steeped in the same liquor where the guts were, and rub it on six or seven strings at a time, and then oil them, and at last tie them up in little bundles for sale.

The smallest strings are made but of one gut, and the younger the animal the finer the string; the greater are made of ten, twelve, and so on to an hundred twisted together.

Note, That the strings are double on each side of the frame.

We saw in *Padua* the manner of dressing skins with the hair on: First they soak the raw skins in a river a day or longer, then lay them on a sloping block, as in tanning, scraping them with a two-handed knife; after that they soak in a vat, which holds ten mastels (every mastel is . . . *ingestria*) of water, wherein are mixed sixty pounds of salt, and twelve sacks of meal; every skin lies in this water, according to its bigness, as a sheep-skin a month or two; hare-skin two or three days: When they have been half soaked in this lixivium, they work them upon a semicircular iron, with a double edge, fix'd into a post; this makes them supple, and then they put them into the vat again; and after they take them quite out of the vat, they dry them in the sun, and work them after that on such a knife as is frequently used in skinners and glovers shops; and after all they dress the hair smooth with a carding iron. If they would get off the hair, they steep the skins in lime vats.

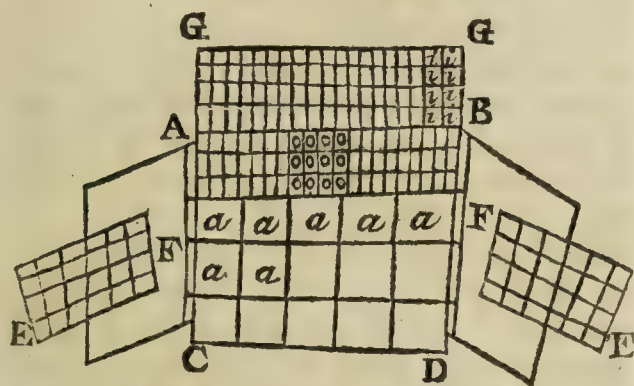
They use instead of meal and salt for the tanning of leather for shoes, &c. one hundred and fifty pounds of *Vallonia*, (so called from *Apollonia*, now *Vallonia*, a town in *Dalmatia*, whence they are brought) *i. e.* *Cerrus*, mix'd with five one half mastels of water, wherein they put ten hides, and for twelve days they stir them once or twice in a day.

The making of cards was observ'd by us in this place: First they take a sheet of fine pastboard, and upon that lay a pastboard of the same bigness, which hath holes cut in it where they should paint; for the several colours they have such a pastboard; after they are press'd, cut and smooth'd, they take sheets of paper printed with a lion, or any other figure, as often as there are cards in the pastboard, and these sheets being cut into the bigness of the cards, they press and cut smooth, and after that they starch one to each card on the backside, and then smooth them and press them a great many times together between two smooth plates of iron. A pack of these cards is sold for twenty soldi.

We

A chymist's cabinet.

We visited one *Arras* a German chymist, who shew'd us a small cabinet, with four hundred glass bottles filled with the *Materia Medica*, chymically prepared. The cabinet was thus contriv'd:



A B C D is the cabinet, a a a a are drawers with cells full of bottles in the body of the cabinet; o o o o are cells on the top; A G B G is a drawer behind full of cells, which may be pull'd up; it rests upon two iron springs fastned on each side: On each side of the cabinet is the like drawer; and in the shuts E F, E F are the like.

The chief preparations observ'd by us were the true tincture of coral; the tincture of *Sol*, *Luna* (which was of a very clear blue colour) and *Mars*. In one glass was the fix'd salt of crystalliz'd into two perfect crosses; the volatile salt of vipers; the crystal of arsenic, which was like glass; the fix'd salts of many plants; the tincture of sulphur; *Spiritus ardens Sacchari Saturni*; the tincture of sulphur drawn out by a vinous spirit. He demanded an hundred chicquins for this cabinet, and a process of all the preparations in writing. We found him making *Flores Sulphuris*, with three pots set upon one another, and an alembic at the top. His room was hung about with dried plants on white paper.

There was another chymist here, who had formerly lived in *England* with the duke of *Bucks*: He is a *Fleming* born, his name is *Regio*, his chief trade is to sell secrets; he offered to Mr. *Willughby*, one of my fellow-travellers, for twenty-five pounds sterling these four *Arcana*, 1. *Mercurius metallorum*, i. e. the extracting of quicksilver out of lead; he pretended to know how to extract it out of tin and other metals, but he said the operation would be tedious. 2. The extracting of sulphur out of mercury. 3. The fixing of sulphur to such a degree that it should indure a very great fire, yet he confessed he was not able to fix it absolutely. 4. The making of gold volatile, so that a considerable part of it should come over the helm, and the operation of this being several times reiterated,

the remaining gold should be one tenth lighter, and there should be gold enough in the liquor that arises to colour silver. Mr. *Willughby* proffered him ten cecchini for these four secrets, which he refused to discover them for.

This city is encompassed with a high brick wall, that keeps up a broad and thick rampart; there are some bulwarks, but seem too far asunder to defend one another: We observed the trenches full of water, (except on one side) having the river *Brent* under the walls on one side, and a water ditch on other sides. The river *Bachilio*, which comes from *Vicenza*, runs into the *Brent*, and runs through part of this city, and so does one branch of the *Brent*. The *Bachilio* hath its water kept up by a sluice within the town.

A mile every way round there is no inclosure, nor trees suffer'd to be planted, that no enemy might find shelter, &c. This circumjacent plain is usually sowed with corn, and is called *La Guasta*, i. e. *The Waste*.

From the walls is a full prospect of the *Alps*, and the *Euganean* hills.

The inner (call'd *Antenor's*) wall is high built, and thick.

One of the city gates is called *Porta Liviana*.

Castello di Munitione was built by *Ex-Magazellino the Tyrant*; it hath a large cloister'd zine court.

It is a custom here, that those who have Customs. the wall on their right hands in the streets may keep it, unless they will pass a compliment on any they meet. If drink be brought into a friend's house, the visitor drinks first; and the stranger goes first up stairs into the house, &c. and is left by the owner last in the house.

At this place and *Venice* if any one buys meat in the market, there are boys always attending with baskets, being ready to carry what you will deliver to them to your lodging, which they will very faithfully do for the reward of two or three soldi.

The little stools used in these parts have a narrow slit on the middle of the top, to thrust their fingers in at, and so lift them from one place to another.

If any confessor enjoins too severe a penance, the penitent here presently takes his leave, and finds out another confessor that may be more favourable.

The *Padua* gentlemen seem not very devout at the mass, or other service, discouraging and laughing with one another, and when the host is elevated many of them will only bow their bodies and knees a little; whereas in other popish places they

SKIPPON. they fall down then on their knees, beat their breasts, use sighings, &c. If there be ladies at church, the gentlemen attend upon them to their coaches, without speaking one word.

The bread here is much esteem'd, according to that proverb;

Pan Padoano, Vin Vincentino, Trippe Trevisane, & Putana Venetiana.

No brown bread is permitted to be sold publickly.

The territory of *Padua* is rich, whence arises this saying,

Bonomia la grassa, ma Padoa la passa, & Venetia la guasta.

These sayings are used here,

Iustitia Presbyterorum, persecutio Monachorum, scabies Hebreorum, peccavi Domine, miserere mei.

A furore Rusticorum, à rumore canum & à natura Fœm. 40ræ Libera, &c.

We observ'd once many hospital wenches in yellow veils, going two and two together, having a crucifix carried before them, and they sung as they went in the streets.

The duke of *Norfolk* is kept here in a fair palace that belongs to *Cornarus*, a *Venetian* nobleman. The duke is a proper man, of good proportions, &c. but being much distemper'd in his head, he is shut up in a ground chamber, without glass windows, and the door lock'd upon him: We had some discourse with him, but found him then incapable to speak any good sense: His dinner and other meals are brought to him, but he never eats in the presence of any: His servants force him to bed every night, and he hath often new cloaths, which he burns or tatters out presently; he was at this time very meanly habited: He hath five or six *English* servants: His overseer or steward is a *Brescian*, his name is *Carlo*, and he speaks *English* well. We were in *Christmas* time invited to dinner, with the rest of the *English*, to the duke of *Norfolk*'s house.

We were civilly treated by Dr. *Murry*, a *Scotchman*, at his creation-dinner, when he took the degree of doctor.

We visited Dr. *Cadened*, a *Scotchman*, professor of logic in this university: He formerly liv'd in *Vicenza*, and there taught gentlemen's sons, till the *Jesuits* came and set up school.

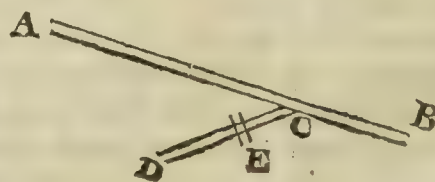
The *English* that were in *Padua* while we were there, were Dr. *Stokeham*, Dr. *Willughby*, and Mr. *Swale*.

White earthen ware is made in this city of clay brought from *Vicenza*.

We hired horses one day for four livres *Apona*. a horse, and rode five miles to *Abano*, or *Apona*, a small village, where we view'd the baths, which have very plentiful springs that rise out of a rocky hillock, and there make several channels, the brinks whereof are crufted very hard by a salt or stony matter the water is impregnated with, and a pure white salt shoots out of the banks where the water runs. The water is so hot that the country people bring their hogs hither to scald off the hair. Sheep will drink of it where it is cooler, and will lick the salt. One of the springs drives an over-shot mill, where we observ'd the wheel cover'd with a hard dark crust or stone, which they are forced to beat off with a mattock, at least every month: At this mill there is none of the fore-mentioned salt. The bottom of the channels hath no stony substance; the water looks greenish. Leaves and pieces of wood are crufted over with stone. At the mill, besides the stream which drives the top of the wheel, there is another channel of water, which (if there be occasion) is let out upon the side of the wheel. The springs are within two or three feet of one another; one is so temperate that a man may indure his hand in it for some time. Towards the bottom of the hill is a publick large bath, and just by are four or five baths in houses, like those at *Baden* and *Aken*. The water here differs in taste from those in the fore-mention'd places. These baths are used by such as have the *French* pox, &c. A mile off is a fountain call'd *Fonte della Madonna*, which is not so hot as these at *Apona*, but is sold in apothecaries shops for to drink. About half a mile off are the *Euganean* hills, on one of which is a *Benedictine* cloister.

As we return'd to *Padua* we took notice of a handsome palace on the left hand, and observ'd the country people's houses and barns to have long *Portici* before them. The ground is well tilled, and planted with rows of trees, and vines twisting about them. About the beginning of *January* they prune their vines.

A little before we enter'd the city we pass'd over a branch of the river *Bacchione*, and observ'd the course of its stream from A to B,



AB

A B is the river, C B is a branch that runs under the walls, C D is the other branch which turns backward, E was the bridge we passed over, a quarter of a mile from *Padua*.

We hired horses (ten livres a horse) and went four miles bad way to a village call'd *Il Ponte*, from a bridge over a pleasant stream; then road on a firm causeway, by two great mills, and several small country houses belonging to gentlemen, and seven miles from *Padua* came to *Polverara*, a village where we observ'd a sort of poultry mention'd in *Schottus* to be the biggest in *Italy*, &c. yet they are short of his description, tho' somewhat bigger than the common sort of cocks and hens: they are never of any colour but black, and have great tufts of feathers on their heads, and the like under their lower mandible, and both hens and cocks have horned combs; whence they are vulgarly, and perhaps corruptly, called *Galline deschiati*, i. e. *cristati*.

The country people seem to be poor, but are very civil to strangers, being ready in their answers, when they are asked the way to any place, &c. They drink wine mix'd with a great quantity of water.

1663-4. Jan. 6. we went in the *Padua* bark to *Venice*, and escaped the searchers this time.

Feb. 1. Two hours before night we entered the *Barca di Padua*, and in the *Lagune* were stopp'd a while by the searchers, who felt every one's pocket, open'd chests, &c. We were all night in the boat, and the company contributing, we bought faggots and made a fire in the middle; so entertained ourselves with discourse of two merry monks, one a *Benedictine*, and the other a *Franciscan minoris observ.* At sun-rising the 2d of Feb. we arriv'd at *Padua*, and there immediately hired a small narrow coach, drawn by three horses abreast, paying four livres apiece to *Vicenza*.

We went out at the gate call'd *Savonarola*, and pass'd over the river *Brent*, and at nine miles distance came to our baiting place at *Socco*, a village: Near it are some neat gentlemen's houses, and on the left hand saw an old castle on a hill call'd *Monte Calso*. After that we travell'd a pretty streight causeway, having several small palaces on each side, and we observ'd the country well cultivated, as in *Friuli*, about *Trevise* and *Polverara*, &c. Nine miles from *Socco* we entered *Vicenza*: A little before we arrived there we went over the *Tesena*, a small river.

This city is pleasantly situated, partly on a plain, and partly on a rising ground; it is indifferently walled with brick, and is much less than *Padua*: In many places are *Portici* before the houses: the streets are badly paved: Here are some stately

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palaces, among which that of count *Trissini* SKIPPORE is most noted. Just without the walls are vineyards, which afford very delicious red wines, known by their epithets *Dolce & Piccante*, sold for 12 foldi an *ingesteria*; a white and sweet wine and a four wine sold here. Many nobility in this place, so that it is a proverb;

*Quanti ha Venetia de Ponti & Gondalieri,
Tanti ha Vicenza de Conti & Cavalieri.*

The river *Bachilione* runs thro' this city, over it is a handsome stone bridge, called *Ponte di S. Michael*.

We saw the *Theatrum Olympicum*, which Theatrum Olympicum. is spacious: The spectators have 14 seats, (like those in the pit of our play-houses) covered with boards: The roof is well painted with birds, clouds, &c. The *Orchestra* is large, where the gentlemen and ladies sit in chairs. The stage is curiously contriv'd into five perspectives, built of and representing houses, &c. There the musick plays, and the actors come out into the pit, where they dance and act: The front of the stage is adorn'd with statues, pillars, &c.

In two out-rooms were inscriptions and gentlemen's arms; one inscription I transcrib'd, viz.

*Petro Paulo Bissario Comiti Commendatorio
cujus in Orando facundiam, adversarius
exhorruit, Princeps exaudivit, syrenes A-
driatici vel miraculum suspexere et Alfonso
Comiti de Luscbis pro vigesima fisci multa-
rum impetranda Legatis suis Olympicorum
Academici posuit Anno Domini MDCXL.*

Schottus hath more inscriptions. In one room hung the names of those belonging to this academy, viz.

Nomi delli Illmi Sigri Academici Olimpici.

*Protettore, Ilmo et Reverendmo Monsignor
Giuseppe Giuriano Vescovo di Vicenza Du-
ca, Marq. et Conte.*

Principe.

D. Gabriel Porto.

Consiglieri.

D. Carlo Fortezza.

D. Alberto San Giovanni Dr.

D. Guido Feramosca. Dr.

D. Andrea Quinto.

Conservator delle legge.

D. Vincentio Nigri Dr. et Kr.

6 Z

Contra-

SKIPPON.

Contradicente.

D. Clemente Thiene. +.

Padri.

D. Aloise Valle Dr. et Kr.

D. Lælio Gualdo. Kr.

Censori.

D. Francesco Bollis Dr. -+.

D. Alfonso Losco.

D. Leonard. Valmarana.

D. Alvise Magre. Dr.

Conservatori delle robbe.

D. Franc. Deltoso.

D. Scipion Biffari.

Presidenti alla Musica.

D. Giulio Capra.

D. Ostile Biffari.

Presidenti al Theatro.

D. Bonifacio Pogliana.

D. Fabio Piovene.

Presidenti all'exaction del danaro.

D. Vincentio Garzadoro.

D. Francesco Barbarano.

Qu. Whether these following be only
Academici without offices?

D. Lodov. Aleardi. .
D. Teodoro Triffini.
D. Girolamo Garzadoro.
D. Fra. Piovene. Dr.
D. Cæsar Ragana.
D. Marcello Garzadoro.
D. Lud. Chieragatto.
D. Oratio Sale.
D. Lodov. Porto.
D. Antonio Piovene. Dr. N. V.
D. Enrico Biffari. Monaco Camadioci.
D. Odvardo Deltoso Monaco.
D. Marco Ant. Valmarana.
D. Aleffandro Godi.
D. Girol. Meglioranza.
D. Camillo Barbarana.
D. Fabio Scroffa.
D. Sylvio Conti Monaco.
D. Estor Delbue.
D. Jacomo Barbarana.
D. Ludov. Triffino.
D. Vittorio Porto. +.
D. Gulielmo Ghellini.
D. Quintio. Saraceni.
D. Marco Anton. Chiragatto.

I

D. Aleffandro Thiene. Dr.

D. Giovanni Bapt. Gualdo.

D. Barthol. Capodilista.

D. Ermens Coloredo.

D. Girol. Pompeio.

D. Giuseppe Porto Leonidas.

D. Barthol. Squarci Dr.

D. Bernardino Porto.

D. Giacomo Biffari. Dr.

D. Eranc. Sorio.

D. Scipione Vello.

D. Franc. Garzadoro.

D. Guido Thiene.

D. Giulio Merzari.

D. Ænea Arnaldi.

D. Justino Trento.

D. Jacomo Zachia Dominico.

D. Fra. Scroffa.

D. Alf. Capra.

D. Paulo Æmyl. Saraceni.

D. Nic. Gualdo Kr. Priorato.

D. Annib. Thiene.

D. Paulo Bennassuti.

D. Anton. Maria Ragona Dr.

D. Mich. Angelo Angelico Dr.

D. Gio. Bapt. Fraconzano.

D. Vinc. Capra.

D. Pomp. Justiniano.

D. Gio. Pagiello Dr.

D. Oratio Deltoso.

D. Nic. Pogliano.

D. Julio Porto.

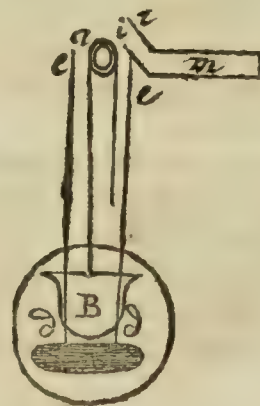
D. Ant. Cividale Dr.

D. Gasparo Montanaro Academico et Secret.

The prince of the academy is chosen every year by ballot, by the *Academici*.

None are admitted but noblemen of this city, who meet when the prince calls them together. They have several exercises, as making of speeches, dancing, &c.

Count *Valmarana's* garden is very noble and pleasant, having a river that passes thro' it; a labyrinth of myrtle hedges: One side of the garden is planted with several sorts of oranges and lemons, which in the winter time are shut up under a penthouse that hath doors; they open in sun-shine and favourable weather; they have charcoal fire in several places of the penthouse, and all the chinks are stopp'd with tow, to secure the trees from the injury of cold. The garden is water'd by a well, which hath a copper bucket



B, that

B, that is pulled up between two strong wires *ed*, *ed*, by a rope that runs on the pulley *a*; when the bucket is at the top, two irons *ii*, stand out, which turn the water out, and pour it into the trough *m*, whence it is convey'd into several channels.

In a pleasure room water is made to play out of the floor in a surprizing manner. In the wall here are three handsome statues, with these inscriptions,

1. *Altorem me Bacche tuum, ne ludis et unquam Nil mihi amabilius contigit hisce dolis.*

2. *Pro vino invisa Bacchus supraluet unda, Ne credas oculis vina Falerna bibo.*

3. *Hec mihi pura mero longe præstantior unda Nugæ hæc sub specie dulcia musta latent.*

On the outside of this house is written.

Si te Calores aut Myrtei Meandri Errores fortasse lassarunt, succede huic Umbra ubi te Dii ipsi Libentes et Lætabundi excipient Bacchus, Silenus, Pan nitida gelida ac dulci aqua reficient immo et vino si Baccho credas.

Schottus mentions other inscriptions.

This garden was now let out for 200 ducats per annum.

The great hall. The great hall is built like that at Padua, but is much less, tho' the portici on each side are higher and wider, and appear more stately.

The Podesta's palace hath always a guard of soldiers; in an out-room are the pictures of many *Podestas*.

The piazza. Here is a handsome long piazza, well pav'd with brick, and divided into many *Areolæ* for the water to pass more freely. Two stone pillars in this piazza, somewhat less than those at Venice, having the same figures on the top.

At the great hall is this antient inscription,

IMP CAES
M ANTONIO
GORDIANO PIO
FEL AVG PP COS. II
PROCOS TRIBVN
POTEST. V. PONT
MAXIMO
RESPUBLICA
EX LIBERALITATE
MATIDIARVM
D. D.

And under it is inscribed on a marble,

Lapidem hunc diu sub terra latentem prope forum frumentarium repertum Decemviri

Reip. Vicentinæ hoc loco conspicuo P.CC. AN. MDLXXXVI. Ant. et Franc. Castellorum. M.

In one of the streets is this written on a stone pillar, erected where formerly a house stood;

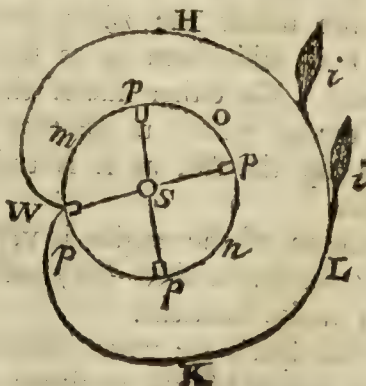
Questo è il loco doue era la Casa del Sceleratissimo Galeazzo da Roma, il qual con Iseppo Almerigo et altri suoi complici commiserò atrocissimi homicidii in questa città del Anno 1548. D. 3. Luglio.

In the middle of the same street is another stone thus inscribed,

1661. *Scipion Piovene Bandito in perpetuo per l'inquisorato di T. F. Autor d'atroce strage de Ministri et altri innocenti nel giorno del palio, in faccia della publica Recheza.*

At this city the gentlemen chuse 12 out of their number, four of which must be doctors of law; and the 12 elect two consuls.

We saw the manner of twisting silk in this place, by an engine that is moved by a water-wheel, which transfers its motion by the help of several cogs and lanthorns to a great horizontal wheel, with the cogs perpendicular as at AB which is fastened to the top of a great frame CD that hath on the outside a double row of spindles with silk.



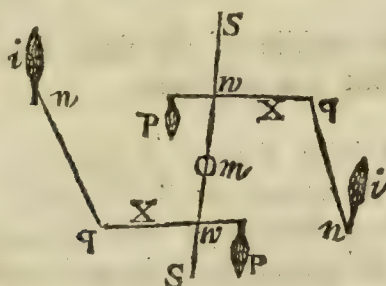
ii are

SKIPPON.

ii are the spindles.

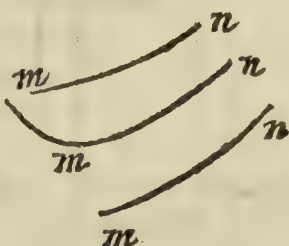
The uppermost row of spindles is twirled round by a rope *H K L* that crosses about a pully at *W*, and is lapped within the frame *C D* into a lesser circle *m o n*, upon forked rays *s p s p s p s p*, that go from the centre of the frame. This centre, when the engine moves, pulls about the cord or rope *H K L* and turns about the spindles.

The lower row of spindles are turned by another device, *viz.*



m is the centre of the frame; *nq*, *nq* are cross bars which turn about a little axis at *o*; at *qq* a cord is tied, which going thro' a hole at *ww*, near the centre, hath a weight fasten'd to it; *pp* are the weights, which pulling *qq*, make *nn* bear outwards; *nn* are armed with smooth steel, which pressing against the bottom of the spindles *ii*, twirl them round as the engine moves; from *m* to *S* goes a radius of wood, over which passes the cord *x*. To each spindle there are fix'd two little wires with eyes, through either of which they put a silk thread, and these two threads pass through a great hole, and are twisted together by the motion of the engine.

Round the frame *C D* are swithes or reels, and between every pair of them is a little wheel, with very long *radii*, which are lifted up by little spiral bars of wood, in the circumference of the frame.



m m m are the lower ends of the bars, which strike under the *radii*, and rising towards *n n n*, raise them up as the engine moves round. On either side of this wheel are little teeth, which move two wheels, that wind up the silk as it is twisted by the spindles.

The motion of the engine is very exact.

Of the coarser kind of silk, called *Filicello*, they make stockehs.

Silk-dying At a silk-dyer's we were inform'd that the natural colour of silk is either white or

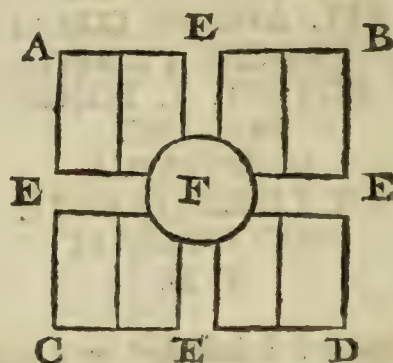
yellow: The yellow is made white by being boiled in a great caldron of soap and water. Silk is dyed red by boiling it in this liquor, saffron 100 lb. *Alume diface* 14 lb. 90 *ingesterie* of the juice of lemons, 30 *ingesterie* being put in at a time. Black colour is given by a liquor, wherein there is 100 lb. of *Valonia*, 40 or 50 lb. of galls, that give it a gloss; and after that they put the silk in vitriol and honey.

Just without the gate that is towards *Mons Bericus*, we pass'd through a fair arch of stone, and presently ascended many stone steps, more than at the *English* Jesuits college in *Liege*; after a good height we came to a resting place, where are two inscriptions mentioned in *Schottus*. Then mounted higher, and near the top of the hill entred a small chapel of *Our Lady*, wherein is observable a multitude of little pictures, figures of men, &c. in wax and wood, crutches, and the like, being so many memorials of miracles; among the rest on a beam was a little gallows, with the figure of a man hanging, which represented an innocent person, who was condemned to die, but by our lady's assistance he fell down alive, and was freed.

From this hill we had a rare prospect of the city, country and mountains.

Some distance hence we visited a neat Count's palace of count *Capra*, who was bandito'd, and fled to *Innsbruck*, where he did some mischief he lost his life for.

The palace is situated on a hill, and is commonly call'd *La Rotonda*: The figure of the outside is square: it hath on each side a fair ascent to a stately portico, supported by six pillars; underneath are rooms for the ordinary offices, as bakehouse, kitchen, &c. Over them in the middle is a round hall, with a painted cupola, like that of the prince of *Orange's* nigh the *Hague*, but less, and not so fairly adorned. Four great *valvæ* opened towards each portico, where the light came in. This house hath three figures, a square, a cross, and a circle.



A B C D is the square; *E E E E* are the four entrances from the portici, that make the cross; *F* is the round hall.

There

There are two chambers in each corner square, some of which are finely painted on the roofs.

We saw here a *Mosaic* table of wood, describing a pair of tables, and *Gioco del Occho*.

Gustoza.

Feb. 4. Hiring horses we rode six miles under the sides of hills on the right hand, and arrived at a village called *Gustoza*, where we took two guides, who with lighted straw conducted us into a great cave, which is reputed seven miles long, and was probably a place of security in time of wars and persecution; for we observed two entrances, which formerly had gates to them, and have holes near them, as in castle walls to shoot through. We went about a mile under ground, and took notice of large spaces, some of which were low-roofed, and others indifferently high, but none so high and large as in *Wokey-Hole* in *Somersetshire*. One room was closed up with a wall, and called *Camera d'Ammunitioni*. They shewed us a rude stone, which they called *Pietra Ditocca*. Here was formerly a quarry, where they digged out stone, for we observed the impression of cart-wheels within the cave, and three or four great stones almost hewn out of the rock. Many vast rude pillars support the roofs, from whence hung *stalactites*, i. e. water petrified. At this time we found a great number of bats clinging to the sides and the roof of the cave: We saw a great oven, made by art in the rock, which was used by those that fled hither. A water stopp'd us from going further, and in that water we took *Squille* (which they call) *Venetiani*, but are truly *Pulices Marini*. The cave and water was now very warm.

Tridentus is palace and ventiduct.

Descending the hill we came into another cave, being only one large high-roof'd space, whence are ventiducts or channels cut out of the rock, that convey a cold wind into an adjoining palace belonging to *Tridentus*, a nobleman of *Vicenza*.

When they would have a cool air, they shut up the gate at the entrance of the cave, and open a door at the end of the channel, which lets in the fresco, every room having a hole in the wall or pavement to admit it.

In the hall is this inscription;

Temporibus æstivis ad magnitudinem calorum sibi, necessariis, et amicis præclarum hoc remedium comparavit.

Over a door that lets in the fresco is written;

Ad locum istum ædificandum longum illud tempus quo non ero magis me movit 23. exiguum vite meæ.

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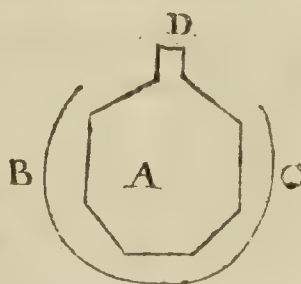
See *Pierreskius's* life written by *Cassendus*. SHIPPON

On a stone was inscrib'd;

Franciscus Tridentinus Vicentius iustus Hierosolymitani Equitis Filius gelidi Venti flatum in Caverna Cubola vocatâ spirantem in ades proprias per hanc Crypto-Porticum deduxit, ad temporandum arduos et æstivos calores, tum cohibendo tum relaxando novo atq; mirabili artificio per cubacula quæque ducendo, quæ pro libitu suo refrigerare et calefacere valet; ita ut ejus Villa ingenio, diligentia, impensâ ac emulatione ornatior effecta, inter regia ornamenta connumerari possit. Anno MDLX. Etatis suæ XXII.

At *Vicenza* and *Verona* an hungar passed for 15 livres and a half, a pistole for 28 livres; *Spanish* rials were refused.

Feb. 5. Hiring horses for four livres a-piece, without a guide, we set forward for *Verona*; we rode a streight and broad way, through a pleasant valley, having hills on each side of us, and at ten miles distance came through a large village, situated on a hill, called *Monte Bello*, a castle on a hill near it of the same name. Six miles further we baited at *Villa Nova*, a small village. Then we travelled in sight of *Soave*, a walled place, with a castle on a hill on our right hand. Three miles from our baiting place we passed through *Caldere*, another village, and saw two or three castles upon hills on the right hand, and nigh the road a handsome cloister, seated on a hill, and belonging to white monks. Four miles further we came through *S. Martyn*, a village, and then to *S. Michael*, where there is a small cloister of eight white monks, who have a pretty church, called *La Madonna della Campagna*. The church is after this figure:



A the body of the church is octangular, with a high cupola on the top; D the high altar hath another cupola: B C is the portico, almost quite round the outside.

From *Monte Bello* to *Verona* the road was heavy and stony.

This evening we arrived at *Verona*, and *Verona* passed the guard of soldiers at the gate without examination.

SALIPON.

Towards Mantua road the city is very well fortified with bulwarks, and a strong high wall, and deep and broad dry trenches.

Signior
Horatio
Justi his
garden.

We saw the garden of signior *Horatio Justi*: First we entred a fair garden, set about with tall cypresses, and then we ascended many steps, at the upper end whereof was a pretty grotto cut out of the rock, and a cage of birds; we made thence another ascent, and saw a little chapel of our lady, cut also out of the rock, and therein we observed two marble pedestals for tapers to stand on, which were like the pillar we saw in *Zurich* library, being naturally inlaid with several coloured stones. From hence we went up many stairs within a place like a steeple, and came into another garden planted with cypresses, &c. Here we saw aloe trees bearing seed, and there is a summer-house with two or three rooms and a kitchen; another summer-house at the other end of the garden, whence we had a fair prospect of the city and country: A well of water, fountains, &c. are cut out of the rock: One quarter of the lower garden is a little island, with a narrow mote for swans, very handsomely adorned with statues and marble walls.

Under many statues in this garden are antient stones, some of which have these inscriptions, viz.

HELPIDII
IPHIDEL
P SERVILIO
PL PLACIDO

FABRICIA
LEFESTA.

V. F.
STLANIALL
CYTHERIS
SIBI ET
... LA HO HOMVNC
..... O. SE ... M.

IF. QVIR. ALPINO
PRAEFALAE CALLI
TRIB LEG F. I. AVG.
PRAEF. COH. II.
DONDON BELLO GERM
CLAVDIAT. IE. ARCELLIN
... M ...

CORNELLIAE
RESTITVTAE
C. POMPONIVS
HERMES
CONIVG DVLCIS
ET CORNELIAE
FENGUSÆ SCC R
SANCTISSIMAE
EI. S. S.

INIV
IVDV
AVG
R CIVIA
GELLIAE
R. I

NOVELLA
QF SEVERA
C. LÆLIVS.
OPTATUS
.....
.....
TEI

D. M.
TROPHIMES
L. LUCRETIVS
EPICTETVS
BENEMERENTI.
D. M.
IPS.ITHILIAE
DVLCISSIMAE
C.VALERIVS
C.ATVLLVS
LEPORIBVS SVIS
MOERENS P.

We were told that the father of him who made these gardens, was general of the emperor's army in *Hungary*.

At the beast market we viewed the antient amphitheatre, which is kept up very well, and is described by *Schottus*, &c.

In the middle of the piazza is a figure of *Venetia* sitting on a high pedestal, whereon is inscrib'd,

*Benefactum Veronam cladibus pene eversam
Nundinarum felicitas reficit SC. Franc.
Ericio Princ. Reipub. amplissimo tantæ
molis beneficium debentes Veron. Mercatores
perp. mans. gr. animi monum. Andrææ.
P.P. Cornelio Præt. Hyer. Par. Equ.
Procurat. publicæ maturatæ beneficentiæ
acceptam gratiam ferentes, Anno Dom.
MDCXXXII.*

In this piazza is a building for exercises on horseback, not quite finished, half of it is roofed with a large arch; the front is high and stately, having two portici, one above the other, handsomely carved, and adorned with fair pillars: This inscription on it,

*Designavit à fundamentisq; excitavit egregiam
præclari operis molem Joannes Mocenico
P.F. ciciocex. consilio cujus et suasu ex
SC universa Resp. Veneta fieri jussit in
varios martis usus.*

Over the entrance of that end which is finished, is written,

Scipiadum

Scipiadam vera soboles Hier. Cornelius non eversa Carthaginis gloriam sed inclutus avorum virtutis æmulatus præfecturam prudentissimè gerens molem hanc ex solo emergentem Ecce in quam amplitudinem extulerit. CIOIOCXI.

Over the entrance of the end not finished;

Veronæ Præfectus Urbis decori quinque proximos arcus erexit, portam adjunxit frontem operis absolvit, patrum imperio paruit. CIOIOCXII.

Nigh this piazza is an inward wall and ditch, which encompasses part of the city: In this wall we observed, that it was built of three lays of brick, and three lays of stone, and alternately of twelve rows of each, besides the foundation and top, which were of brick: The outward wall that goes round all the city is stronger.

Castello di S. Pietro is small, and built of brick in the level of the city.

S. Zeno's church. S. Zeno's church belongs to the *Benedictine* monks: Before the church stands a huge porphyry basin, which the legend says S. Zeno commanded the devil to bring from *Jerusalem*.

In a corner of the church, nigh the west door, is a well called king *Pipin's* well.

S. Proculus his church. In the middle of S. Proculus's church-yard we went down about 12 stone steps into a small vault, where we saw the monument of king *Pipin*, which is a great stone hollowed like a trough standing in the middle having a heavy stone cover over it, and on each side two marble pillars: In that hollow stone they say king *Pipin's* body did formerly lie, but being removed into *France*, instead thereof miraculously succeeded a great quantity of water, which hath a fresh and sweet taste, and is reputed good for fevers, sore eyes, &c. Credulous people believe there is no artificial conveyance of water, but that all is supplied from the stone only.

K. Pipin's monument. On the outside of S. Zeno's church is an inscription, the latter part whereof I transcrib'd, viz.

Quo etiam tempore maxima penuria frugum totam fere Italiam angebat, ita ut Veronæ Minale milice XIII. milii XVIII. filigines XXI. frumenti XXII. solidis venderetur.

In the corner of a house is inscrib'd;

Quibus olim Amphitheatrum, mox urbis maxima structa sunt, nunc dono Ill. Com. Bapt. Turriani quadrati lapides has ædes sustinent.

Not far from hence is *Ponte Nuovo*, a *SKIPPO*. fair bridge over the *Atthesis*, which is a pleasant river: At this bridge is a good prospect of the castle of S. Felix, and the circumjacent houses.

There are many boat-mills in the river:

Piazza della Signoria is neat, and built about with a fair palace of the *Podestà*, &c. it is not above the bigness of that at *Vicenza*, but paved like that, and hath a fountain in the middle.

The herb and fish market is much larger, where at one end is erected a great marble pillar, like one of those at *Vicenza*. A fountain here, and the pavement is divided into small *areole* of brick.

The *Carpione* fish is brought hither from *Lago di Gardo*.

S. Maria Antica hath a little church-yard, encompassed with curious iron-work, &c. Here are two stately old monuments of the *Scaligers*; and over the outside of the north entrance into the church is another monument of a *Scaliger*, called *Canis Grandis*, whereon was this epitaph;

Si Canis hic grandis ingentia facta peregit, Marcia testis adest quam sevo marte subegit, Scaligeram qui laude domum super astra tulisset, Majores in luce moras si Parca dedisset.

Hunc nulli geminata dies peremit Jam lapsis septem quater annis mille trecentis.

The *Domo* is a large and indifferently handsome old building; the seats of the choir are placed in an oval figure; on the north side is a pretty chapel, (well adorned with statues, &c.) made by one *Malaspina*, and dedicated to S. Hierom, S. Sebastian, and S. Theodore. Under an effigies is written;

Accede Viator Accede, Spectaculum ecce dignum ad quod tuo intentus operi respicias Augustino Valerio Cardin. Episcopo Veronensi, inter quem et Deum, Virtute conciliante omni, Summa necessitudo fuit, summa similitudo. Splendidissimus Veronen. Ordo, idemque gratissimus decreto, sumptuque publico Patrono suo et Parenti Beneficentissimo magno bono suo et diuturno. A. D. MDCXXXIX.

S. Anastasius is a large church of the *S. Anastasians*, where is a fair marble altar, erected by *Janus Fregosius Ligurum, Princeps et Præfect. Reip. Venet.*

The *Museum* or cabinet of *Maphæus Cusanus*, an apothecary, afforded us the sight of many curious rarities, viz. Roman and Egyptian idols; a *Nautilus* petrified;

Scippon. fied; a cabbage root, *Cochlea*, *Echini marini*, *Serpens*, two *Cancris marini*, *Cor Phasiani*, a little cheese, cinnamon, and a sponge, all petrified; a very fair oriental and occidental bezoar stone; a curious cup of jasper; a piece of an unicorn's horn; a thunder-stone; two golden *Medaglioni* of *Galba* and *Vitellius*; many amethysts growing naturally together as ordinary crystal; a jasper with a crystal within it; an agat with a crystal within it; a jacinth as it grows; a ball found in the stomach of a *Rupicapra* or *Gimps*; the signatures of fishes on stone; the leg of a mummy; a black human figure made by *Cusanus* himself of the juice of liquorice; a *Catapulta* of brass thus shaped,



and channelled on both sides: it was found about *Trent Anno 1656*. A small

urn with which the *Romans* called to sacrifice; curious *Entaglie*; two gold medals of *Philip* and *Alex. M.* a Roman gold ring; silver medals of *Julian* the apostate; *Leon. Justinian. Germanicus; Agrippa*; a series of the Roman emperors; a *Dioclesian* and *Maximinianus*, with this reverse, *Verona Amphitheatrum*; a little stone called *Oculus mundi*, which looks clear in water; two topazes, one white, and the other of a citron colour; many consular coins; a coin thus inscrib'd, *Scipio Africanus*, on the reverse whereof, a horse-head and *Africha recepta*; a great number of other medals, very curiously made of silver, which seemed not to be very antient, as *Cleopatra, Aristotle, Socrates, Hercules*; a *Rhodian* piece of two drams, like one of those, they say, our Saviour was sold for; a silver piece of *S. Ludovicus R. Fra.* silver money of the *Turks*; a medal of *S. Helena*; a silver medal of the queen of *Sweden*, inscribed *Christina Regina*, and on the reverse, *Avitam & auctam*; our Saviour's head made curiously of jasper; a large gold medal of *Lyfimachus*; *Livia* the wife of *Augustus*, in gold; a medallion having the head of *Pietas*, and on the reverse *Vesta*; a silver medal of the emperor *Frid. R. Bob. Com. Palat. 1619.* and another when he had recovered *Bohemia 1622.* a silver piece, on one side whereof was written,

+
+ *Afra* + *Afra* +
+ *Afra* + *Afra* +
+ *Afra* +

On the reverse were letters within three circles, and within all, $\frac{I|N}{I|R}$ i. e. *Iesus Nazar. Judæorum Rex*; a silver medal of

Charles V. and *Ph. II. Galeazzo* duke of *Milan*; 30 dukes of *Venice* in silver; *Coralium nigrum*; a curious ivory cup, on the top whereof were three *polygona*, one within another, and thro' every hole a *spina*; another tall and neat ivory cup; a little sparrow with two heads; gold mine of *India*; *Os cubiti petrific.* *Nuces pineæ Ind.* a stone cast out of mount *Vesuvius*. All things were kept here very cleanly, and in good order.

Signior *Moscardo* was extraordinarily civil to us, and shewed us his collection of rarities, which are in part printed by him in *Italian*, and he was now writing the second part. Every thing was placed methodically, and we were permitted to examine things as long as we pleased. There is a series (in 32 drawers) of Roman brass coins from *Pompey M.* and among them a true *Medaglion* of *Julius Caesar* (he said there was never any true *Otho* in brass found) *Didius Gulius, Helvius Pertinax*, the three *Gordiani*; great pieces of brass made when money was first stamp'd, viz. an *Affis* with the head of *Janus*; a *Triens* marked with four points, signifying the third part of the *Affis*; *Scipio Nasica*; *Philip* and *Alexander M.* a coin of *Francesco Carrara*; many Roman *Amuleta*; an old key; the arms of *Scaliger*, called *Canis grandis*; his dagger, &c. an antient figure of *Cupid* in white marble; a brass *Mercury* with *Hebrew* characters on his breast, belly, arms, and thighs; many Roman idols and oracles; many sorts of lachrymal urns, lamps, &c. a curious antient marble head of *Nero*; the figure of an *Antenorides* with a *Cucullus* erected, in imitation whereof, it is guessed, the duke of *Venice's* cap is shaped; *Nautilus Cochlea*; a large *Peeten*; *Echinometra*; *Membrum virile*; *Cortex fœniculi*; *Amygdalus*; *cornua cervi*; *lignum Mori frumentum*; *semen Paliuri*, all petrified; *Coda di Astaco*; the signature of a bear, of a plant, and fishes in stone. This inscription on an old stone,

IVNONIBVS
M CAESIVS
MFC CAESIVS
FRATRES
VS. LM.

We observed these fruits, viz. *Lablab five Phaseolus* *Baciotle*; *castanea equina*; *Amomo* in *Caselo*; *Piper Æthiop.* *Indian Morice* bells or *Haove*; *Manna* (like small rice) which the *Israelites* ate in the wilderness; *Cuciofora Clusii*; *Conus Cedri*. Among the minerals and stones, *Lapis obsidianus*, which was green and pellucid like glass; *terra rossa Veronese*; ter-

ra alba & odorata; terra sigillata Melitenfis, with the picture of the grand master, about which was written,

F. Don Martin de Redin M. M Hospitalis Hierusalem.

A little stone call'd *Nicolaus Cardanus*; several *Ceraunia*; one very neat, and thus shap'd,



Pietra tuberone, like the thorn of a ray-fish; *Pietra di Monte Sinab*, which had the signature of a wood; *terra di Nocera*; the granate stone in *Talc*; *minera sive matrix Rubinorum*; a very great topaz; *Antale*, or the furrow'd *tubulus* we had at *Venice* of *Rosachio*; *Adarce*, a stone found in some rivers where salt and fresh water meet; *Maxillæ piscis Hippuri* with granulated teeth; *Maxillæ Synodontis piscis*, with sharp teeth; *Belicolo marino*, i. e. *operculum concharum*; *Corbela pesce*, shap'd like a *Conchlea marina*, but of a fungous nature; *Minera (rubra) argenti vivi*; *Smiris lapis*; *Ongbia odorata*, i. e. *Conchæ spec. stelenictes*, which seem'd to be wood petrified; two giants teeth; the male *Camæleon*, which was slender, the female much thicker. Among his medals we saw an *Elizabeth's 6 d.* Many of *Calceolarius's* rarities are transferred hither; and he shew'd us those very corals which are pictured in that musæum. He had been gathering these about 32 years. Within his closet is written,

*Virtuti, non ignaviae, quicquid
Fruor quicquid spero. S. D.
Quid feret Indus Aferq; novum jam sole sub
isto
Nil erat ad sensus, hic memoranda patent.*

We saw the palace where the *Academici Philarmonici* meet, who carry on much the same design with the *Virtuosi* of *Vicenza*, only these endeavour to promote musick most. There is a stately portico in the front. In a fair hall hang several impresses, and the pictures of these following, viz.

1. Albertus Lauesola Philarm. Pater. 1581
 2. Maximilianus Peregrinus Equ. Ph. P. 1604
 3. Jordanus Co. Seraticus Phil. P. 13. 1614
 4. Petrus Pau. Malaspina Philarm. P. 1614
 5. Caspar Comes de Veritate Ph. P. 16. 1625
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6. Michael Sacramosius Equ. Ph. P. 17. 1630
7. Aloysius Carterius Equ. Ph. P. 20. 1632
8. Spineta March. Malaspina. Phil. P. 21. 1640
9. Nicolaus Rambaldus Equ. Philarm. P. 22. 1641
10. Jo. Paulus Pompeius Comes Phil. P. 23. 1643
11. Sacramosius Sacram. March. Ph. P. 25. 1649
12. Alexander Comes Nogarola. Ph. P. 26.
13. Petrus Aloyf. Co. Geraticus de Alig. Ph. P. 27. 1652
14. Alexander Co. de San Bonifacio Pater Phil. 1657
15. Caspar Marchio Gherardinus Phil. P. 29. 1658
16. Joannes Malaspina Princeps Philarm. Pater. 30. 1660

Over three several doors of this hall are these sentences,

Cælorum imitatur concentum.

Philarmonicis orbis intelligentiis.

Over the door which leads into the musick room, is,

*Munificentiam exumiam,
Augustini Amuli
Prætoris undiq; incomparabilis
Grati testamur Philarmonici
Quod
Anno CIOIOCXIV
HS XX
Academiam locupletaverit nostram.
Magnanimus
Ad hanc ipsam aulam exornandam.
In Virtute Ludus.*

Among many inscriptions I transcrib'd this following, which jingles thus,

*Lector ingredere lætè, at cave ne auribus
quidquam haurias, ne tibi Philarmonicae
Sirenis cantus sit. Incantus, inter quippe
Musarum melos, Prætoris, Patris Filii
laudes in uno pangit Catareno Cornelio, cur-
runt Venetiae, accurrit Roma Grandigrant
amburbi ambarum Urbium, Corneliam suam
speciem denuo miratura hoc in Musarum
holocausto, hoc ex Musarum loco hausto Ca-
tareni Nomini immolato, Vel ingreder Lec-
tor nec immorator Fasces Trabeas Peplos
Fastus Tribus Populos, Auitis Scipiadum
meritis promeritus, Intra Musarum nemora,
Ultra mensuram numera, Ingredere Lector
Egredere Litabundus Laetabundus Verona
Celeusmata Cumulatura, Ingredere et Gran-
diga,*

SKIPPON.

digra, grandigrant namque Amburbia omnium Urbium.

In the musick room is a little organ, and in two other rooms and presses are kept the musick books and instruments.

In one of the rooms is the model of the house.

This is written on a table that hangs up, viz.

Carichi delli sei Reggenti dell' Academia Filarmonica et Autoritadi che hanno nelli doi Mesi del reggimento loro.

Tutti li Reggenti che di tempo in tempo Saranno sono tenuti avanti che escano del reggimento loro di proporre alla Compagnia, che si elegghino li successori loro conforme alla dispositione delle leggi n'ri in simili elezione.

Li Reggenti di Gennaro et Feb'ro ponno col consento di graviss. Sig'ri Padri n'ri rappresentare nell' Academia nostra ogni sorte d'attione publica, senza però alcuna spesa autoritade è anco concessa alli Reggenti di Maggio et Giugno.

Li Reggenti di Marzo et Aprile debbono proporre che si eleggono un Bibliothecario il quale habbi cura di tenere in Registro tutti li libri de lettere dell' Acad. n'ra osservando bene se vene mancasse alcuno et cio auvenendo Debbi quanti prima fare ne consapevole il sigr. Governator n'ro di quel tempo, accio si procur di ritrovarlo, il cui Off. incomincia il 1° di Maggio et dura per un anno intiero come nella parte 54 in libro rosso in c. 17.

Item, che si elegghino un Censore sopra le imprese, qual dura per un anno, come di sopra.

Item, che si elegghino tre Giudici sopra le imprese, mà se ne Cavi uno à sorte delli doi all'hora novamente eletti, et questo accio, sia d'instructione alli novi che S'hauranno ad eleggere delle cose, che Seranno state trattate per inanti come nella parte 59. in l'o rosso in cap. 16.

Li Reggenti di Maggio et Giugnod ebbono in termine di Giorni dieci fare che siano riball tottati tutti li n'ri Salariati come nelle parte 20 in l'o rosso in cap. 5. et fatte le sodette ballottatione, si elegghi un Acad. Soprastante alli instrumenti musicali, il cui Carica sia di procurare che detti instrumenti siano tenuti all'ordine de n'ri Salariati spendendo ni tutto quello sarà bisogno, la cui spesa poi gli sia bonificata nelle sue Padre ordinarie come nella parte in l'o rosso.

Item, che si elegghino tre Giudici sopra la compositione della Cassella, come nella

p'te 64 in l'o rosso in c. 20. 50.

Item, che si elegghino tre Giudici ovvero Revisori de libri delle Effattore de Cassere et delle partite de salariati accio se vi fosse alcuno errore si possi emendare, et tale Off. duri un'anno, come di sopra; mà tale elezione s'habbi à fare se non di tre in tre anni con obligò però che detti Giudici nell'anno della loro elezione habbino à rivedere tutti li sudetti Conti, come nella p'te in l'o rosso. c. 11.

Li Reggenti di Novembre et Dicembre debbono imbossolare tutti quelli Acad. i quali non hauranno fatto il banchetto di Maggio et nel eleggere li Regenti di Gen'o et Febro susseguente debbono primo cavare il sigr. Presidente di detti doi mesi, et poi cavare doi nomi fuori del Vaso del Imbossolatione fatta, et il primo che si caverà hebbi adessere effattore di Marzo et Aprile susseguente all' altro di Maggio et Giugno quali se tocchi il Carico di fare il banchetto del primo giorno di Maggio et questo accio li perdetti effattori bebbino tempo di providere a quanto che sarà bisogna per tale occasione.

Item, Proporre l'elezione d'un Cassetto ordinarie, il quale duri per tutto l'anno incominciando 1° Gen'o.

Item, Debbe il Governatore delli sodetti mesi Nov. et Dec. rivedere tutti l'entrate et tutti le spese di tutto l'anno dell' effator come del Cassero et la possessione che si facci li doi mesi auvenire referire alla compagnia tutte l'entrate et le spese che haura ritrouato in detto anno procurando che tutti effattori de Casse sianno computamente soldati, et debbe parimente vedere come s'ieno le Conte del Cassero, de debiti Vecchi et quanto haurà depositato sopra S. Monte di Pietà et quello che si ritrouvera havere nelli mani il tutto referendo alla Compagnia come di sopra.

Tutti le Reggenti nelli doi mesi del reggimento loro ponno cavare dall'effattore un scudo d'oro et impiegarlo in quelli che piu à loro piace ad utile però sempre della compagnia.

Tutti li eletti alli Officii d'un Anno ponno hauere ogni altro Off. eccetto il Cassero, il quale non può essere effattore.

Li Officii de sei Reggenti durano p. 2 mesi et non più, eccetto il Censore, il quale dura per sei mesi, cioè del 1° Gen'o p. tutto Giugno et del 1° Luglio p. tutto Dicembre, come si detto di sopra.

On another table were written these offices and names.

Officii et Cariche delli Academici Filarmonici.

Regenza di Maggio et Giugno.

Presidente. Comes Pandolfo Sareglio Aligero.

Governatore. March. Giacomo Spolverino.

Consigliero. Franc. Carli.

Canceliero. Con. Fernardi.

Curatore. Dom. Ottavio Denise.

Censore. Dom. Aleff. Bongiovanni.

Bibliotecario. March. M. Ant. Lagramore.

Giudici sopra l'imprese. Dom. Aleffandro Bongiovanni

Dom. Xtoph. Munfello.

Giudici sopra la compositione. Conte Jo. Pellegrino.

M. Julio Pozzo. March. Jo. Pedemonte.

Sopra l'instrumenti. Conte M. A. Verità.

Academici.

Gravissimi Padri. Con. P. Luigi Serigo Aligero.

Con. Aleff. S. Bonifacio.

Mr. Gaspar Gherardino.

Mr. Giovanni Malaspina.

Dom. Joseffo Roveretto.

Co. Paulo Canossa.

Fabio Brognonrio.

Ludov. Moscardo.

Dom. Benedetto Bon Giovanni Abbas.

Ill'mo Carlo Janobio.

Aleff. de Monte.

Mr. Giov. Bindemonte.

Dom. Aleff. Bon Giovanni.

Annib. Giuliari.

D. Mic. Verità. Abbas.

Anto. Cocca.

M. Ant. Sagramoso.

Gio. Giacomo Caballi.

M. An. dalla Niva.

Girolamo Movio.

Dom. Xtoph. Musello.

Dom. Carlo Pona.

Paolo Juffaron Leg.

Dom. Felice Grandis.

Co. Gio. Pellegrino.

Co. M. Ant. Verità.

Do. Ottavio Denise.

Mr. Fran. Sherardini.

Mr. Bicho Sherardini.

Mr. Gasp. Sherardini, Anglus.

Co. Gentile de Torre.

Co. Bicho Serigo Aligero.

Fr. Carli.

Mic. Bambaldo.

Ottav. Negroboni.

Gio. Cavalli.

Gio. Brenzone.

Mr. Giac. Spolverino.

Co. Pandolfo. Serigo Aligero.

Co. Farnando Nogarola.

Co. Pietro Carlo Serigo.

Co. Fra. Carlo Bevilacqua.

Do. Fra. del Pozzo.

In the court-yard are many antient inscriptions; some of which I transcrib'd, viz.

LEGNATIVS

L. F.

NIGER.

M. TENATIVS C. F.

NIGER SIBI ET

C TENATIO PP PATRI

DOMITIA IC. F SECVNDAE

MATRI

C TENATIO CEPRONO

FRATRI

T. F. I.

D. S.

HERCVLI ET VALERIVS SEVERVS

ET CLODIA CORNELIANA PRO

VALERIO CORNELIANO

V. S. L. M.

LIBERTVS FAC CVR.

CALPVRNIA

LEPRISCA

SIBI ET

L. CALPVRNIO

QVADRATO PATRI

VALERIAE C. F.

SECVNDAE MATRI

L. CALPVRNIO

PVDENTI FR. ATRI

[III] VIR AVG.

NOMINE

Q. DOMITII ALPINI

LICINIA MATER

SIGNVM DIANAE ET VENATIONEM

ET SALIENTES T. F. I.

SIX. CALVISIVS

SATVRNINVS SIBI ET

CALVISIAE SATVRNINAE

CONIVGI DEFVNCTAE ET

CALVISIVS FIRMIONI ET

VALENTIONI FILIS ET

NVRIBVS ET NEPOTIBVS

ET PRONEPOTIBVS ET ...

....

M. VARIO

L. F. PATRONO

MINICIAE L. F.

TERTIAE ET SIBI

VARIVS

M. L. SECVNDAE

CARRA C. F.

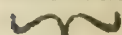
SECVNDA

VARIA M. F. MAXI-

MA FILIA

H. M. H. N. S.

VICTO-



VICTORIAE
PRO SALVTE
OMINI CI MACR.
SEX. CABANASIVS
PRIMVS SEX. VOT.

L. VALERIVS
L. F.

COCCINEVS.

Q. OCTAVIO
QIPOBPPRIMO
VIVI RO. AVG.
SVC IVVENI

OCTAVIATICR PAT.
CONIVGI B. METI. . .
V.

These I had not time to write out in great characters;

Sciae Charite, quae vixit an. XVIII. m. VII.

Q. Casius, Nicephorus conjugii benemerenti.

M. Varius Varii F. C. Caesius C. F. Agrippa.

Muriatius Zosimus.

Signior
Musello's
palace.

Signior Musello hath a stately palace, where we saw a great many fair rooms furnished with excellent pictures both antient and modern. The latest were made by one Girolamo, a Fleming. Here were several little brass statues; a very rich small crucifix of wood rarely carved; a gilded elephant, having on his back a castle with a clock within it. Some other curiosities, as petrified shells, horns, and a very curious pecten, of a scarlet colour on the outside and round the edges of the inside, having many pricks upon it.

Signior
Marco Sala's
Museum.

Signior Marco Sala, an apothecary, hath many of *Calceolarius* his rarities, and others; among which we observed *sal fossile*; *sal Ammoniacum*, yellow as it is found in the earth; *plumbago*, which is somewhat like our lead-ore; *lapis aldergicus*; *terra rusma*; *matrix aluminis scistilis*; *sulphur naturale*; a gum called *charagna Ind.* two *siliquæ* like a pair of horns; a roundish Guiney fruit divided into six quarters; *fungus cervinus*; *folium caryophylli Pli.* *fagara minia Avic.* which is a little red bean with a black spot; *frutto del bdellio*; *mehen Bobem.* *areca*, which is a long reddish and shining fruit; *castanea purgatrix Pl.* *officulum ficus Ind.* *mecanites Pl.* *unicornu fossile*; a sort of *cornu Ammonis*, with a white spot in the middle; *Pietra di Rospo marino*, i.e. *conchæ operculum*; *matrix sive minera auri*; red coral

like bees wax; a small sort of crab, longer than the grancepole, which hath spinæ round the edges thus,



a porcupine's skin; a great fish with a little snout or horn like a sturgeon's; an Egyptian stone inscribed with hieroglyphical figures and letters; the picture of a man's head made of little square stones inlaid.

The government of this city is after this manner. The nobility chuses a great council of 122, who every year take out of themselves 50 by lot, which constitute the lesser council or senate. The remaining 72 are divided into six twelves or *muta's*, each twelve serving two months. These dispatch ordinary affairs, assemble the 50, and propound matters to them. When their two months are expired, they cannot meddle for that year in affairs.

The 122 are divided into two thirties, and two thirty-ones; and every year either 30 or 31 go out of the great council, and the same number comes in; so that every senator continues four years together: the fifth year he is incapable of any office, but the sixth year he is usually chosen again, tho' they may chuse new ones if they please, which they never do unless the old have committed some fault.

The 122 are chosen out of 50 families; and there is a law, that but three of a family can be in the great council at the same time.

There are also these considerable officers, viz.

1. *Della casa Mercante.*

2. Two *proveditori*, who look after the revenues, and govern by turns every three months. They are chosen every six months.

3. Two *cavallieri di commune*, who have charge over the bread, flesh, weights, shutting of shops on holy-days, &c. They are changed every six months.

4. Thirteen criminal judges, viz. 1. the *Podestà*, 2. *Vicario*, 3. *Giudice del maleficio*, 4. *Giudice del Grifone*, 5. *Giudice della regione Leone*. All these five are strangers, the other eight are *Veronese* gentlemen, four of which are doctors of law, elected out of the college of *Verona*, and four that are only gentlemen.

There are three colleges of notaries; 1. *Nobili*, 2. *Cittadini*, 3. ordinary notaries.

The *podestà* and *capitaneo* are sent by the *Venetians*. We saw a malefactor that

was

was hanged in the chief piazza, and was left on the gallows till the evening, when he was taken down by this procession, viz. first, some boys went before a cross and a black banner, then two black lanterns with lighted candles; and after them came many men, habited in black, their faces covered with a black hood, and they singing a doleful tune.

In this city are garrisoned 10 or 12 companies of foot, and two troops of horse, which are well paid by the state of *Venice*. Every horseman hath 13 ducats *per mensem*. The horse are esteemed better than the foot soldiers. Many *Germanians*, *Crabats*, &c. among them.

Here and at *Vicenza* we observed at meals only a dark coloured salt, like brown sugar, which they bring always in a plate. The white salt is prohibited.

The air of *Verona* is very subtle.

The wines here are, 1. *Moscatoello*, a sweet white wine, which hath a taste of musk; 2. *Vino Garganico*, which is a rich white wine, not so strong as the other; 3, & 4. *Vino Negro, Grosso & Picciolo*.

Feb. 9. We gave 25 livres for a coach and four horses, that carryed us this day to *Mantua*. We first travelled a streight and good way thro' a field country; and, after 10 miles, came to *Villa Franca*, a large village. Here we passed by an old brick castle, and paid two soldi a man as we passed thro' a gate of a brick wall, which was built by one of the *Scaligers*, and runs along from ——— to ———. Two miles further we arrived at our baiting place in *S. Zeno*. A mile or two from thence we went thro' *S. Sebastian*, a little village under the duke of *Mantua*, and then rode worse way. Six miles from *S. Zeno* we came to *Marmirolo*, where there is a curious palace of the duke of *Mantua's*, newly built for summer pleasures. The rooms are very neat, and richly adorned with pictures and statues. Here is a cage of birds; and before the palace is a pleasant fountain representing a rock, having several statues on it. Some distance round about stood other statues, and a little grove about all.

In an old castle near the palace are kept several animals, viz. 1. two badgers chained, having little boxes to run into; their legs and bellies black, a great spot of white down the middle of their heads, and another of black down to either eye; the hair greyish, long and stiff like hogs bristles. They eat bread, fruit, &c.

2. Sandy-coloured rabbits; with them was kept.

3. A gazella, about the bigness of a fawn, with very little legs; of a dilute fandy colour, the belly white, and the

horns wreathed, but not hook'd, like *SKIPPOW*. the rupicapra, else like to the gimps. Qu. Whether this was not generated by a deer and a gimps?

4. Gatto-lupo, of a fandy colour, having a short tail tipt with black, about the bigness of a mungrel mastiff, being between a wolf and a fox. It hath long black hair hanging from his ears, and a wattle of black hair under each nether jaw. Under his chin was white, his feet broad like a cat's.

5. Two gatto-pardi, male and female, much less than the former, being hardly so big as a fox; his tail tipt with black, the belly white, the rest of the body of a dilute fandy colour, and spotted over like a leopard. Both this and the gatto-lupo had faces like cats, and are carnivorous. The male gatto-pardo was not so fierce as the female.

6. A lusty he-lion, having a long tail tipt with black. On each foot he had four claws, and a little claw above them behind. When he lay down, he thrust out his penis, which seemed crooked, and bended backward toward his tail.

7. A great bear.

8. Two great eagles of a dark ferrugineous colour, and feathered almost to their claws.

In the road a laden camel was met by some of our company.

From *Marmirolo* we travelled a very streight, but bad way, shaded on each side with tall trees, which continued about three miles to a little chapel on the right hand, where the road winded a little to one side; but after that it continued streight to *Mantua*.

A *Dominican* friar who had been professor of philosophy in *Bononia*, and who at this time was reader of divinity in the *Dominican* cloister at *Verona*, travelled in the same coach with us to *Mantua*. He was very civil, and willing to inform us of these particulars, viz. That the *Scaligers* Customs. came first out of *England*; that in *Verona*, on the last Sunday of the carnival, are races of men, horses (instead of women which ran formerly) and asses that run thro' a long street, without riders, a præmium being given to the owner of the horse, &c. that wins. That in these parts all the children have equal portions; and the wife, if her husband dies first, carries her portion or dowry back with her: but if she dies first, then the children she leaves, take equal parts; and if she hath no children, half her dowry goes to her husband, and the other half to her parents, &c.

If a woman hath children by her first husband, and, marrying again, hath children by a second husband, when she dies,

SKIPPO. her estate is equally divided amongst all her children by both husbands.

If a young woman marries an old man, she will first have a dowry or jointure settled upon her for life.

Mantua.

When we arrived at *Mantua* we first passed a centinel at a paled gate, then entered a gate at the *Fortezza* (where we paid three soldi a man) which is strongly fortified with a good wall, and a very broad ditch of water; some distance thence we passed another gate, and then went over a long bridge; a good way further we went through a very long portico (like *Heidleberg* bridge) and entered a third gate, where soldiers examined us, and took away our fire-arms. Here they gave us this bolletin, viz.

Gratis. Adi. 19 Feb. 1664. N. B. Inglese.
Il quale viene da Verona et è d' anni 20.
con barba, Occhi Neri, Carnagione Com-
mune, entra in Mantua per Porta
bauendo disse di Volere
et alloggiare al et poi partire
per

We got into the city just before the ringing of the *Ave Maria* bell, when they always shut the gates. After we had taken up our lodging, we carried the bolletino to an officer, who writ it out into a great book, and made a mark on it, then returned it to us again, and gave us another scroll, which we delivered to our host, having paid five *Mantuan* livres for it.

The
duke's
palace.

The duke's palace is an indifferent building without, but within is a stately square and high hall, or guard-chamber, in the middle whereof hangs a coronet and four suns about it; towards the top are pictures of horses behind curtains. The roof is fairly painted. Next to the hall are three handsome rooms adorned with good pictures; two of those rooms are chambers of presence, having canopies in them; the roof of one is prettily fretted into a labyrinth, and in several places of it is written,

Che no fosse, che si fosse, &c.

And in the middle is,

Dedalee Industrie Tesie Virtute.

And round the edges,

Vinc. Gonz. Mant. IIII. et Montfer. II. Dux.
dum sub Arce Canissa contra Turcas pugn.

S. Barbara. In the chapel or church of *S. Barbara* we observed nothing besides the holy water basons of stone, which were carved (each of them) with a snake pursuing a toad.

I

We endeavoured to see the duke's cabinet of rarities, but were refused.

The stable is a long building, with two The fides, and a court in the middle; one side stable. was filled with horses and mules; and about half the other side was a stable, and the other half a riding-school. Two hundred horse kept here, among which we took notice of three white ones spotted curiously with black; over every horse's manger was the horse's name written.

S. Peter's is the cathedral, a very pretty St. Peter church, having two rows of pillars on church. each side of the nave, or body of the church, besides a row of little chapels on each side. The roofs both of church and chapels were neatly wrought and painted; handsome statues stood between the chapels and pictures of saints, round the body of the church above the pillars. Without the church-door we read this, printed, viz.

La Vele Confraternità della Beata Virgine
Coronata hoggi fà celebrare il residuo sino
alli cento Messe all'altare d'essa per l'ani-
ma di Cassandra Feranina; Fratelli et
Sorelle pregate per la liberatione d'essa dal
purgatorio.

S. Andrew's is a large and handsome St. An- collegiate church, the nave whereof is but drew's church. one arch.

The dukes of *Mantua* lie buried here under the choir. Behind the high altar table is a square place built of stone a good height, having round about it a portico, and round the top a stone rail. On a gravestone here was written,

Lampridium Carum Musis hic Mantua Ser-
vat. MDXL.

Nigh the west-door stood a great bell made with eight furrows in it, they said it was never rung but once, and then all the women in the town that were with child miscarried. Round about it is written in old characters.

Guido de Gonzaga Præpositus Ecclesiæ ma-
joris Mantuæ propriis manibus fecit hanc
Campanam in honorem pretiosi sanguinis
Christi, tempore illustris Principis Joh.
Franc. de Gonzaga primi Marchionis
Mantuæ Anno Dom. 1444.

Over the portico of this church, on the inside, is inscribed,

MCCCII Bonifatii Papæ IX. XIIIIV cerflai
Romanorum Regis XXVII. Anni ejus
sacri Cruoris hic inventione facta sub
Leone PP III et Carulo Magno DXC.
An

An III. sub Leone IIII et Henrico III
Erectionisq; eo tempore. hujus Ecclesie
sub Bonifatio Comite Beatrice et Matilda
CCCCIIII.

Omnipotens Domine Jesu sanguinis tui glorios. hoc in templo locati Honori et Reverentiae gratum utinam Majestati tuae atq; huic Urbi propitiabile dicatum istud opus accipe et ad vota id tibi offerentium respice pietate tua Clementissime Pater.

Palazzo di Ragione. The Palazzo di Ragione is above stairs, as the great hall at Padua, and is a long and broad room, on one side whereof is an antient effigies of *Virgil*. On the outside of this building is another old statue.

The corso. The corso, where horses run races, is a handsome long street with palaces on each side, among which is one old and fair palace belonging to count *Justus*.

Butchery. The butchery is a long and handsome building that stands by a channel of water which divides the city into two parts.

The duke's name is *Carlo Gonzaga II.* a young man. He married *Anna Maria* of the archduke of *Inspruck's* family, but he hath greater kindness for the countess *Margarita* of *Casal*. His soldiers have but 20 soldi per diem, which pay is too little, and therefore many run away; he hath also sbirri, who walk the streets with carbines, and secure the highways on horseback. He hath about 50 *Switzers* for his guard, who, with his pages, &c. are habited in a yellow livery with black lace.

Leti says, that 24 carbines attend the duke's person, and that he hath 800 horse well esteemed thro' all *Italy*, and 12000 foot; but two troops of light horse enrolled. The country yields 60000 doppie per annum, and *Montferrat* 13000. He says there are 6000 *Jews*, who pay 20000 scudi; but we were informed the *Jews* were about 700, who live in a part of the city (*Ghetto*) by themselves, and are known by an orange, tawny, or filemot ribband in their hats. *Leti* says the *Mantua* mills pay 4000 scudi, and that there are 45000 christians, from whom is expected 70000 scudi.

The government. The duke hath a council of state, consisting of six noblemen.

A minister of state, who represents the duke in his absence, dispatches the greatest affairs, punishes the noblemen, and determines such controversies among them, which the inferior magistrates have no power in.

At this time there was no minister of state; the last, which was marquis *Ottavio Gonzaga*, being lately dead.

A council called *Magistrato Ducale*, consisting also of six, and a president; these resemble our court of *Exchequer*, and de-

termine differences between the duke and his people.

Count *Paniffa* was president at this time.

Another council of six senators and a president, who judge in all civil and criminal causes, which are first brought to the *Capitano della justitia*, whose sentence must be confirmed by that senate, and signed by the duke. Lesser civil causes may be determined by the *Capitano* and senate.

Four secretaries of state.

In this dukedom are about 102 burgi, or terræ, over which are appointed so many commissaries or governors.

The duke makes knights, which are called *Cavallieri del Redemptore*.

Of this duke's family are these three small princes feudatory of the empire, 1. Prince of *Novellare*. 2. Of *Bozolo*. 3. Of *Gualtallo*, which do all coin money, have power of life and death, and are only obliged to be at the duke of *Mantua's* court three months in a year.

The duke of *Mantua* is called also prince of *Solfrino*.

Castione is another branch.

The prince of *Mirandula's* name is *Picus*. *Mirandula* is about the bigness of a citadel, and hath but one gate.

The duke's *Bucentoro* is a large boat, The but no ways comparable to that at *Venice*. duke's

We saw a rich gilded waggon of the *Bucentoro*, duke's.

Before the houses in the piazza, are some cloisters or portici.

The common people here are but poor, and they speak the *Italian* more corruptly than the *Venetians*. This city is not populous, yet about the market-place we observed a good number of people, it being *Carnival* time, and there was much masquerading, and every night an opera, or a ridiculous comedy.

The palaces are more plain, and the houses have less windows than those in the state of *Venice*.

None of the inhabitants wear filetto's, or daggers, as they do in *Venice*.

We observed a great company of school-boys walking two and two together, and clad in blue gowns with hanging sleeves.

We went up a high tower, where on the top lives a poor man and his family; his business is to strike the bells every hour, &c. Hence we had a large prospect of the city, which is great, and is situated in the lake.

The *Accesi* are about 80 in number, *Accesi*. and are like the *Virtuosi* at *Vicenza* and *Verona*; they have *S. Ignatius* for their patron, the *Jesuits* approving before any are

SKIPPON. are admitted; most of them study philosophy, and they have this impress or emblem, a *Speculum* reflecting the rays of the sun. Their president is chosen every year; the present is called *Alfonso Ambrotti*. Their protector is the *Principino*, or young duke *Carlo Ferdinando*, about 13 years of age.

The *Mantuan* money is now made of base silver, and will not therefore pass current in other territories.

Measures. A *Braccia* here is = 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

The pound = 12 ounce; the ounce = $\frac{1}{16}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *English* ounce.

Palazzo del T.

Without the city after we had passed over a brick bridge cross a narrow part of the lake, we entered a palace of the duke's, called *Palazzo del T*, which is a handsome, square and uniform, but low building, rough cast like stone, having a court within: In the front of a pleasant garden is a pretty portico, adorned with neat statues: We saw several rooms furnished with rare pictures made by *Julio Romano*; in every chamber were two rich cabinets made alike: The hall here hath the walls well painted with the fight of the giants, and therefore it is called the *Giants Hall*, which is a square room with a spherical roof, and is very remarkable for its speedy conveyance of any noise that is but whispered; for if at one corner you speak very softly to another in the opposite corner, he will easily hear you. *Note*, That the voice is heard only in the opposite corner, and not in the other corner of the same side, nor in the middle of the room. The middle of this hall hath a stately cabinet, adorned with crystal windows and pillars. One room here was beautify'd with rare sculpture.

Feb. 11. About 22 o'clock, after we had received our fire-arms we left at our entrance into *Mantua*, we took our places in a bark, and delivered a bolletin to a fellow there. Then we went through a short channel, and came into the lake, on our left hand having a view of a long brick bridge, consisting of about 45 or 50 arches, which lead to *S. Georgio*, a suburb as strongly fortified as the *Fortezza* we entered *Mantua* at. In the lake we saw a very great number of coots, which the duke will not suffer any to shoot at. After some time we came to the river *Mincio*, which comes out of *Lago di Garda* at *Peschiera*, a fortified place of the *Venetians*, and in its passage makes the lake of *Mantua*, which is five miles long: Ten miles from *Mantua* we passed a bridge and sluice at *Governo*, where having baited about an hour, we came into the river *Po*, which is about the bigness of that part of *Danubius* we saw. The country on each side the *Po* is very rich:

*Eridanus, quo non alius per pingua culta,
In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis.*

Virg. Georg. l. 4.

Ten miles further we passed by *Ostia* on the left hand; and three miles thence on the same side the pope's country began: Seven miles further we passed by *Massa* on the left hand; and seven miles more, at break of day, (Feb. 12.) we arrived at *Stellata*, a large village of the pope's, where we refreshed ourselves with cakes and *Aqua Vitæ*, while the watermen procured a bolletin or pass from the fort, which hath a small place called *Figarolo* opposite to it; then we rowed on, and went in the right branch of the *Po*, which here makes a great island. Eight miles from *Stellata* our bark stopp'd at a village called *Il Ponte*, where a great many porters were ready to carry the baggage into a lesser boat, which we entered after we had passed under a long portico like a corn market-house: In this boat we passed a narrow cut of water for four miles, and about noon came directly to the walls of *Ferrara*. We paid half a paulo a man *Ferrara*, for our passage in the last boat, and half a *Venetian* scudo a man for our passage from *Mantua* to *Il Ponte*.

Before we entered *Ferrara* we took each of us a bolletin, and left our fire-arms.

The fellow that gave us these bolletins, writ down our names, ages, &c. The bolletin was after this form;

Adi. Feb. 22, 1664. Entra per la Porta S. Bened. P. S. Inglese . . . si concede a . . . che possa alloggiare il Sopradetto per notte tre . . . Si proroga per . . . dat. 12 . . . di . . . 1664. Il Forastiero ricevuto c'haurà questo bolletino alla porta, doura andare da il ufficiale, che sia in commune, il quale sotto scrivendolo gli conceverà l'allogio per notte 3, le quali passate, et volendo di più trattenerfi, douro andar da Monsig. v. Leg. per ottener la proroga, portundo il presente bolletino sempre adesso, e volendo uscire, deue presentarlo alla porta per la quale uscirà, avvertendo, che si tralasciorà alcuna delle diligenze sopradette, sarà castigato conforme alli bandi in pena di scudi 50, è tre tratti di corda, si come anco se non dirà il vero nome, cognome, a sua patria. Adi . . . di . . . 1664. uscisse per porta.

After we had received the bolletins, we came within the walls, and went under many little bridges that were over a strait cut of water, which brought us into the middle of the city, where we landed nigh the palace.

This

This city is about seven miles in compass, and is strongly fortified with a good brick wall, and a very broad ditch of water.

Portici or cloisters are before some of the houses; many of the streets are streight, and of a handsome breadth and length: There are some stately palaces, viz. that of marq. Ziral, *Bevil' acqua*. Near a large piazza, where tilting is used, is the *Palazzo di Diamante*, so called because every stone on the outside is shaped into the figure of a diamond.

In the piazza before the cathedral is this pope's statue, sitting in a chair, upon a square pillar, whereon is inscrib'd;

Alexandro VII. P. M. Moderatori olim Vigilantissimo nunc Parenti Optimo, pro instaurata Civium felicitate amorem quem servat in Corde æternat. in Ære Ferraria, ab Orbe redempto Anno MDCLX.

A brass figure stands on each side of a gate that leads to the stairs of the publick hall; one of them is in a sitting posture, and represents the duke of *Borjo*; the other is on horseback, and represents *Leonellus Marchio Estensis*.

Before the west end of the *Domo* are low stories, which are chain'd together.

Under the marble picture of *Clement* the eighth is this inscription;

Clementi VIII. Pont. Max. Principi Optimo, Patri Patrie, Domino nostro beneficentissimo, Qui Ferrariam Petri Card. Aldobrandini Fratres, Filii, Pontificii Exercitus moderatores virtute receptum sui et Sacri Senatus adventu decoravit, Væstigia à Ducibus quondam imposita aut sustulit aut imminuit ac tributo instituit. Centum virale concilium ac Decem Viralem Magistratum annuo censu ad tuendam dignitatem et publicos sumptus faciendos, quique virorum tribunal ad lites justè ac celeriter dirimendos stipendiis perscriptis erexit, novam arcem præsidio civitatis exædificavit, Margaritam Austriam magnificentissimè exceptam Philippo III. Catholico regi conjugio junxit, Duobus maximis conciliatis Regibus, optatam Christianæ Reipublicæ pacem peperit, postremò Urbem repetens apud Ferrarienses Cives de quibus optimè privatim ac publicè meruerat ingens sui desiderium reliquit, ne tot tantorumque beneficiorum erga hanc civitatem memoriæ oblivione intercidat, Franciscus ex Comitibus Blandrata et Sancti Georgii Card. S. Clementis Flamine Legatus ejusdemque Cardinalis Aldobrandini Ferrariæ Collegatus ponendamavit, MDCII.

The *Domo* is large, having double isles, and handsome chapels. We saw here the
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monument of *Lilius Giraldu*, whose inscription is in *Schottus*. Nigh the high altar is a plain tomb standing upon four marble pillars, and this inscrib'd;

Hic jacet Sacre Memorie Urbanus Papa III. natione Mediol. genere Crebellosum, Sepultus

Mill' CLXXXV. et revelatus Mill' CCCV. die VIII mensis Augusti, indicione tertia, temporibus Patris Guidonis Ferrariensis Episcopi, Johannis Archipresbyteri, et Bonigratie Prepositus.

On two pillars of this monument is a cross, and this written;

Reliquie Sanctorum Laur. Mart. et Gregorii.

Reliquio Sanctorum Georgii et M. Aurel. Ep.

The *Theatins* church will be a neat small *Theatins*, place when it is quite finish'd;

The *Carthusians* have a great convent, *Carthusians* with several cloisters, one of which is a large square; their cells are just like those we saw at *Venice*, only bigger; no women are suffer'd to enter their monastery, and they refused the queen of *Sweden* when she was here.

The church is very neat: a high iron grate divides the choir from the body of the church. On the arch of the choir is written;

Anno primo à terræ motu maximo, superato navali Exercitu Turcarum, Deo Immortali Summo ac Divo Christophoro templum restauravimus MDLXXI. Regnante Alfonso Estense Duce Ferrariæ Quinto.

The *Benedictines* have a fair church, *Benedictines* wherein we saw a handsome monument of *Ariosto* the poet.

The convent hath four neat cloisters.

In the *Dominicans* church we saw the *Dominicans* monuments of *Leonicellus* the herbarist, *Priscianus*, and others. See their inscriptions in *Schottus*.

S. Paul's is a large and not unhandsome church.

The palace of the cardinal is call'd the *The castle*, situate in the middle of the city; it is square, built of brick, and hath a broad moat of running water about it; at each corner is a tower, and in one of them we observ'd the ascent was half the breadth a smooth spiral, and the other half stairs. We saw a great hall, and several fair rooms with canopies of state, and in the middle is a pretty court. The cardinal hath *Switzers* for his guard.

Cardinal *Francione* was legate at this time.

SKIPPON. The government of Ferrara is by a legate and a vice-legate, sent by the pope.

Govern- The city hath a great council of all the
ment. gentlemen, who meet once a year, and chuse

One *Giudice de Savii*,

Four *Consuli*.

Both the judge and consuls are elected but for one year, but they are most commonly re-elected the second year; and the third year new ones are made.

Feb. 12. In the evening we went out at *Porta Paula*, where we left our bolletin, and met with our arms: Here we refused to take a pass to free us from the trouble of searching, having no forfeitable goods; and then we walk'd almost a mile on a high bank, having a fenny country on each side, and enter'd a small bark of the couriers, where we found a croud of passengers. Before we set forward we paid five *julii* a man; then we were rowed about 17 miles, and at a village call'd *Mal-Albergo* we remov'd into a larger bark, which was towed by one horse; we observ'd the country to be low and fenny, but as we went up stream the country mended. A mile or two before we reach'd *Bolonia*, we took notice of many long and narrow ponds, with rows of stakes in them, wherein hemp is wretted; and hereabouts are paper and iron mills: We pass'd through about ten sluices or *sostegni*, which keep up the water of the *Renus*, a narrow stream that runs to *Mal-Albergo*. In the same boat we had the company of an ingenious *Augustine* monk, a *Theatin*, a *Franciscan* of *S. Anton. di Padua*, and an *Oliverian*, or white monk.

Bononia. Feb. 13. Having travelled by water all night, we arrived about 22 hours under the walls of *Bononia*, and gave in our names near the landing place; then hired *Camere Locante*, being three chambers with three beds, for $2\frac{1}{2}$ paulo's a night, and bought our own provision. This evening a servant of our lodging went with us to the cardinal's palace, and took a bolletin, which allowed us to lodge in that house.

The palace. In the piazza before the palace is a curious large fountain, with the figure of a *Neptune* and four angels: Over the entrance into the palace is a fair and great statue of pope *Gregory XIII.* blessing with his hand, and over him is written,

Gregorio XIII. Pont. Max. S P Q B. P.

On one side is this inscription;

Mariæ Sospitatrici, Adeste O Sol ac Luna testes, vos autem quæ marmor hic præconuntiat audite O Secula. Sæviebat viru-

I

lenta lue feralis Erynnis, squalliebat ubiq; funere civitas jamjam futura vastitas, cum opifera ex empyreis Mariæ rosetis adspirante aura ilico evanuit virus, stetit occidio, revixit salus, inde diva sospitatrix circumducto per vias triumpho, in subiecta hic platea animis atq; gemmis coronata nova Regina jure in Bononiensium corda regnavit, Manu Socia, pietate pari hinc Antonius Cardinalis Sancta Crucius Legatus etiam in Marcello Sancta Crucio Nepote hodie pro-legato amabilissimus, inde Hieronymus Cardinalis Columna Archiepiscopus Optimus inter servati populi mixtas lætitiæ lacrymis acclamationes coronarunt, votiva quotannis in ævum supplicatione beneficium testaturæ Bononia à peste sibi superstes posuit. Regnante Innocentio P. P. Decimo. Legato Fabritio Cardinali Sabello, Archiepiscopo Nicolao Cardin. Ludoviso. Anno Jubilei MDCL.

On the other side are two large inscriptions, one to *Clement VII.* the other to *Clement VIII.*

We walk'd up one ascent, where are large open rooms round about; in one of which is this inscription;

D. O. M. Gregorio XIII. ad summum Pontificatum ob maximas Virtutes Evecto Reipublicæ Christianæ bono ac patriæ splendori nato, Civi optimè merito S P Q Bon. statuam hanc erigendam curavit, quam jussu Pontificio Petrus Donatus Card. Cæsius Legatus hic collocandam fulcroq; muniendam decreto interposuio sanxit, Anno Dominicæ Nativitatis MDLXXX. mense Octobris.

A large room in this palace, where the notaries sit, which is called *Spelunca Latronum*.

The city and cardinal legates armories are in this palace.

At the upper end of one room is a statue of *Hercules* and a dragon.

In another over several doors are effigies of popes, citizens of *Bononia*, viz. *Gregory XIII.* *Innocent IX.* *Gregory XV.* and *Innocent X.*

We went up another easy ascent, and over a door is the effigies of *Urban VIII.*

Then we came into a fair hall, which hath a roof carved with popes arms, and painted; the walls are also curiously pictured with several stories, and under each there is an inscription explaining them:

1. *Aulam Farnesiam quam conspicis quatuor Pontificum quos Paulus III. ad purpuram evexerat, Julii III. à monte, Marcelli 2 Cervini, Pauli 4. Caraffæ. Pii 4. Medicæ insignia condecorabant. Julii, Pauli,*
ac

*ac Pii ob novum ornatum Semotis hoc im-
moti obsequii monumentum suffecit Hieron.
Card. Farnesius Leg. An. Dom. MDCLX.*

2. *Sanctus Petronius privilegia Archigymnasii
Bononiensis quæ ab Imperatore Theodosio ob-
tinuerat Doctores custodienda tradit.*
3. *Franciscus primus Gallorum Rex Bononiæ
quam plurimos scrofulis laborantes sanat.*
4. *Paulus 3 Farnesius ad componenda inter
supremos Christiani nominis Principes dis-
sidia ab Urbe proficiscens Bononium Cuncto-
rum ordinum plausu ingreditur.*
5. *Ægidius Card. Albornotius Leg. Navigii
aquas peraugendas aliaq; opifica construenda
demandat.*
6. *Carolus quintus Cæsar aureo sacri Romani
Imperii diademate a Clemente septimo Me-
dicæo Bononiæ exornatur.*
7. *Vittam Deiparæ Virginis Bononia sub-
tractam ac subinde restitutam Maphæus
Card. Barberinus Legatus solenni ritu ex-
cipit ac recognitam veneratur.*
8. *Sacra Deiparæ Imago à S. Luca depicta ab
infectis imbris cæliq; inclementia Bononi-
am vindicat.*
9. *Ingentes Bononiensium copiæ ab Urbano II.
è Caravallensi Consilio Roma redeunte Sa-
cræ orientalis expeditionis decorantur cruce.*

At the upper end of this hall is a great
figure of pope Paul III. and underneath is
written;

*Paulo III. Pont. Max. Joannes Card. Moro-
nius Bonon. Legat. MDXLV.*

Over a door is inscribed;

*Aulam hanc ubi Bononiensium inclita fides
Paulo III. statuam olim posuit, in angu-
stio rem formam exornandam curavit Hie-
ronymus Cardin. Farnesius Leg. A. D.
MDCLX.*

In another room are the effigies of Ju-
lius II. and Alexander VII.

Within the palace walls is a large garden, ^{SKIPPON.}
wherein are many medicinal simples kept; the walls of it are curiously painted; the *are-* Physick
ole or beds are fenced with a high grate of garden.
iron, and in the middle of the garden is a
fair and large brick well.

At the end of S. Petronius two Roman
stones are well preserved; one of them hath
three effigies of men, and this inscription
over their heads;

C. CORNELIVS. FVLLONIA. CORNELIA.
CL. HERMIA. SALL. OFFICIOSA. CL. PRISCA.
V, V. Θ

The other stone is thus inscrib'd, viz.

Q. MANILIO
C. F. CORDO. 7
LEG XXI. RAPAC
PRAEF. EQVIT. EXACT
TRIBV T. CIVITAT. GALL.

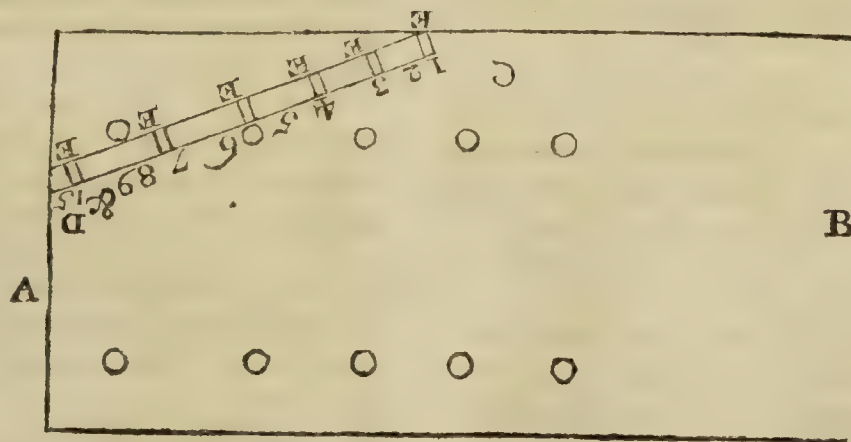
FAC. CVR
CERTVS. LIB.
INAGR. PXL'IV. INFRO PXL'IV.

A stately ascent by steps leads up from S. Petro-
the piazza to S. Petronius's church, the front ^{nus.}
whereof above the entrance is not finish'd;
the lower part is crufted over with stone.
The church within is very large, the nave
being broad and high, and the isles not
much lower, being also of a good breadth.
The church is not built with regard to the
four quarters, as others are, but the high
altar here is placed southward, whereas in
others it is east.

At the great door is written in stone;

*Meridiamæ hujus semitæ tota Longitudo aucta
titulis est sexcenti-millesima pars circuitus
Universæ terræ.*

From this place in the pavement is drawn
part of the zodiac, running obliquely with-
in the body of the church; thus,



AB is the church; B is the high altar; ther from C, are the more distant from
CD is the zodiac; where at E E, &c. one another.
are describ'd the signs, which, the fur-

SKIPPON.

On one side of the zodiac are mark'd 15 hours, which the further from C, are the more distant from one another.

The signs were thus divided on one side into 68 parts, and on the other into 250.

At the end of the zodiac is an ellipsis drawn, and within it is written ;

Solstitium Hybernium Decembris die XXI.

At the other end of the zodiack, on a long square stone is written ;

Linea meridiana à vertice ad tropicum capric. MDCLVI.

Signa Zodiaci descendentia.

Maximi terræ Circuli II & III gradus
distantiæ a Vertice perpendiculi partes
centesimæ horæ ab occasu ad ortum.

Punctum verticule.

Here one sees the curious and exact meridional line, which that rare astronomer *Cassini* laid along a great part of the pavement in a brass circle: It marks a true point of mid-day from *June* to *January*. See *Burnet's Travels*, p. 168.

We went up the leads of the church, and observ'd the hole the sun beams pass through to the dial on the pavement; the hole was shap'd thus, [a]; at *a* the beams strike through, and below that we guess'd there might be a glass over the picture of the sun, that is painted in the roof of the isle: This hole is directly over C in the pavement, and in the wall is the measure of height from the roof to the last-mention'd square stone; and there is also in that wall a narrow black stone . . . long, with this written ;

Perpendiculi pars centesima.

In this and other churches this *Lent* time was a canvas canopy over that part of the church they preach'd in.

The publick schools have a handsome long cloister before towards the street; within is a double portico, the pillars whereof are not so high and fair as those at the schools in *Padua*, but the court seems somewhat broader: In the middle of it is a pillar, with the head of *Janus* upon it, and this inscrib'd on the pedestal.

Ludovico Card. Ludovisio S R E Vice Cancellario Bonon. Archiepiscopo Protectori ac Patrono optimo utraq; Scholarum Universitas CIOIOCCXXIV. Idib. Nov. P. P. C. C.

The walls of the portici are neatly adorn'd with coats of arms and inscriptions to popes, legates, professors, &c. There are two fair ascents, and above there is a long gallery, like the *Dormitoria* in convents, having inscriptions, &c. on the walls, and the schools one each side.

Here is a neat chapel, which hath the roof and walls well painted: The school-rooms are very fair and large, many of which are curiously painted on the roof and walls. In several places are these inscriptions, names, &c.

Under a small figure of cardinal *Borromeus* ;

S. Carolo Borromæo Q. hoc ædificium in hanc amplitudinem erex. juristarum Universitas Gymnasium in Custodiam, seipsam in tutelam, opus hoc in honorem et cultum D. D. Renovarunt in ampliorem formam superiores III Præsidentes Anno MDCXII. Sub auspiciis illustris. ac Reverendiss. D. Card. Barberini Bonon. de lat. Legati.

In one room is a pulpit, about which are seats and rails, and this written ;

Summa Privilegii

Ab Imp. Cæs. Fl. Theodosio juniore Aug. Gymnasio Bononiæ concessa.

Qui Prætor judexve quinquennio in Bononiensi Gymnasio Studior. causa non consumpto ad judicandum accesserit, ejus decreta sententiæ irritæ sunt.

Qui Doctor in ordinem ascitus, libro a majoris Ecclesiæ Archidiacono non accepta fuerit ejus decreta licet peritorum omnium suffragiis comprobata, prorsus nulla esto.

Qui Scholarem aliquem ad Gymnasium Bonon. pergentem manu verbove offenderit capitis reus esto.

Qui Magistratus prove Magistratu injuriam Scholari illatam persequi prætermiserit eadem panâ tenetor. Anno Domini MDLXVII.

Qui Honestissimi hujus Consilii Participes erunt facti in primis operam dent ut jura, instituta, mores, consuetudinesq; omnes quæ ad hujus Scholæ commoda auctoritateq; tuendam

*tuendam pertineant, summa cura custodi-
antur.*

*Reſtori Scholæ Max. idemq; meritis honos ab
omnibus habeatur.*

*Legitimi publicar. profeſſionum Dies diligen-
tiſſimè obeantur.*

*Profeſſorum ipſorum dignitas quam maxime
conſervetur.*

*Inter Scholaſticorum Nationes æterna piaz;
pax concordiaq; concilietur.*

*Exornatus ad Urbis et Scholæ dignitatem ex
auctoritate eorum quorum inſignia circum-
jeſta ſunt, et ex totius Conſilii locus eſt.
A. D. MDLXVII.*

Round the edges of the roof are theſe
two verſes;

*Eſte Pares et ob hoc concordēs Vivite, cum
Vos
Et Decor, et Studium, et Munus ſociarit et
Ætas.*

Under them are the arms of ſeveral na-
tions painted on the walls, viz.

1. Romanorum. (twice)
2. Neapolit. (twice)
3. March. infer.
4. March. ſuper.
5. Sicul. (twice)
6. Florent.
7. Piſan. & Lucen.
8. Sardin. & Cyprian.
9. Senen.
10. Spoletan.
11. Ravennaten.
12. Venetorum.
13. Januen.
14. Mediolanen.
15. Theſſalen.
16. Longobard.
17. Cœleſtin.
18. Romandiſol.
19. Daticæ.
20. Pruten. 2 Ligon.
21. Flandren.
22. Boemorum.
23. Polonorum.
24. Ungarorum.
25. Alemannorum. (twice)
26. Navarenſium.
27. Regnum Valent. Majorc.
28. Ragonet. Catel.
29. Turonenſium.
30. Bituricen.
31. Vaſcon. 2 Alven.
32. Sabaudiorum.

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33. Burgundiorum.
34. Anglenſium.
35. Provincial.
36. Portugalen.
37. Gallorum.
38. Indorum.
39. Anglorum.

Over one coat of arms is written,

Secretarii.

In another room like the former is in-
ſcrib'd on the wall;

*Magiſter eſto diligens doctus Vigil
Veriq; amator et Alieni commodi
Auditor, et tu ſis laboris appetens
Magiſtri Amator et Imitator ſedulus.*

*Conſultor, hic utcuq; tempus poſtulat
Adeſto ſemper publicum negotium
Curato, agendum quid ſit in præſentia
Videto, longè providens in poſterum
Caveto, partes ſic tuas tuebere.*

Out of many I tranſcrib'd the two fol-
lowing inſcriptions;

*D. O. M. Hieronymo SRE Cardinali Far-
neſio Bononiæ de latere Legato Gentilitiis
Regum Liliis ſuoq; nomine Celebri ob tran-
quillitatem Provinciæ annonam populis cun-
ctis ordinibus miniſtratam juſtitiam Anto-
nius Euſebius SRI Comes de Königſegg et
Rottenfels Dominus in Aulendorf et Stauffen
Prior publicos inter applauſus communi ju-
riſtarum conſenſione tutelari Studiorum Prin-
cipi perenne hoc ad poſteros monumentum
ponit, Anno MDCLXI.*

*D. O. M. Franciſco Muratorio Anatomico
Ordinario Dii vitam date cui ob Anatomien
publicam ſumma cum ſui laude Audito-
rumq; utilitate doctè accurate ſæciliſſimèq;
nunc primum abſolutum Electores et Syndici
hunc diuturnæ memoriæ lapidem P. P.
MDCVI.*

Under one inſcription was written,

Syndici Anatomie P. P.

The catalogue of the preſent profeſſors
is printed in Mr. Ray's obſervations.

One morning we heard part of an ana-
tomy lecture made by Capponius, who, anatomy
when he had done, diſputed with an Au-
guſtine friar and two others of the com-
pany; but as ſoon as they had urg'd an
argument, the ſtudents grew impatient,
and ſtamp'd and clapp'd their hands: It
being carnival time, ſome maſquers came
into

SKIPPON. into the anatomy theatre, and drollingly interrupted the dispute: That ended, the professor came down from his seat, and enter'd the rails, where lay a human body, in which he skilfully demonstrated the *Musculi Laryngis*; we observ'd him sometimes to speak *Latin*, and sometimes *Italian*, to the auditors.

Anatomy theatre.

The anatomy theatre is a high and large square room, wainscotted and fairly adorn'd with figures of some *Bolognese*, and the famous physicians in the world.

On *Shrove-Tuesday* was the conclusion of the carnival: The cardinal legate, attended with twenty-four *Switzers* and many coaches, made a tour in the streets; several in masquerades were on horseback, and there was some expectation of tilting, which they had not by reason of some difference among the gentlemen: From the balcony of the palace hung a piece of plate, which was design'd as a reward if there had been any jousting.

This evening we renew'd our bolletín for our stay three days longer in the city.

Feb. 17, being *Ash-Wednesday*, the face of things was changed into a more serious look: In the morning friars went about the streets singing very loud, and in *S. Petronius's* church we saw many people kneeling before priests, who took ashes out of a little dish, and with them made the sign of a cross on their heads, muttering somewhat all the while.

Colleges.

In *Bologna* are many colleges, wherein students live, and are maintain'd out of the college revenues: They wear black gowns like the professors, with sleeves not so long and large as the bachelors of arts in *Cambridge*; and to distinguish what college they are of, every one when he walks abroad throws a tippet over his left shoulder, at the bottom whereof the arms of the founder are wrought in colours. The colleges are, 1. *Collegio Ancarani*: 2. *Colleg. Bresciano*: 3. *Colleg. Ferrerio ò Piamontese detto della Viola*: 4. *Colleg. Montalto*: 5. *Colleg. de Nobili*, where gentlemen's sons are instructed by the *Jesuits*: 6. *Colleg. Ongaro ò di Zagabria*: 7. *Colleg. di Poeti*: 8. *Colleg. Panolino*: 9. *Colleg. di Reggio*: 10. *Colleg. di Spagna ò Sabinese*, where were two *Englishmen* at this time, viz. *Jo. King*, and one *Gregory*: 11. *Colleg. Vives*: 12. *Colleg. Fiamingo*: 13. *Colleg. della Famiglia di Fieschi Genovese*, where there is always some of that name and family.

The *Spanish* college was erected by cardinal *Ægidius Albernosu*, where there are none but such as have been doctors, (in *Spain*?) and can prove their nobility. Most of them are civilians; and out of them are chosen such as govern in the kingdom of *Naples* and duchy of *Milan*. One *Fallon* an *Irish* priest of that college, and doctor

there. The college is a pretty small building.

Every college hath a priest that looks after the revenue, &c.

In this city are three academies, like Academies at *Vicenza* and *Verona*, viz. 1. call'd *mes. Gl'Arđenti*; 2. *Indomiti*; the third is kept at signior *Calderini's* house.

We heard two stories here, one concerning *Hugo Bon Compagno*, who was afterwards pope *Gregory XIII.* "That when he was a boy, he and his father's tenant's son planted a pear tree, which grew well, and in the mean time *Hugo* was advanc'd to the popedom; the tenant's son hearing of it, and some of the pope's relations threatening to turn him out, he goes with a basket of pears gather'd from the fore-mention'd tree, and carries them to *Gregory XIII.* inquiring for *Mess. Hugo*; being brought before him, the fellow discourf'd bluntly with him, and presented him the pears, telling him they grew upon the tree they planted when they were boys together, and hinted he was in danger of being turn'd out of his farm, which the pope presently bestow'd upon him."

The other story was of *Clement VIII.* who was walking incognito to a parish church on the hills, not far from *Bologna*, in the way to *Florence*, met with two or three priests that were commending the place for its situation; and one of them said, "If that benefice were his, he would not care a — for the pope himself: *Clement*, when he return'd to *Rome*, sent for this priest, who was struck with a great fear, and could say nothing but only *Beatissimo Padre, perdonatemi, &c.* and the pope told him he was the man that had spoken dangerous words, (repeating what he said about the benefice) but presently gave him that living."

The government is by a legate; Govern-

Vice-legate, who rules in the absence of ment.
the cardinal legate;

Auditore di Corone, who is a judge criminal;

Auditore Generale, who is judge in civils, from whom there is an appeal to the five *Auditori di Ruota*.

N. B. All these above-mention'd are made by the pope.

The first of *July* by course enters one of those five into their office of *Podestà*.

Qu. Whether the same with the *Auditore di Corone*?

The *Quaranta*, consisting of fifty senators, (but call'd *Quaranta* because formerly but forty, the pope adding ten more, and obliging them to pay two thousand ducats a man for their places) are chosen by the pope out of the nobility for life.

Every

Every two months there is a rotation among them, one by course being made

Confaloniero, who elects

The *Antiani*, consisting of six citizens and a doctor of law.

The *Quaranta*, or senate of fifty, chuse every four months sixteen to determine differences among the traders. We were inform'd that they consisted of four senators, four citizens, four merchants, and four noblemen, besides a doctor of law and a notary; and some said there was no certain number of each quality, but that the senate elected what number of each they pleased, only they are obliged to chuse a doctor of law, a gentleman, a citizen, a merchant, and a *Capo d'Artisani*, whom they call *Masfaro*, who was this year a fishmonger.

When any of the sixteen walks abroad, he hath a boy with a halbert that follows him.

March 1. N. S. We observ'd the ceremonies of a *Confaloniero's* (*Vexillifer Justitiae*) entrance into his office: In the morning, from the cardinal's to his own palace sand was strewed in the streets, and in one of his chambers we saw him sitting on a carpet with the old *Confaloniero*, and the seven *Antiani*, any one having leave to pass through and see them: While they were sitting here seven of the city trumpets sounded in his palace, and then play'd on other wind musick, after them came five city drums, which beat some time, and then a great company of the poorer sort crouded into the court, and had bread thrown them out of a window, which some of them receiv'd in baskets on poles: Verses in commendation of the new *Confaloniero* were cast about; then came the guard, or whole company of *Switzers*, who had each of them two great rings of cake given them, and after that they march'd back, the captain being habited with his red and slit trunk breeches as the common soldiers; after him came three *Switzers* with long naked swords on their shoulders; then the company followed, in the middle of which were halberts instead of pikes, every *Switzer* carrying his cake upon his halbert, and the musketeers on the left arm: A little distance from the *Confaloniero's* house they gave him a volley of shot: Many servants in liveries, and five with short silver maces, came then before the old and new *Confaloniero*, and the doctor of law on his right hand; the old *Confaloniero* was in his cloak, and the new one in a short gown lined with white furr; the doctor of law was in a professor's gown lined also with such furr; then came six *Antiani* in their furr'd cloaks: Thus they proceeded to the cardinal's palace, where over the entrance a noise of trumpets re-

ceiv'd them, and the *Swiss* musketeers made a lane below, and the halberteers another above, for the *Confaloniero*, &c. to pass through into a chamber, where, after a little resting, they went up into a pretty chapel, well painted on the walls, the cardinal going first, who had a silver crucifix carried before him by a priest, and his train held up by another priest: The cardinal was habited with a scarlet gown, and half way over it with a surplice, and upon that a scarlet *Epomis*, with a small *Cucullus*, and his scarlet square cap on: After him follow'd the new *Confaloniero*, &c. who with the cardinal perform'd some devotions before the altar, kneeling against red velvet stools: Then the cardinal seated himself in a chair, with his back against the altar table, and his cap on, all the rest of the company being bare: On his left hand stood a priest in his surplice, and on his right one in a long black gown at the sound of a trumpet read a good while out of a folio book; that done, the priest and another person kneel'd on each side of the cardinal, and held before him a large folio, and a fellow stood by holding a banner; then came the new *Confaloniero* and kneel'd down, kiss'd the book and the cardinal's hand, lays his hand upon the banner, and takes the upper seat of the old *Confaloniero*, for on the right side of the chapel was a bench, whereon first sat the old *Confaloniero*, &c. After this the banner was carried out, and the *Antiani* were sworn in the same manner: At the conclusion the cardinal and the *Confaloniero* rose and said some prayers where they did at their entrance; the new *Confaloniero* stay'd in the palace, and the old one, attended with some *Switzers*, and a great company of gentlemen, went to *S. Petronius*, perform'd some devotion there, and so return'd to his house. When the ceremonies in the chapel were ended, a noise of trumpets sounded over the palace gate.

Feb. 17. In the evening was a great procession: First, all the gentlemen of *Bononia* met at a church call'd *Del' Ospital di* near *S. Petronius*, and with tapers lighted in their hands march'd two and two up into the choir of *S. Petronius*, where the cardinal legate was kneeling on a red velvet cushion before the altar, whereon stood the host, included in a high *pixis*; near the altar three priests in copes kneel'd, and while the gentlemen went round and back again into the body of the church, one of them took off the top of the *pixis*, and set it lower down upon the altar; then the three priests kneel'd before the altar, and another came and cast a scarf of white farset net or taffety over the shoulders of him in the

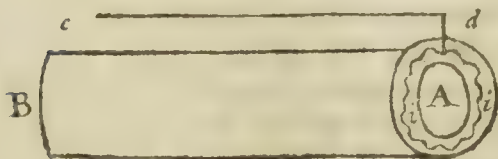
SKIPPER.

SKIPFON. the middle, who rose up and took the host, fixing his eyes upon it, and walk'd between two priests down the altar steps, and follow'd the gentlemen, choristers and canons; at the bottom of the steps into the choir stood a canopy ready, which was carried over the priest that held the host; then this procession was made round the church; first the gentlemen, next the choristers, canons, cardinal, with part of his *Switzers* before him (his train held up) and gentlemen in cloaks lin'd with furr; at the middle of the ascent the gentlemen stopp'd, and the choristers, canons, host without the canopy, legate, &c. went up through a lane of them to the altar, where the host was set down; after some devotions the cardinal took it up, and wav'd it to and fro in the sight of the people, that were on their knees very devoutly.

All the time of this last procession there was musick, sometimes the organ play'd alone, and sometimes the choristers sung alone, sometimes both together, and at intervals a noise of trumpets.

Silk.

We saw the *fattura* or making of silk thread: In a long room we had a pleasant sight of the winding of *Seta di Greggia*, consisting of five or six *Bavi*, as they come from the *Thebeæ*: This silk is made up in great skins upon swifts, and then in the *filo* unwound from thence, and wound upon a little spindle by a long axis, with a great many circles of cogs; many of these axes go cross the gallery, and every circle of cogs moves a little wheel that turns the spindle, which draws the silk from the reels or swifts that hang upon long axes below the spindles: In the middle of every swift hangs a little wooden ball, from a ring of wood through which the axis of the swift passes, and the ring being loose, the ball always hangs downwards, though the swift be turn'd round: The threads, before they are wound upon the spindles, go through little eyes, that guide them right upon the spindles, which eyes are all fastned in a long bar of wood; and to keep the threads from lapping all in one place of the spindle, the bar with eyes is drawn backwards and forwards by a spoke that is fastned to it, and goes into a furrow'd and indented circle in an axis; *ex. gr.*



A B is the axis; *ii* the indented furrow'd circle; *c d* is the long bar of wood in which the eyes are fastned; *d* is the spoke: Those indentures in the circle make the bar move backward and forward; Before the silk passes the eyes in the bar, it rests upon a long tube of glass. This engine in the gallery receiv'd its motion from such an one as we observ'd at *Vicenza*: Below all (there being three or four floors) were three wheels mov'd by an overshot water, which ran in neat channels of brick, which wheels were in a pretty room like a cellar, and mov'd the several machines above.

Organfine is silk made of two threads of *Seta di Greggia*, and is of four sorts; 1. *Sopra finissimo*; 2. *Finissimo*; 3 and 4. (which is the) worst sort.

On the outside of the palace garden wall is painted a fellow hanging by the heels on a gallows, for carrying the trade of organfine from hence to *Genoa* and *Piacenza*; under him is written,

Proditore della Patria.

By the favour of doctor *Ovidius Mont-*
albanus, a professor, we were shewn in the cardinal's palace the *Museum* of *Al-*
drovandus, which consists of five or six rooms, where in several presses and shelves, with wire lattices before them, we took notice of these following particulars, *viz.* A dragon or snake, with wings and legs, kill'd nigh this city. *Baculus Cinamomi Veri*. *Ægyptian* idols, among which a toad very artificially made with a tail. Horns of an old stag, which had done branching, and began to degenerate into rough extuberances. *Cucumis reticulatus*. *Gallina Damiatensis*, with a protuberancy on its head. *Lacertus Chalcidicus*, having five digits on each foot, and a long tail. Many strange representations in stone, as fruits, &c. which are frequently found in a river about *Utinum*; one stone had letters on it naturally. *Androsace Matthioli*, growing out of a stone. *Sal Foss.* which was pellucid. A large crocodile. *Lapis Arachnoides*, or a stone having a notable signature of a spider's web. A dog without a head, which died presently after it was whelp'd. The habit of an *Indian* priest, made of a sea-wolf's skin. *Indian* weights. A hand shaped in amber. A marble head of *Dante* the poet. Two pictures of dwarfs that were husband and wife, living in signior *Cospo's* house. Three pictures of a hairy girl born of her two hairy parents. A curious picture of *St. Hierome*, made of birds feathers.

A Roman stone with this inscription;

D. M.
L AIATI
PROCVLL
IANI
DOMITIA
FELICISSIMA
CONIVGI BENE
MERENT CVM
QVO VIXIT
ANNIS IV.

An old stone urn of an oval figure,
under which was lately written;

*Hæc prisca Cinerum Monumenta Clusii Tus-
corum Urbis antiquissimæ latebris tumulata
recens in lucem Casus extulit. Anno Do-
mini MDCLXII.*

Under another urn thus;

*Marmorea feralii Urna nuper Bononiæ
in Subterraneis Domus S. M. servorum
cæmeterio finitimæ olim Urbis extramurali
pomærio detecta. Anno MDCLXII. XII
Kal. Nov.*

The cover of an urn set in a gilt rim,
supposed to be that of *Porfenna*, king of
the *Hetruscians*. *Internodia Arundinis pe-
trific*. The head of a mummy, having
linen wrapt about it. Two large and
fair vessels made of *Terra Samia*. One
of *Ezzelino the Tyrant's* small *Balista*, like
that in the private armory at *Venice*. The
picture of *Cynocephalus Barbatus*. Two
models of *Cæsar's* bridge. A red stone
found in the kidney of *Francis I.* duke of
Modena.

In one room was nothing besides 300
of *Aldrovandus* his manuscripts, most of
which were in folio; over the prefs they
were kept is written,

Doctissimi Ulyssis Aldrovandi Βιβλιοθήκη.

We also saw ten folio's of plants, cu-
riously painted, and seven folio's of birds,
fishes and insects, &c. the fishes were
pictured the worst: Among the fishes one
was observed which hath strong prickles,
that he strikes into other fishes when he
swims backward; under a piece of an
elephant's bone petrified, was written;

*Fragmen tibiæ ex integro Elephantis Sceletō
lapidifcente, cura jussuq; Ferdinandi II.
Magni Ducis Etr. ad clanim effosso, Anno
MDCLXIII.*

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We saw a little hen's egg, shaped like *SKIPFON*.
a gourd. Among the pictures we took
notice of *Spongia Quercina*. *Iris piscis*.
Mergus glacialis Gesneri. *Aquila Vulturina*,
having a bare neck, which we saw at
Venice. *Gattomontes*, like the house cat.
Chiu, or the ear'd owl. *Alocco*, or the
white owl. *Passer Spadiceus*, like the
Passer torquatus. *Tbraupis*, which is the
little yellow bird we saw at *Vienna*. *Fice-
dula Alba*. *Tanado Ligur*. *Mustela*, vulg.
Rondelitii, with horns. *Zibetia maculata
naribus albis*, like the common *Mustela*.
Perna Neapolit. *Penna marina*, or *Nacra
Marfil*. *Pfitis*, i. e. the fish stone. A
picture of the antient rack, or *Equuleus*,
made after this manner:



At A A they turn the two spirals
which lift up the beam E, to which cords
are tied, (as at the bottom F) that are
fastned to the malefactor's hands and feet.

We saw here a fan made of wood and
wire strings, which make a musical sound
when it is used.

There is a lively picture of *Aldrovandus*,
in a large room where his library is kept.

We were told that his wife did much
assist him both in writing and inditing of
his books.

Dr. Montalbanus was now about pub-
lishing *Aldrovandus's Dendriologia*.

Giacomo Zenon, an apothecary, shewed
us much civility, and permitted us to ex-
amine his *Museum*, which was well stored
before the duke of *Modena* bought the
chief rarities. Yet we observed here a
stringful of *Cocci Congitani*, which hath a
cortex of a ruffet colour, and within are
black; the silk within the *Pinna marina*;
Usnia in a solid piece of crystal; a pretty
microscope; *Corallii species*, found nigh
Leghorn; *Corallum nigrum*; *Succa de Ba-
daios*, which was like bitumen; a neat
Conchylum with a *limbus* reverfed; three
solid pieces of crystal with drops of water
in them; *Alabastrum Cydonites*; the hind
foot of a castor, which was given him
for the foot of a dragon; a stone like
wood, round the middle whereof a *fascia*
like

*Giacomo
Zenon's
cabinet.*

SKIPPO. like iron; *Pesce Suillo*, having a high back, and much rougher skin than the sea-dogs; a piece of an elephant's tooth petrified; *Ocymoides muscosus*; *Tuber monstrosus ad Cyparissi radicem*; a monstrous branch of the *Rhamnus* 2. *Clusii*: it grew thus, He

 shewed us many dry'd plants, which were glewed to smooth boards whitened with cerussa; which boards he can put into frames, and hang up like pictures. Among the dry'd plants we took notice of *fol. sangu. Draco-nis*, *Leontopetalum*, which grows in *Apulia*; *Betri d' India*, *Clus. Exot. Cassia Vera*; *Rham-nus Rhodensis*; *Ornithopodium Granul. Dalech. Aconitum pardalianches Matth.* which is found at *Feltre* in *Ombria*; *Macchunia Ind. Ranunculus Villosus alpestris*; *Alfine altissima col. Stellaria saxifraga Bavar. Flos passionis flo. subluteo*; *Sana sancta, Ind.* good against ruptures. *Rosa Sinensis, Malva species*; *Sunamunda secunda Clusii*; *Chelidonium fol. Geran. medica peltata*; *Bellis Ind. maxima*; *Trifol. Americ. Cornicul. n. d. Papyrus Egypt. & Ind. with Indian characters*; *Nardus Mont. 1. Clus. fol. splendente. Cisti flo. guttata duæ species*; *Dorycnium argentum*; *Seseli Æthiop. Herba M. Baldi*; *Androsace alt. Matth. Acetosa arifol. Tithymallus myrsenites ex Ragusa*; *Abelmosch Egypt. Jacea major n. d. Tordylium M. Lebani*; *Adiantum Canad. cornuti*; *Cistus angustif. Cocco del Congo*, the figure of which, with other plants not described, this apothecary intended to print in his catalogue of plants in his garden, where we saw growing *Arundo nastos sive farata, in ripis Rbeni Bononiensis*; *Solanum Americ. fructu molli horti Eyst. Triticum Ind. perenne fol. articulato*; *Geranium triste Cornuti*; *Scammonea Syriaca*; *Polytrichum Alp. inciso fol. costa viridi*; *Hieracium fol. sanguineo*; *Convulculus Alibææ fol. non inciso*; *Pentaphyllum lucidum fol. hirs. ab ipso juvenum prope fluvium prædict. Linum fol. angusto gramineo, duro & pungente*; *Caryophyllus alp. repens*; *Rhododendron Alpinum*; *Bellis fol. inciso*; *Malva alp. fol. lacin. Doronicum variegatum*; *Jacobæa fol. Betonicæ n. d. Thlaspi Hieracii fol. Abrotanum fœm. Inod. Alfine marina Neap. Bardana de Congo*; *Helleborus niger trifol. spin. Cyclamen Baldense flo. odorato fol. rot. Thlaspi fol. sampsuchi*; *Daucus Cret. verus*; *Stachys Cret. Salviæ fol. Doronicum non varieg. Thlaspi fol. sedi*; *Clematis Cretica Clusii smilaci asperæ (verum non asperæ) similis*; *Clematis tetraphyllea Americ. Caryophyll. angustif. Malva fol. Betonicæ ab ipso inventa*; *Labrum Veneris Ind. altiss. Eruca Tanacetifol. Genista alp. sive spartum Col. Adiantum nigrum Canad. ramosum cornuti*; *Chamædryos spuria spec. ab ipso inventa prope Rhenum Bonon'.*

We bought of one *Gioseppe Bucerni*, a *Lapis Bononiensis*, *sive Phosphorus Kircheri*, which is naturally whitish, and like *Talcum*, and is found on *Monte Paderno*, not far from this city. He told us the way to prepare it to receive light, was thus: first, lay small bars of iron over a little furnace of wood fire, and therein several pieces of this stone, which will be calcined enough in three or four hours time; then hold it in the illuminated air, and it will presently imbibe light, which will clearly be discerned as often as you do so, and hold it in a dark place, where it will appear like a coal of fire. I had this receipt also given me; *Prima bisogna calcinarla fin che si vede uscire un sudore come si vede uscire dall'Uova quando si cuocono sotto la cinere poi si ridusse in poluere e l'impasta d col chiaro di uovo d col oglio di lino.*

This stone beaten to powder, and mingled with *Minium* plaister, is used for the cure of hæmorrhoids.

Corpus Christi is a nunnery of the order of *S. Clare*, and is a large cloister. Over an altar table of this church is an iron grate in the wall, thro' which we saw the body of *S. Catherine*, who was placed on an altar, and dressed up in a sitting posture, having her hands and face uncovered. In the body of the church is this inscription on the wall.

D. O. M. R'dæ Moniales S'mi corporis X'ti tenentur singulis annis in perpetuum in earum Eccles. celebrari facere anniversarium 20 missar. à mortuis de XI mensis Augusti ac etiam Deum exorare quotidie, præsertim de sero in earum orationibus ante sacrum corpus B. Catherinae recitando Psalmum de profundo pro anima perill. D. Anibalis Paleotti quibus reliquit libras mille eisdem solutas à perillustri D. Hyppolita Blanchina ejus conjuge ab eoq; instituta, ut in testamento rogato per D. D. Jo'en. Franciscum Beriatium et Hieronymum Beroum de solutione aut. instrum. scripsit D. Jo'es de Burgholochis die XXVII mensis Junii MDCCXXIII ipsaq; Domina Hippolita hanc tabulam suis sumptibus erigi curavit.

Without one of the gates is an aqueduct (built of brick upon arches) about half a furlong long, and conveys water from the neighbouring hills to the city. The aqueduct ends at a neat cloister, &c. A neat cloister of *Franciscans* (the same with those of *S. Antonio* at *Padua*) which hath, the whole length of it, a long and fair portico towards the street, the walls whereof are painted with the legends of saints. Before the entrance is erected the image of the virgin *Mary* treading on the

Lapis Bononiensis, or the illuminated stone.

Corpus Christi.

Nuns of S. Clare.

An aqueduct.

Franciscans church and cloister.

the moon. Within are handsome cloister'd courts, and fair dormitories. The church is large, and well furnished with good monuments, among which that of pope *Alexander V.*

S. Paul's church. S. Paul's church is very handsome, where the high altar is curiously adorned with marble, and two marble figures representing an executioner beheading S. Paul.

S. Michael in bosco. S. Michael in bosco is a monastery of Olivetani, pleasantly seated upon a high ascent without the walls, whence we took a large view of the city and adjacent country. The church is very neat, and the choir is divided from the body by marble rails, and paved with marble. The seats are curiously wrought with Mosaic work representing a clock, a cage, birds, &c. At this convent is a little court with an octangular portico about it, the walls whereof are in fresco curiously and lively painted with legends of this order. The painter's name we learned in this inscription,

D. O. M. ingens hoc artis suae miraculum temporis injuria ac fere invidia lacerum Magnus Guido Rhenius sponte miseratus est, ut amori, genio, gloriae suae consulerit famae oculis perennaturum restituit An. Sal. CIOIOCCXXXII.

The Dormitorium is very fair and long. At the upper end of their library is a great picture on the wall, made by *Aspertino* of *Bolonia*. All the books were chain'd, and this *Anathema* besides, viz.

Anathema Innoc. X. Nullus ex hac bibliotheca nec libros nec scripta extrahere praesumat.

The Refectorium is a pretty room, which had all the monasteries of this order in Italy painted on the walls. There are two handsome courts cloister'd, and a large stable, where we observed every horse to have a box on one side to eat his meat out of. We saw here great orange and lemon trees in pots, which in summer time are placed abroad. Many olive trees grow about this cloister.

S. Stephen's church belongs to the Cestian monks. It consists of four churches; one of which is round, and represents that at *Jerusalem*. They shewed us a place like our Saviour's sepulchre; a great stone that is the just measure of his grave; a room like that the last supper was celebrated in; a cock on a pillar, signifying S. Peter's denial; a pillar just of our Saviour's height, and they report that

none else can be found but what are either too high or low; stone steps like those he went up at when he entered the judgment-hall; a short pillar like that our Saviour was ty'd to when he was whip'd. One of the friars told us, that one of these churches is the antientest in *Bolonia*, which was formerly the cathedral. The body of S. Petronius is kept here, and in old time it was reputed for the bodies of St. Peter and S. Paul, which drew many devout people, that have worn stone steps before their shrine with their kneeling: but upon (as they say) better authority, it was prov'd that their bodies were not here, but at Rome, and therefore an excommunication was published against this place, and the church for many years shut and stop'd up with earth, tho', after some time, it was opened, and used to this day.

At the Jesuits we endeavoured several times to visit *Ricciolus* (then sick) and his astronomical instruments, which we were promised by a Jesuit should be shewn us; but we were every time frustrated, tho' *Ricciolus* himself appointed us a day on purpose, and told us they should be ready for our sight. One *Tilenus*, an Irishman, and *Netherbill*, an Englishman, live in this college.

The Dominicans church hath a piazza before it, where are two tall and fair pillars with the effigies of two saints upon them. Feb. 21. O. S. in the afternoon, this church was much frequented by many of the nobility, and a great company of others, who came to perform their devotions towards the chapel of the rosary, one of the friars in a white habit saying the rosary over, and the people on their knees repeating it aloud after him. That chapel is very curiously adorned; and opposite to it is another handsome chapel under which the head of S. Dominicus is kept. The seats of the choir are of curious Mosaic or inlaid work. *Schottus* says, the bible written by *Esdra* his own hand is preserved in this convent. We were not permitted at this time to see the cellar here, which was said to be the biggest in Italy; but in our return from Rome we went down into it, and found it to consist of many long vaults; but it is not so large and stately as we expected. In the cloister we saw a little cell with an altar in it, over the door whereof is written,

Hic obiit S. P. Dominicus Anno Domini MCCXXI.

In the walls of the cloister I observed these three monuments, viz.

SKIPPON. 1. *Sepult. Domini Arturi Coo Anglici. Quid fles, Viator? anq; agnoscis? Hic Civis sepultus patrio procul solo, nil nostr. ab Hom. univ. fatum fuit, idem undecunq; prorsus in cælum è vita III Nonas Augusti Anno Dom. MDV.*

2. *Deo Opt. Max. D. Gulielmo Rosse Anglico Regiae Majestatis Angliae Alumno, Latinae et Græcae erudito, Artium doctori ac Medico eximio, Robertus Byrche Anglus IVD. posuit. Obiit v. Junii MDXXVII.*

3. *D. O. M. Jo. Antonio Magino Patav. qui è Patria ad supremam mathematic. sedem in Academia Bononien. advocatur, cum multis annis voce et scriptis, quibus fulgebat doctrinae radiis universum penè orbem illustrasset tandem infesto Astrorum Solis ad corpus Martis, quos sibi praenoverat obtutibus concedens maximum sui posteris reliquit desiderium. Vix. an. xxxxxxi. Men. vii. Dies xxviii. Ho. i. Obiit anno MDCXVII. tertio Idus Feb. Sole currente prope Diametrum Martis et circa Exagonum Saturn. Jo. Ant. Roffenus Philos. Pub. Prof. et Mathematicarum scientiarum studiosus ne tanti Viri famam tempus Edax absumeret hoc Praeceptoris suo grati animi monumentum ære proprio P. C. Anno Domini MDCXVIII.*

We searched in this and other churches for *Aldrovandus* his monument, but could neither find it nor hear of it. Many *Germans* are buried at this *Dominicans* convent.

Servitæ.

The *Servitæ* have a fair church, and, before their cloister, a handsome and very broad portico. The dormitories are large, and over each cell is the figure of some eminent man of this order. One of the courts is very fair, being high built and neatly cloistered.

At the *Augustines* church in a little chapel behind the altar, is a large picture that describes all the religious orders.

Torredell' Afinelli.

We went up the *Torre delli Afinelli*, a very high and slender square steeple of brick. We ascended by 44 ladders, which had about 452 steps. From the top we had a full prospect of the city and country, which appeared like that in *Lombardy*, being spotted very thick with country houses. Eastwards we had a long prospect of a high way, which goes in a direct line from ——— gate as far as our eyes could reach. Close by this tower is another called *Torre Garrifenda*, which stands leaning much to one side. It wants of the height of the other very much: but it is reported that two workmen emulating, one endeavoured to make this as

Torre Garrifenda.

high and leaning as the *Afinelli*, and was prevented by death. Under it are several shops. And *Dantes*, the poet, mentions this same posture 400 years since. Both the towers stand singly in a little piazza.

Bologna is noted for silk, olives, great sawsages, little dogs, and wash-balls. These balls are sent into all parts of *Europe*, and are made of *Venice* soap, which they dissolve and mingle with . . . then it is separated from the dregs, and dry'd in the sun to powder, and with water made into paste and perfumed. The workmen would discover to us no more of their art.

Nigh the palace is the prison of king *Entius*, built on purpose to keep him in, where he died, but was buried at the *Dominicans*.

The city wall is of brick, having a dry ditch about it without any bulwarks. A regiment here of *German* soldiers. The streets are broad, and some streight, but indifferently paved, yet convenient to walk in, by reason of the portici before many stately palaces and other houses, which are fairer within than without. Every senator's gate hath on each side some animals painted, as two lions, griffins, &c. The people are generally very civil and kind; yet that saying, *Bononia docet mater studiorum*, is perverted into *Mater furborum*. The vulgar speak *Italian* very corruptly, cutting their terminating vowels off, and huddling their words together. Here are great feuds between the noble families, and we observed some of them accompanied in the streets with a long train of footmen and bravi, which the pope connives at. Many of the gentlemen, besides their swords by their sides, have always a footman or two with them, who carry a long basket-hilt sword under their arms, and another hanging by their sides. One day while we stay'd in this city, one of the family of *San Pietro* was shot dead; and we were told, that the grandfather, father and son of another family, were killed so, tho' they were always reputed very peaceable.

Many *sbirri*, or officers with carbines, walked up and down, as in most cities of *Italy*. The ladies are not led, as in *England*, by the hand or arm, but a servant holds up his arm, and the gentlewoman supports herself by laying her hand upon him.

On the outside of the palaces are irons fixed, which serve to hold torches in great processions. The houses are built of brick.

We found diet and other things dearer here than at *Padua*. The wine of this place is generally white, and of a sweet taste.

The

The shop windows are kept open by a rope, and a great stone fastened to it.

Mons Pietatis. Mons Pietatis was erected when the Jews were no longer suffered to live here and make exactions.

Measures. A pound equal to 12 English ounces.
A Braccia equal to $25\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

Marquis Paleotti lately married a daughter of Dudley, the titular duke of Northumberland, who lives at Florence.

In our return from Rome we saw Justings, and met with two of the earl of Bedford's sons, and Mr. Rich (once fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge) and Mr. Goodrick, a Yorkshire gentleman.

February 22. O. S. We travelled in a coach with four horses (which we hired for 40 julii) on the *Via Æmilia*, a streight way to *Modena*. After we had rode four miles we went over a very long brick bridge cross the *Rhenus*, and a little further pass'd the *Amola*, another river. 15 miles from *Bologna* we went through *Villa franca*, a large village having a street of houses, where we saw many soldiers, which belong to a fort here, built by *Urban*. and called *Castello franco*, or *Urbano*; it is a frontier place of the pope's. We deflected about a mile hence to the right hand, and came to *Pansan*, a village, where we endeavour'd to see a *Speculum*, and some astronomical instruments, at the palace of *Marcu Malvasia* a learned man, who was then absent, and had the keys along with him. Two miles from hence we forded the river where we paid three julii to two fellows that ferry people over, and then entered the duke of *Modena's* territory; and three miles further, about shutting in of the gates at the ringing of the *Ave Maria* bell, we arrived at *Modena*, where an examiner at the gate gave us a bolletino to lodge in the city, for which he receiv'd a paulo or julio.

This night we eat *Tartufule* at supper, which is a subterraneous fungus cut into slices, and seasoned with oil.

A letter from *Zennon* the *Bolognese* apothecary to father *Gonzia* a *Theatine* friar, procured us the sight of the duke's palace, and the *Museum* there, which is a new building, consisting of several rooms, the roofs of which are fairly gilt and carved, and they are designed for to place curiosities, that were now most of them in chest without any order and method. One chamber is intended only for precious stones; another for plants bought of the aforesaid apothecary, and that are to be hung up like pictures in frames. Two other chambers are for designs, or first draughts of the most eminent painters,

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viz. Of *Tempesta*, *Tinctoretus*, &c. Here are 1000 designs of *Lud. August.* and *Annibal Curetz*, famous limners of *Bologna*, all set in rich gilt frames with glasses before them. Another large room, whence we had a prospect of the garden and country, and here we remarked these particulars, *viz.* *Caput humanum petrific.* A hen's egg, having on one side the signature of the sun imprest, which the father said he saw laid 11 Aug. 1654. *sub hora Eclips.*; petrified bacon; a lachrymal urn of glass; two very large eagle stones; the bible curiously written in three fol. and adorned with rare pictures in the margent; *lapis spongites*, which was almost as light as sponge itself; a great *Lacerta Squammosa cum lineis albis transversis*; a cabinet of straw-work, wherein was kept an idolet; a hollow within a white corneolus, like that some of our *Bristol* diamonds grow in; a dance curiously represented in an entaglia; a spoon made of a star-stone; moss within solid crystal; a hand shaped of a carneous coloured coral; mopus stone, or white agate representing a wood; a great pearl in its natural sight within a concha; *Lapis Isatis*, or spleen stone, most rarely carved; a little piece of silver within a solid crystal; a fly plainly discernable in amber; heads of emperors, &c. finely cut on the stones of a fruit called *Guleand Moniale*; a pepper cup, which held 13 pieces of cannon mounted; another pepper cup with 120 cups in it; an antient entaglia on a small piece of marble; antient cards finely painted; a salt-cellar made of *astroites*; a stone found in the body of *Fran.* duke of *Modena*; a finely carved *China* box, red without and black within; a *Chinese* almanack written on wooden leaves; the head of a *Simulacrum* made of *Prasme*, with eyes of *Oculus Cati*; two pieces of a *Minera*, with two great pieces of *Smeraldus*; *Ptolomy* MS. a resemblance of a boccalle within a solid crystal. We saw one cabinet with an excellent collection of entaglie, and other jewels, *viz.* A nicolo (*i. e.* any gem of two colours, whereof one is carved into some figure upon the other) of a *Moor's* head neatly shaped on a white, which cost 200 ducats; another nicolo with a lucid head; a *Roman* sacrifice with a crystal, curiously made by a *Vicentine*, it cost 500 ducats; an antient head of *Jupiter* in agate. A cabinet of *Greek* and *Roman* brass medals, among which an *Otho* thus inscribed, IMP OTHO CAESAR AVG TR. P. On the reverse is a figure sitting, and S. C. We observed the biggest *Medaglion* we ever yet saw, whereon was this written, IMP. M. ANTONINUS AVG. COS. III. IMP L. VERVS AVG COS.

SKIPPON. II. there being two heads. On the reverse a victory in a *Quadriga*, under which, VICTORIA, and about it IMP. VI. COS. III. A present or regalia made by the city of *Palermo* to pope *Urban VIII.* wherein is represented angels and a saint praying, all curiously carved in red coral and set in gold. A dance described in miniature (*i.e.* a picture made only by points) done by one *Bonarventura*, a *Franciscan* of *Bologna*; there are 200 of his designs in this *Museum*. A *Hydra* with seven heads, the middlemost of which was biggest, and had two canine teeth, and six little ones between, a long tail, two feet, with four claws on each, and five rows of tubercles on the back. *Charles V.* brought it (they say) out of *Africa*, and gave it to *Gonzaga* of *Guastalo*, and thence it came to this family. Very probably this *Hydra* was fictitious, the head being like that of a fitchet, or of that kind, the body and feet were of a rabbit or hare, and the tail was made of a common snake's skin, the back and neck covered with the same. Many of these rarities were bought of *Zennon* the apothecary for 300 *doppii*, and this duke's father was bargaining with *Septala* at *Milan* for 1000 *doppii* for his cabinet; but the duke died (about 28 years old) just before the bargain was concluded. This palace is not very large, and makes no splendid shew, but within are several rooms richly furnish'd with gold, and red velvet hangings, and rare pictures drawn by *Titian*, *Dorzi*, the three *Carezzi*, *Paulo Veronese*, *Procasine*, *Belline*, and other the best masters of that art. In the front of the palace there is a new building beginning, which will be handsome.

A hydra.

The palace.

The present duke of *Modena* is a child about three years old, his name is . . . his mother, and his uncle *Raynaldus* the cardinal, govern in his minority.

The guard of *Switzers* were now in mourning for the late duke.

The government.

The government of the city is by four counsellors.

Eight judges in civil causes.

A *podestà*.

A judge in criminal matters.

Before the palace gate two bears were chained; and a camel is kept here.

Father *Gonzia*, at his convent, shewed us these skeletons well prepared by his own hand, *viz.* A rain or tree-frog; a tortoise; a hippocampus; a toad; a whelp, with an eye in the middle of the forehead; a turtle-dove; a mole; a bat; a young rabbit; and many others, as a pig with two heads, one body and six feet; the skin of a cat with eight feet, two bodies and one head.

Theatre.

We saw the theatre, where at great

solemnities comedies are acted; the roof is very curiously carved and gilt, and the balconies or boxes, and the seats in the pit are neat; the stage is like those at the *Venice* opera, but longer; and the scenes are moved by machines above and below in a different manner, for the floor of the stage is sometimes removed, and the sun and stars represented. About 200 persons attend this theatre when there is any play acted; it will hold about 3000 people; the musicians play before the stage. In some adjoining rooms we saw plaster'd figures of famous persons belonging to the duke of *Modena's* family, which were placed in a mortorio at the *Augustine* church, where the late duke lay in state. In one long room they make scenes.

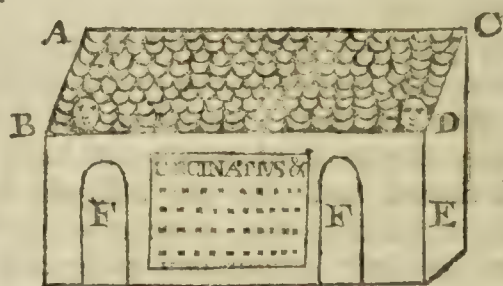
This theatre was built by *Gaspar Vigarini*, a *Modenese*, who was sent for by the *French* king to *Paris*, where he hath contriv'd a larger theatre, and was allowed a great pension from the king. *Gaspar's* son is now in good esteem at *Paris*.

A theatre in this city only for dancing.

Modena is a pleasant and pretty city, not very large, but well peopled; the piazza is handsome; the houses are built of brick, and most of them have portici, as at *Padua* and *Bologna*, the streets are indifferently straight, and not badly paved, and one broad street fairer than the rest they make the *corsi* of horses, &c. in. The walls of the town are indifferently high and thick enough, having a broad ditch with water in it in some places, and without that is a line or breast-work, and several half moons. There are several strong bulwarks on the wall.

S. Geminiano is the *Domo*, a small and indifferent church, where the choir is raised on pillars a great height, under which is an altar, and some relicks preserved.

About this church are many antient monuments, with inscriptions, some of which I transcribed; and three or four were thus shaped, and new ones made in imitation of them.



A B C D the cover of stone cut in the outside into round tiles. B D were heads. D E the hollow of the stone. At the niches F F stood a figure of a man in a *Toga*, or *Pallium*.

The

The inscriptions are,

L. PEDVCLIAE IVLIANE
MORIB NATAL AC PVD PRISCIS
INLVSTRIVSQVE FAEMI COMPARAND
QVE VIXIT ANN. XIII. DXLVII
CVM MARITO FECIT ME. VDXX
L NONIVS VER.

Sepulchrum Nobilium de Boschettis.

SEXALLIVS L F.

CECINATIVS IRIAH GENIVS
APOL SIBI ET SVIS
M HELMONIVS ATTICVS AP SIBI
ELONIAE HECATE VXORI ET
M HELMONTIO M. F. TAVRO FILIO ET
LIBERTIS LIBERTABVS. VF.

Under two heads on one stone;

C. SALVIVS C. L. SALVIA C. F.
AVCTVS APOLL. PRIMA FECIT.

C. STATIVS C F SALVIVS
SIBI ET C. STATIO C. F.
RVSTICO ET

P. POMPONIO PLAN TERTO
POMPONIAE PL OPTATAE

F. L.

POSTERISQVE EORVM

N. L. M. F. ET. TV.

IN. FR. P. XVI. IN. AG. P. XX.

SOSIAE QF HE
RENNIAE MATRITE
SOSIO FELICIANO
ALVMNO. EIVS
SOSIVS PTOLEMAEVVS
FIL.

And in the same stone under two heads
more;

V. V.

P. PLOTIVS. PL. SOSIA. OL.
VRBANVS AMARYLLIS
APOLL.

VIVVS VIVIS FECIT
L. LVCRETIVS. L. L. PRIMVS
VESTIAR SIBI ET
L. LVCRETIO L. ROMANO
VESTIAR. . . . L. . . . ET
DEOMIAE L. L. PHILEMATION
ROMANI MATRI
. INA P.

P FIL CARA SABINA
T Q P IIII. VIR AED POT.
F. MAG MVN RAVEN.
CORNELIA MAXVMINA
MARITO INCOMPARAB.
ET SIBI VIVA POSVIT.

The Jews have their gheto here, and are ^{SKIPPON.} distinguish'd as at *Mantua*.

At *Monte Zibbi* in this territory, nigh Jews. *Pauli* castle, and 28 miles from *Modena*, is a well of petroleum, which hath a strong odoriferous smell, some of which is yellow and some white. We paid at the rate of four *Modena* bajocs per ounce. At *Monte Nirani*, 10 miles off, are found petrify'd cockles, &c.

About this city, and in other parts of *Lombardy*, we saw *Aconitum hyemale* in the flower, and growing plentifully wild. It is called by the herbarists here, *Anemone Bonon*.

A *Braccia Modenese* is equal to 25 inches. Measures.

A pound is equal to 12½ ounces *English*.

Modena state yields 400,000 scudi per annum to the duke, who can, on occasion, raise 20,000 foot soldiers, and 1000 horse; but they are not counted so valorous as the *Parmese*.

Modena pays the emperor 4000 scudi per annum.

Feb. 24. We pass'd by a neat and strong fort on our right hand, soon after we left *Modena*, paying 70 julii for a coach, waggon, and five horses but from *Modena* to *Parma*, 30 miles. We deliver'd the bolletino (which we took when we entred the city) at the gate, and gave somewhat to the searcher, who begg'd of us, as they did in many towns of *Lombardy*. Then we forded the river *Sacchia* after seven miles riding; which river is sometimes a deep stream, and then our coach must have been ferry'd over, and three julii would have been requir'd of us for our passage. Here on the left hand we went by a strong little town call'd *Rubiera*, having a good wall, and a deep broad ditch of water about it, and at one end a small castle, without which castle is a strong horn-work. Eight miles from hence we entred *Reggio*. *Reggio* (first giving the begging searcher somewhat) where we baited, and observed these particulars.

This city is almost as big as *Modena*, and appears more neat. It belongs to that duke, and hath one long and broad street, and a little piazza. Part of the city is cloister'd like *Padua*, *Modena*, &c.

The domo is a pretty church, where we Domo. saw a stately monument of *Ugo Ragonius* bishop of this place.

A friar was preaching here.

La Madonna belongs to the *Benedictines*, *La Ma* and is very neatly built in the figure of a donna. cross. The roof of it is high and richly gilt.

S. Prosper's church afforded us nothing *S. Prof.* remarkable; we only saw a friar preaching. per's.

At this town ivory is curiously carved into crucifixes, &c.

We

SKIPPON.

~~~~~ We drank verdone here, which hath a sweetish taste, and is of a white colour.

Changing our horses at *Reggio*, we travell'd 10 miles to a very long and fair bridge of brick over the *Lenza*, where we gave a paulo toll for the opening of a gate. Here we entred the duke of *Parma's* country, and took notice of some good pastures, which afford the famous *Parmezan* cheefe, as well as on the other side of *Parma* towards *Piacenza*. For five miles further we rode on a direct streight way to a fair brick arch painted, under which we pass'd, and came into the guasta of *Parma*, where we arriv'd, and deliver'd our fire-arms at the gate, gave in our names, &c. and somewhat to drink, and then receiv'd a bolletino. We travell'd all this day on the *Via Æmilia*, which in some places was bad.

Parma.

La Madonna.

S. Giovanni.

*La Madonna* is built like (but is not so fair as) that at *Reggio*.

*S. Giovanni* is a neat church belonging to the *Benedictines*, where are kept the bodies of several saints. On a black marble under the altar of a little chapel, is written,

*Corpori S. Margarete V. & M. ex Soc. S. Ursule donato ab ill'mo Com. Cosma Masio Urnam hanc construx. Abb. et M. MDCLXI.*

Domo.

The domo is a fair church, where the choir hath a large place underneath supported by pillars. A friar was preaching *Feb. 25.* before the bishop and canons, who had a white fur over their backs, thrown cross from the right to the left shoulder. We went up the steeple, and viewed the city and adjacent country, and near *Parma* saw the citadel. Without the church are these *Roman* inscriptions; this under the heads of a man, a woman and a child;

C. MVNATIVS  
P. F. SIBI ET  
LVCILLAE SEX F  
ROMVLAE  
C. MVNATIO  
C. F. NOVELLO F  
V. F.  
INF. P. XXIV. IN. A. P. XII.

L. PETRONIVS  
L. P. POL.  
SABINVS  
VII VIR DECQ  
II VIR PONTIF  
SIBI T. F. I.  
Q. Q. V. P. L.

PRAEF LEG XXXV AL R  
VICTR PRIMOPiLO  
X GEMIN PIAE FIDEL  
CENT LEGION IIII SCY  
THIC XL CLAVD XVIII GEM

## VII GEMIN

PATR CO. I. IVL. AVG. PARM  
PATR MVNICIPIORVM  
FORO DRVENT ET FORO  
NOVANOR PATRON CoL  
LEGIOR FABR ET CENT ET  
DENDROPHOR PARMENS  
COLLEG CENT MERENT.

Nigh the west end of the domo is an Duke's octogonal fair and high building called the palace. *Baptisterium*, in the middle of which stands a large font.

The duke's palace hath two stately and high built courts; one of which is building of brick for stables, the duke being well furnish'd with about 500 saddle-horses and coach-horses. Over the mangers is written the name of the horse, as *Superbo*, *Todisco*, &c. We saw here two magnificent coaches, His one of red velvet with very rich embroi-coaches. dered curtains, and four chairs of the same within it. In the middle of the coach-roof was a looking-glass, the coach-box and the coat of arms behind of massy silver gilt, and the pole and wheels plaited with silver, and gilt. The other coach was of cloth of silver, with curtains of the same embroider'd, and four chairs within it. The coach-box had figures and other ornaments of massy silver; and the pole and wheels were likewise silvered.

In his garden we saw a male and two female lions; and an ostrich fairer than any we yet saw.

The theatre is reputed very noble, which we had not leisure to procure the duke's order to see.

The duke hath another palace just within the city-wall, where he enjoys the fresco in the summer-time. There is a large fountain of grotesco work before this palace, and many fountains in the rooms above. The chambers are but small like those at *Modena*, tho' not so richly adorn'd, yet well furnish'd with good pictures in frames, and painted on the walls by *Maluzzi* and the best limners. Some chambers have curious fret-work, and the figures of men and stories express'd on the walls in Plaister, which is also gilt and painted. In one room is this written,

*Augustinus Caraccius dum extremos immortalis sui penicilli tractus in hoc semipietto fornice moliretur ob officiis pingendi et vivendi sub umbra Liliorum gloriöse vacavit. Tu spectator inter has dulces picturæ acerbitates pasce oculos et fatebere decuisse potius intactus spectari, quam aliena manu tractatus maturari.*

In another room was written,

*Quod potuit fecit ne nil ageretur amavit.*

Ranu-



*Ranutius Farnesius* is the present duke of *Parma*, who was first married into the family of *Savoy*, and his second wife is the widow of the late duke of *Modena*. *Switzers* are this prince's guard; and at this time there were many *French* soldiers quartered in *Parma* and other places of the country. The duke hath 3000 foot and 1000 horse in pay. Upon occasion ('tis said) he can raise 20000 foot, and 1000 horse more.

The duke hath the title of duke of *Civita di Penna* in the kingdom of *Naples*.

This city hath neat streets with brick houses, a pretty square piazza, and one a very long and fair street. It is indifferently fortify'd. The duke of *Parma* (says *Leti*) pays the pope 100,000 scudi per annum.

A woman without hands, that us'd her feet in their stead. We saw here a *German* woman without hands, who sat on a table, and perform'd these things with her feet only, and very strangely. First she took a glass of water, drank a little, with which she wash'd her feet as others do their hands, then took a handkerchief and wip'd them: after that she open'd a little box and took out small beads, which she threaded, and with them wrought part of a purse, she sew'd linen very neatly; then she knit part of a stocking with a great deal of sleight. She wrote very well, and wound up a bottom of yarn with much dexterity. She turned a little wheel with one foot, and with the other spun very readily. She snuffed a candle, and play'd upon two or three sorts of instruments.

At *Parma* we were exceedingly inconvenienced by the exaction of the post-master, being at his pleasure for the hire of horses; for they force strangers to take them of the post-master in these parts, if they remove out of the city within three days; no man else (as we were told by many) daring to let horses within that space; but if a stranger stays longer than three days, he may hire where he pleases at a far more reasonable rate than at the post-master's. The reason of this trouble, they said, was our hiring a coach at *Bologna*, which belong'd to the *Modena* post, where we were thus engaged in the post-master's snare.

*Parma* measures. A *Braccia di sita*, equal to  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inch *English*.

A *Braccia di tela* equal to  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

A pound equal to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ounce.

At *Parma* Mr. *Henry Massingberd* left our company (having been with us some time at *Venice*, all our stay at *Padua*, and in our journey from *Venice* hither) and went for *Genoa*, &c.

*Feb. 26.* We took our places in the post-coach, and at the gate stay'd a good

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while for our arms; which being brought, an ill-condition'd searcher, because we would not give him what he desired, examin'd our portmanteaus, and receiv'd his labour for his pains, there being nothing of datii or custom. Then we rode on the *Via Emilia*; and, after six miles, ferry'd the river *Taro*, which washes over much ground and beach when the floods come down from the *Apennine* mountains. Here we paid three julii. They say the keeper of this ferry pays 2000 *Parma* livres to the duke every year. Hence we travell'd by *Guelph* castle, a little place on the left hand, and nine miles from the ferry we came to *Burgo S. Donin*, a great place, having a piazza and a long street. Eight miles further we went thro' *Fiorenzola*, a town like the aforementioned *Borgo*; and just without it, cross'd the river *Arta*, a small river at this time, but in rainy seasons a great water that covers a broad beach. A long foot bridge of brick here. This day we observed the country we rode thro' to be somewhat like the eastern parts of *England*, not level, but rising now and then. We saw large fields not divided with rows of trees, and some pastures, and vineyards planted with low vines. The furrows of their plowed lands were flatted, and the ridges not so crooked as with us in *England*, and made like beds in a garden.

*Tartufule* are found hereabouts.

*Feb. 27.* We travell'd still on the *Via Piacenza*. *Emilia*, and after 12 miles riding came to *Piacenza*. About a mile before we reach'd this place we pass'd between two stone pillars set upon old pedestals with inscriptions, and thereabouts the *Guaſta* or open fields began. We entred at *Porta di S. Lazaro*, where we received a bolletino, and gave somewhat to the searcher, leaving our fire-arms we took a sign to fetch it again. As soon as we came to the post-house, we took away our port-manteaus with us to a small inn without the walls, giving a little piece of money to the searcher, who did not ask us for any bolletino we receiv'd when we came into the city. The bolletino was printed in this form.

*Porta S. Lazaro Piacenza*

*Adi.* (8. *Marco*.—1664.

*Sigr. Tilippo Skippon.*)

*Del luogo di* (*Ingleterra*)

*D'anni*—barba—

*Statura*—

*Campagni* (*tre*—)

*Arma*—

*Alloggia*—

*Parte*—

*E va*—

*P. Pozzali eletto nell'ufficio*  
*Del Diueto in Palazza.*

7 H

We



SKIPPON.

Madonna  
della Cam-  
pania.

Citadel.

We walk'd about this city, and went to the *Madonna della Campania*, built in the form of a cross, and richly gilt on the roof.

We viewed the outside of the citadel, which is strong and handsome.

A church belonging to the *Canonici Regulares* is very neat, and indifferently large. It hath a double isle, and the innermost row of pillars was double, and the other row double pilasters. The cloister is large, and hath two fair courts high built, and one portico above another on three sides of each court. The canons habit is a white serge cassock, and over that to their thighs a plaited linen surplice with straight sleeves for their arms to put thro'. They wear black square caps, as other regular priests do.

Domo.

The domo is a fair church, having a handsome piazza before it, where the corn market is kept.

In another piazza before the town-hall are two very large and stately figures on horseback, curiously made of brass, which were on great pedestals adorned with carved stories in brass, and these two inscriptions,

1. *Alexandro Farnesio Placentiæ, Parmæ, &c. Duci III. SRE Confalonerio perpetuo, Belgis devictis Belgico, Gallis obsidione levatis Gallico. Placentia civitas ob amplissima accepta beneficia ob Placentinum nomen sui Nominis gloria ad ultimas usque gentes propagatur in vieto Domino suo Equestri hac statua sempiternum voluit extare monumentum.*

2. *Ranutio Farnesio Placentiæ, Parmæ, &c. Duci IIII SRE Confalonerio Perpetuo, Custodi justitiæ Cultori æquitatis, Fundatori quietis, ob Opifices allectos, populum auctum, patriam illustratam Placentia civitas Principi optimo equestrem statuam D. D.*

This city is large, and the streets of it are indifferently well built. It is well fortified with a good wall, a ditch of water, &c. The river *Po* runs by it. About 1000 French soldiers in the town, 400 of which were horse.

The duke hath a palace and a theatre here.

English students.

English students (Jesuits?) have a college in this city.

We were told, that it is most proper to say the duchy of *Parma*, and the principality of *Piacenza*.

A white Muscadine wine is made about *Piacenza*.

This day, Feb. 27. leave being first ask'd of the post-master, we hir'd horses

and a guide for 38 julii; and about half a mile from *Piacenza*, ferry'd the *Po*, giving a julia a man. The ferry-boat was made of two boats, turned by a stern that guided it as it was carried downwards by the stream, and it was fastened by a rope to another that was fixed cross the river upon masts in little boats.

After this we rode 13 miles to *Castigno*, a great village in the duchy of *Milan*, where we met with a searcher that let us pass without trouble. Two miles hence we paid two julii for ferrying over the river *Adda*; and, two miles further, pass'd a wooden bridge cross the *Serio* (which runs into the *Adda*) and paid one julio. We then came into the *Venetian* territory, and lay this night in a village call'd *Montedon*, it being too late to reach *Crema* five miles off, which we did the next morning 28 Feb. after a slight examination, and paying one *Venetian* livre, toll. We rode this day in a low fenny country, which seemed an unfrequented way, shaded with shrubby wood.

*Crema* is a small city and frontier place, garrison'd by the *Venetian* soldiers, who were at this time but few in number, about 400. It hath a strong wall and a ditch of water, many horn-works, a little old castle of brick, and a line without the ditch. The place is well inhabited.

The hospital is neat, and the piazza is pretty. There are four city gates, two of which are always shut, and the other two that lead towards *Milan* and *Brescia* were kept open.

We saw the domo, the *Benedictines* church, and a little church in the form of a cross, call'd *Madonna della gratia*, the walls whereof are well painted.

We saw the podestà of this place, habited in a gown with sleeves hanging down, and a broad furr'd cap on. He was attended by 12 halberdeers in red and yellow liveries, that marched two and two before him. After him follow'd two in furr'd gowns, several attendants, and the chief of the town.

The gentlemen meet in council the latter end of *January*, and chuse town-officers, as three *Proveditori*, and others.

The river *Serio* runs by *Crema*. Fine white (or nuns) thread is made here by the *Augustine* nuns, and brushes made of the roots of capreole, which is supposed to be *Gramen scoparium Ischæmi paniculis Lob.* The nuns thread is twisted after the same manner as the silk is at *Bononia*.

The *Venetian* coin went high here, a scudo being worth 12 livres. No *Venice* soldi to be met with, but what small money they have is *Parma* and *Milan* quât-



quattrines, &c. the coin of these two places being current.

Feb. 29. We hired horses (seven livres a horse) that were very good; and after we left the walls of *Crema*, we paid five per-paiola's of *Parma*, or a *Venetian* livre, a a long wooden bridge cross the *Serio*; which we pass'd. On a small pyramidal pillar, with a little figure on it, we read this inscription, viz.

*Cavete omnes manu linguâve clam aut vi quenquam hic ledere, quia meritas luetis pœnas.*  
MDXXXV.

Three miles from *Crema* we rode thro' *Osanengo*, a village; and three miles further, *Romanengo*, a great village or burgo, with a little old castle, in the duchy of *Milan*; then thro' *Tizengo*, a small place, and four miles from *Romanengo* came to *Soncin*, a little wall'd town, ditch'd about, having some few soldiers of the king of *Spain* in it. *Schottus* mentions this place as noted for cakes of sweet almonds, and candlesticks made of *Orichalcum*. In this journey we drank a very strong and whitish wine, made at *Defenca*, not far from *Peschiera*. Near *Soncin* we ferry'd the *Olio* (at this time a shallow river) and paid four per-paiola. This is a pass (where we saw two fellows guarding with their carbines) into the *Venetian* territory, which we entred again. Two miles hence we travell'd close by *Lorzi nova* on the right hand, which is a small, but a strong place of the *Venetians*, having a stout wall, broad ditch, and fair bull-warks, with a line without the ditch, and is well guarded and watched by many sentinels on the walls. The road hither was very bad, the country being a fenny and untill'd ground, full of shrubby woods. Two miles from this fort we had a streight way, which brought us thro' *Lorzi Vecchia*, a great village with a ditch only about it, and two miles further baited at a village call'd *Cursan*. After dinner we travell'd a fair and streight way for four miles to *Logrado*, another village, where, and at *Lorzi*, much flax is sown, and linen made. Then the way bent a little, but continued streight for five miles more; and the remainder of the way (five miles) was crooked and stony to *Brescia*; where, after a short examination of the searcher, we took up our lodging at the sign of *The tower* an inn of good entertainment and kind usage. The walls of it within the court are painted with the arms of the great princes of *Europe*, and this inscription concerning them.

*Paulus de Taxis Baro Wesbenpâirn cum mero et mixto imperio ac gladii potestate Vir*

*Nobilis Cubiculi Ser. Archiducis Ferdinandi Caroli ac ejus Tabellarior generalis Hæreditarius in statibus Austriae Superioris et Citerioris, nec non vir nobilis cubiculi Ser. Magnæ Etruriæ Ducis. Hæc majorum Europæ principum insignia sine cujusq; injuria qua potui diligentia imaginibus expressi ac rogo universos et singulos cujusq; ordinis dignitatis status ac conditionis fuerint, ut hanc meam operam æqui boniq; consulant et si quid occurrat vel inter præbeminentiam loci vel inter imagines ipsas quod reprebensionem aliquam mereri videatur errori meo pro sua sapientia veniam concedant ac pro suo arbitrio id corrigant et mutant, id pro cujusq; statu et conditione ac mea tenuitate omnis generis officii et studii repeream ubicunq; potero. Valete.*

This following inscription was also written here, in memory of *Tassus* the poet;

*Memoria admiratione, cultu Torquati Tassii Poetæ, heu quantum in hoc nomine celebritatis ac laudum, ossa huc transtulit hic condidit Bonif. Card. Bevilacqua ne qui volitat vivus per ora virum ejus reliquiae parum splendido loco celarentur querentur admonuit virtutis amor admonuit adversus patriæ alumnum, adversus parentum amicum, Pietas. Vixit ann. LI. vivet, haud fallimur, æternum in hominum memor. Tanti Viri Sepulchrum superioribus notis insignitum extat Romæ in Ecclesia Divi Honusfrii.*

The *Dominicans* church is a fair building Domini of one arch, the roof whereof is curiously cans painted; we took notice of painted pillars church. in the roof, which, when we stood in the middle, seem'd to stand upright; but when we stood towards one end, they appear'd in a leaning posture.

A fair hospital for men, and another for Hospitals. women.

The *Carmelites* church is handsome.

The *Domo* is a mean building; but Demo. there is the beginning of a stately choir: a fair piazza before the *Domo*. The *Labarum* or banner which appear'd to *Constantin M.* they say, is preserv'd here.

The bishop hath a pretty palace.

In several places of the city are many *Roman* stones, with figures and inscriptions, some of which I transcrib'd, viz.

C. PLACIDIO  
C FIL PAL  
CLODIANO  
EQVO PVBL  
DECVR BRIXIAE  
C PLACIDIUS HERMADION  
ET LVCRETIA PERSIS  
FILIO PISSIMO  
L. D. D. D.



BEDASIAE QT  
IVSTAE  
COLLEGIA  
FABR. ET CENONARIOR  
C LVCRETIVS ANNIANVS  
MARITVS TITVLOSVS  
L. D. D. D.

M NONIO MF  
FAB MACRINO  
COS X. VVIR SACRIS  
FAC. LEG. AVG PROPR  
PRO. V. PANN SVPER  
IVLIVS IVLIAN TRIB COL  
FRIM PANN PRAESIDIOR TIM

SEXTIAE  
T. FIL.  
ASINIAE POLLAE  
M. NONNIARI  
MVCIANI COLLEG  
IVVENVM BRIKIAN  
OB MERITA.

Palazzo  
della Ra-  
gione.

The *Palazzo della Ragione* is a curious and neat stone building, with a large portico underneath it.

This city is less than *Verona*, but fill'd with more people, who apply themselves to merchandize and continual business. The streets are well pav'd in the middle with stone, and on each side with brick, as the towns in *Holland* are, (*Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Crema* are also thus paved.) They are broad, straight, and fairly built. Here is a pretty piazza built thick with stalls, and in it is erected a pillar with *S. Mark's* lion on it. Many fair fountains refresh the city. A tower called *Pallada*, which should have been built higher, if the castle, that is situate on a rocky hill, and commands all the town, had not suspected it. There are about 300 soldiers in the castle, and about 700 more in garrison within the city, which is surrounded with an old wall, and without that with another, which is a stout stone wall, and a broad dry ditch without all. There is on one side of the castle a mountain somewhat too near, but a deep and broad ditch between, and a very strong bulwark defend it. From the outside of the castle ditch we had a fair prospect of a small valley (between the *Alps* and the castle) built very thick with houses. We walk'd up a neighbouring mountain to a little chapel, whence we had a pleasant view of the city and circumjacent country, and we thought it a delightful sight to see this mountain and the neighbouring *Alps* spotted with many houses, and planted with vineyards, &c. We observed on that hill some snake-stones, and one shew'd us

Castle.

a *pictra imboscata*, or the signature of a plant well express'd in a stone found hereabouts.

This city was formerly a free common-wealth, and had intention to have entred a league with the *Switzers*; but afterwards it submitted to the *Venetians*, who now send a *podesta*, a *capitaneo*, three doctors of law. The government.

Formerly this city had six consuls, two of which were *Consuli per lanificio*. Now there is a great council of about 480 gentlemen about 30 years old, who are for their lives in this council, unless they commit some crime; and every two years they reform and fill up vacant places. Out of these are taken by lot 12 for a *Concilio speciale* every two months; but no man can be elected into it above once in two years. The great council, out of themselves, elect also

Seven *Deputati pubblici*, who determine differences among tradesmen;

Seven *Deputati della Sanità & Bravi*;

Seven *Deputati d'ufficio di forastieri*, who receive strangers names sent by the innkeepers.

Seven *Deputati* for the soldiers;

Seven *Deputati*, who chuse out of themselves (when there is occasion) an ambassador to the republick of *Venice*;

Seven *Conservatori del monte grande*.

One seven of these *Deputati* are, I think, call'd *Li Signori*: *Qu.* which?

*Abbate* is the supreme magistrate, who assembles the council, and relates matters to it. He is chang'd every six months.

Two advocates changed every six months.

Three *Deputati*, that look after the weights, corn, &c. chang'd once a year.

Two *Syndici*, that look after the revenue, changed every year.

The city is divided into two parts, each having a consul elected by the great council's ballot.

In the fish-market we took notice of a little fish with a scarlet belly, called *Sanguinuole*, and brought from *Lago de Issè*.

March 2. We hired horses for seven livres of *Venice* a horse, and at the gate gave a small matter to the searcher for not searching; and at seven or eight miles distance went thro' *Hospitaletto*, a village, and five miles further rode thro' *Cocai*, a large village, having in prospect on our right hand a monastery upon a hill, and *Rovado*, another village. Many olive trees grow upon the hills hereabouts. Six miles more we baited at a great village called *Palazol*, which is situated on two steep banks on each side of the river *Olio*, where we paid a perpaiol or four *Venetian* soldi. At this place we left the way to *Milan*, ten miles off; and after we had tra-

tra-



travelled about seven miles, we had a pleasant sight of *Bergamo*, and rode upon the edge of a level on our right hand, and on our left had a large plain of pasture ground. We had this day a full view of the *Alps*, and most of the way stony. Two miles before we reached *Bergamo*, we paid two foldi a man for passing a stone bridge over a wash, and in the evening lodged ourselves within the walls of *Borgo S. Leonardo* in *Bergamo*.

We walked up a high hill, and entered the city walls, which are very strong and high round about, having a dry ditch without. The castle commands the city, and hath a passage under ground that leads to the podestà's house. The castle is commonly called *Capella*; it is but small, yet strongly situated on the top of a hill. The city walls are well guarded by soldiers in the night time. Where one of the bulwarks now is, there was a *Dominican* cloister, which, upon some suspicion, was removed down to *Borgo S. Leonardo*. The city is well peopled with tradesmen, and there are but few noblemen here. The streets are narrow, built on a declivity with fair houses. The *Piazza Vecchia* is a pretty place, and the *Piazza Nova* is large. Within the walls of the city we took notice of a valley in it, and a prospect of the neighbouring mountains and adjacent country.

The *domo* is a mean church, in the middle of which was a square of tapers about a black velvet cushion under a bishop's mitre, intimating the death of the late bishop.

*S. Maria Maggiore* is built in form of a cross, the roof whereof is in part curiously painted and carved, and part is not yet finished. The organs are richly gilt; and in the screens that divide the choir from the body of the church are four stories, viz. 1. the drowning of *Egypt* in the *Red-sea*; 2. *Noah's ark*; 3. *David's* killing *Goliath*; 4. *Judith* cutting off *Holofernes's* head, rarely well expressed by *Mosaic* work in wood. We observed a priest preaching in his surplice, tippet, and square cap on; and there were many boys with such square caps, and habited in blue coats.

There are several fountains in the streets.

Besides the city are these suburbs or large borgi; 1. *Borgo S. Leonardo*, having fair streets in it, and inhabited by rich merchants, &c. 2. *Borgo S. Antonio*; 3. *B. S. Catherina*; 4. *Borgo S. Tomaso*, or *di Pignole*; the three last are some distance from one another, and below the city: some of the borgi have walls about them. 5. *Borgo Canale*, or *S. Gutardo*, which is above the city, but under the castle-hill.

VOL. VI.

There is this saying of this city, *Si Bergamo fosse in pian sarebbe piu bel che non è Milan.* SKIPPO.

The *Augustines* church is an old building, where, under an altar on the south side, is *Calepine* buried without any monument or inscription there; but in the prior's cell, we saw his picture (who had a very ingenious look) with this written on it, Augustines church.

*F. Ambrosius Dictus Calepinus Comitis Trusardi Calepii primi vallis Calepie Feudatorii Filius præclaro suo Dictionario nusquam ante ab aliquo excogitato (vulgo Calepinum nominant) cum Heremitanum hoc S. Augustini monasterium et Bergomum Patriam suam egregiè illustrasset omnibus literarum studiosis Utilissimus quievit in Domino Anno Salutis MDXL. Ætatis suæ 71.*

From this cloister we had a pleasant prospect, and saw the *Calepian* valley nigh the city.

In the chapter-house the *Academici Ex-* Academici Exclati. *citati* meet, who chuse a prior every year, and have for their emblem *Aurora* and the star *Phosphorus*, with this motto, *Jacentes excitat*. These virtuosi discourse on paradoxes, &c. and meddle little with natural philosophy.

The lazaretto is nigh one of the borgi, *Lazaretto*, and is a fair and large building.

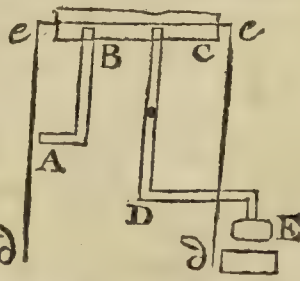
Silver moneys went at *Bergamo* as they did at *Brescia*; but the gold doppio of *Spain* was worth no more than 33 livres of *Venice*.

The republick of *Venice* sends hither a Govern-podestà, a capitaneo, a camerlengho, and ment. a castellano.

The inhabitants have a great council of 100, whereof 50 go out every year, and 50 are chosen into their places at *Christmas* by the council of 100.

Thirteen are elected every three months, and are called the little council. The president of it is called abbate. He assembles the council, and propounds matters to it.

At this city in a bookseller's shop, books were thus beaten, At *A* one moved a handle which is fastened to a square beam *BC*, that turns upon an axis *ee* laid on two posts *ed ed*, and the turning of the square beam depresses *D*, and lifts up the hammer *E*, which beats the book held by another.



*March 3.* We hired horses and a postilion, for five livres a horse, and rode 12 miles to *Calonega*, a village in the state of *Milan*, seated by the river *Adda*; where I



SKIPPON. transcribed this old inscription fixed over  
a gate,

V. F.

C PVPIVS C F TIRO  
SIBI ET VMBRIAE  
MF TERTVLLAE CON  
C PVPIO CANDID  
FIL M PVPIO CASIO  
FIL ALICIAE SP. F  
IVSTAE MATRI.

Milan.

This evening we ferried here over the *Adda*, and had our portmanteaus examined by a searcher, then we went 20 miles, all night, down a cut of water kept up in a high bank, and in the morning our boat passed a sluice or conch, and then arrived at the gates of *Milan*, where for a piece of money the searcher let us pass freely. From *Bergamo* to *Milan* we had the company of Dr. Murry, a Scotchman, whom we were acquainted with at *Padua*.

While some of us travelled from *Crema* to *Milan*, Mr. Willughby went to *Lodi* and *Como*, of which places he gave this account, when he met us again at *Milan*.

Mr. Willughby's journey from Crema to Lodi and Como.

About four miles from *Crema* he passed a little brook that parts the territory of *Crema* from the *Lodesan*, and six miles further he went over a long bridge crosses the *Adda*, paying six or seven perpaols for himself and his guide. Immediately after he arrived at *Lodi*, the searchers examined his things.

Lodi.

*Lodi* is much bigger than *Crema*, but not populous. It is garrisoned by six companies of Spanish soldiers, and two Dutch. The governor's name is Don Gaspar de Terres.

The government.

The government is by 60 gentlemen called *Decurioni*, out of which is chosen every two months a lesser council of 10 or 12; and every four months two *Vecchi*, who are supreme, and are instead of consuls. A *Concilio di Mercanti*.

The Domo. La Madonna.

The domo is large, but not handsome. *La Madonna* . . . is a pretty round church.

At this place earthen pots (commonly called *Mayolicks*) are made.

Mr. Willughby was here informed, that at *Parva* (an university in the duchy of *Milan*) are three colleges, viz. 1. The pope's; 2. That of the town; 3. Cardinal *Borromæo*'s, in each of which are eight schools for grammar, logick, &c.

Ten miles from *Lodi* he passed through *Marignan* castle and town, and ten miles thence he came to *Milan*, where he staid one day, and then went for *Como*; a quarter of a mile from *Milan* is the *Madonna della Fontana*, and a monastery of *Carmelite* friars; and 12 miles from thence is a village called *Bursolini*, and on the

right hand is a stately cloister upon a hill. Just before he arrived at *Como* he observed *Como*. a tower, and the ruins of an old castle on a very high hill.

*Como* is situate by a lake it gives name to, and hath a small haven for boats, and a chain to stop them upon occasion. The lake affords great store of fish, viz. 1. *Bosfatrice*; 2. *Agone*, which are caught best in the darkest nights; 3. *Pisce Piso* which hath a thorn or prickle on every scale.

A new castle is built within the town, just upon the lake's side.

The governor's name is *Hercule Visconti*, and there are six companies of foot soldiers in garrison.

The government consists of 60 or 40 The go- noblemen called *Decurioni*. A council of vernment. 10 or 12. Four supreme, two of which are changed every two months. A council of merchants, who every year choose four censors to look after the weights, &c.

One *Lazaro* \* *Serafino* hath been bishop of \* *Caratino* *Como* these 35 years; and one *Alex. Magno Cavallo*, a great antiquary, lives here.

The *Academia delli Veloci* meets every The Aca- month at the house of signior *Barone Porta*. demia dell Veloci.

The palace of *Jovius*'s family hath this motto written in many places of it,

*Fato prudentia minor.*

And this distich,

*Nobis nostra placent, fortunæ Comoda nostræ  
Hæc damnare potest, qui meliora facit.*

In the rooms are many excellent pictures, among which one of *Paulus Jovius*, under whom was written,

*Paulus Jovius Episcopus Nucer. sui temporis  
Historias perscribens.*

And under *Benedictus Jovius*,

*Bened. Jovius Historiam patriam conscribens.*

In the front of the domo are two fair statues of the *Plinies*, with these inscriptions,

1. *C. Plinio Cæcilio Secundo qui Consulatu  
Auguratu militiæ gestis ac orandis causis  
poematibus et historiis conficiendis Cæs.  
Traij. Aug. luculentissime laudando ad-  
ficiendaq; immensâ liberalitate patria suâ  
eidem immortale contulit ornamentum.  
Ordo Comensis Concivi suo desiderabili,  
honore accepto monumentum posuit, 1498.  
Kal. Maii.*

*Functus eram sed tum veteri præclarus honore*

*Vivebam, perii, nunc quoq; vita mihi est.*

2. *Ordo Populusq; Comensis C. Plinium Se-  
cundum maclum ingenio virum, digna-  
tione clarum, doctrina admirabilem, ut  
qui olim Impp. Cæs. Vespasianorum ami-  
citiam meruerit, officia maxima gesse-  
rit, ac Scriptores Universos copia et  
Varietate*





*Varietate superaverit, municipem suum 12.  
incomparabilem statuâ et elogio ornare.  
Tantus honor dulcisq; juvat me fama se-  
cundum  
At mage concives hæc posuisse meos.*

There are on the south side of the church two old stones thus inscribed, 13.

1. C. Plinio L. F. O. V. F. Cæcilio Se-  
cundo Cos. Aug. Curat. Tiber.

And underneath these late verses,

*Quo juvenis properas oculos huc fleete pa-  
rumper  
Lætus eris sed mox non sine lachrymulis.*

2. C. Coesidio Euzelo viviro C. Plinius Phi-  
localus Amico Optimo, in cujus tutel.  
Coesidius Euzelus Colleg. Fabr. dedit.  
H. S. II. D. D.

In the bishop's garden is this modern inscription, with an old one.

*Lazarus Caratinus Episc. Comensis instau-  
ratis Palatio, Porticu, Hortis, erectâ  
Cymbis idoneâ statione, Populi Novoco-  
mensis pervetus monumentum Imp. M.  
Aurelio, ac L. Vero positum An. 170. ex  
antiquo S. Fidelis monumento huc trans-  
tulit 1638.*

In huge letters under that is,

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO  
ANTONINO AVG. F. IMP CAES  
L. SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS  
AVGVSTI ARABICI ADIABENICI P. P.  
PONTIFICIS MAXIMI TRIBVNIC  
D. POT. VI. MP. VIII. COS. II. D.

There are also these inscriptions,

1. Calpurniæ Juliæ C. Calpurnius Sex V.  
per Liberi, et Conjug. Carissi. et  
Calpurnius Julianus Matri. pientif-  
simæ; quæ vixit ter x annis sine  
Crimina.
2. Quo Vado; Nescio, invitus morior,  
valete posthumi. C. Macrus.
3. Marti cum Diis M. S. Deab. Macius  
Maximus V. S. L. M.
4. Cassiæ Heliodoræ.
5. Matronis . . . . .
6. Mercurio . . . . .
7. P. M. Secundinæ. Anim. Simplic.
8. Secundini æumillio D. V. †  
qui vixit annis M.VIIIXXVIII. dies  
XXII.
9. Bonæ Diæ Sacr. Helvidiarum Sorores  
ex voto.
10. V. F. L. Calvisius Calvenius VI vir  
sibi et Juliæ Secundæ Vxori et Cal.
11. Hic in pace requiescit . . . . . benig-  
naret, qui vixit annos pl. m. 

PVSILIENAE  
IANVARIAE  
PRISCIENVS  
SECVNDVS CONIVGI  
INCOMPARABILI.

DIIS MAXIMIS  
BACCHO ET SOMNO  
HVMANAE VITAE  
SVAVISSIMIS  
CONSERVATORIBVS  
SACRVM.

14. D. MANI  
M CANINI  
VoNI  
CALVINII  
MAIMAEMA  
XIMI FIL  
CON. KARIS.

Thus far Mr. Willughby's journey to Lodi and Como.

At Milan we saw the Ambrosian library, At Milan a fair building, being one high and large the Am- arch, erected and furnished with books by brofian li- cardinal Feder. Borromæus. Within a lit- brary. tle porch is written on a marble,

*Ne quis ex Bibliotheca Ambrosiana libros vel  
cujusvis generis Scripta efferat, si id fecerit  
Pontificiæ Excommunicationis pœna statim  
se damnatum esse sciat. [Same in Italian.*

The books are all bound in vellom or parchment, and are placed in shelves (as in private studies) round about, having two stories, a pair of stairs leading to the uppermost story of books, where there is a walk or balcony round; before all the books are wire lettices, which the library-keeper opens as there is occasion, and delivers the book that is asked for by any one that will study here, who must then sit down in a chair on one side of the room; here are many pictures of the most famous saints and learned men, among which is Sir Tho. More. There are also many pictures in two or three little rooms, and the picture of a phoenix with this rhyme,

*Phoenix est alis non est per secula talis  
Unus dum moritur, alter ab hoc oritur.*

In a little garden is a fair aloe-tree re- presented in brass, which is a fountain. In one stately room are curious pictures, designs, and antient and modern statues. Here is a natural landskip that represents a town with a high tower in the middle of it. A large octogonal table of Lapis Lydius, or touch-stone. A square table made in China excellently well painted and adorned with Mosaic work, and on it stands a cabinet, the contents whereof are hinted by this following inscription,

Leonardi



SKIPPO. *Leonardi Vincii manu et ingenii celeberrimi lucubrationum Volumina XII habes O Civis Galeaz. Arconatus inter Optimates tuos bonarum Artium Cultor Optimus repudiatis regio animo quos Angliæ Rex pro uno offerebat aureis ter mille Hispanicis ne tibi tanti Viri deesset Oramentum Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ consecravit, quem sanguis, quem mores Magno Federico Fundatori adstringunt Bibliothecæ Conservatores posuere An. MDCXXXVII.*

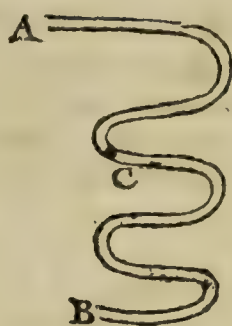
We looked into *Gesnerus* his works, printed at *Frankfort*, and observed on the top of the title page, *Damnati Authoris, &c.* was written; and all those notes which *Gesner* calls superstitious and magical were blotted out.

We visited in this city signior *Manfredo Septala*, a canon of *S. Nazareus's* church, who shewed us his *Museum*, wherein we observed the pictures of such of his family who had been in dignity, among which one was a commander in *Spain* and the low countries, and two had been archbishops of *Milan*. He brought us into two large rooms well furnished with books, and therein saw the skeletons of an ostrich, wolf, &c. he formerly kept the ostrich alive, and he preserves an egg she laid here. Above stairs we came into a chamber furnished with several sorts of *Specula*, all made by himself; one of them is very large, that burns at 16 yards distance; another that is plano-convex, through which two persons may look together, and see one another's face very plainly. Several multiplying glasses. The picture of a *Toucan*, or *Pica Brasiliæ*, which hath a white breast, red belly, black back, and the extremities of the tail white. Little infants made in wax very lively by himself. Neat straw hats. *Entaglie* of *Amilcar*, *C. Marius*, *Jul. Cæsar*, *Seneca*; *Cicero* cut in a *Nicolo*. Two watches that are cylindrical placed on a declining plane, which they move leisurely down, and when they are at the bottom, they are, instead of winding up, removed to the top of the plane, whence by their own weight they descend. Two small images, a cart, &c. made (as he said) only of wood, which moved upon a horizontal glass as he turned somewhat within. Two Porcellane pots as fine as *China* dishes, which he made himself, and wrote his name at the bottom of them. A stately old urn with curious figures on the outside. Lachrymal urns, and (as he said) the tears congealed into a crust, and coloured reddish. Half of a *Nux Maldacensis*, which is a huge nut that grows three pikes length under water. A great

horn of an ox brought from the kingdom of *Quiveri*. *Æthiopian* cloth made of *Yava*. Bows, arrows, axes, and a garment from *Florida*. A piece of gold mine with emeralds, diamonds and crystals together. A loadstone that draws 70 lb. of iron. The head of an *Hippotamus*, having six teeth before. Cups made of the *spina dorsi* bones of a whale, and turned by *Don John* of *Austria* when he was at *Milan*. Great pieces of amber, wherein we plainly discerned a little frog, grylli, spiders and flies. A hand, and ribs of a *Syren*. A small clock made in imitation of that at *Strasburg*. A large cabinet curiously adorned with *pietra imboscata*. An agate, having the signature of a horned moon in it. Another agate in the same cabinet, with these figures, 4 10 5 19, discernable in it. Within the cabinet, *Muricis Spicis spinis reflexis et asperis*. Pictures of saints made of feathers at *Mexico*, *Aranea odorata lineis aureis transversis*. Great variety of shells. A cabinet with 4800 ancient medals. *Oculi Cati Orient*. The head of *Donna Bona*, queen of *Poland*, curiously carved in a great sapphire, for which he was offered 80 pistoles. Many modern medals of gold, brass, &c. a series of consular coins before Christ. Great store of rare pieces of coral; a red piece excellently carved; white coral, also carneous and black, &c. Red coral growing out of a concha and an oyster shell; another piece out of the branch of a sea plant petrified; red coral growing over the black, and burst by it. 100 deaths heads on the stone of a fruit. The passion of our Saviour, and the city *Jerusalem*, with many other curious knacks of ivory, small and finely wrought by *Septala's* own hand. Three rings wreathed together, but not touching one another. A unicorn's horn. A crystal made artificially round, with about 24 points. Crystal wherein we saw gold, straw, &c. A *Turkish* pistol finely wrought. Two great *Turkish* knives perfumed, which he brought from *Constantinople*. An agate half full with water. A rich knife brought out of the *Mogul's* country. A *Persian* knife, with a sheath adorned with jewels. *Balsama de Tolu*. The figure of *S. Antonio di Padua* made of *Calambucco*, which smells sweet and strong. An ordinary stone within a sphere of crystals. Purfes made of *lapis asbestos*. A great piece of ambergreece. *Zibet di Nova Zemla*, which smelled very strong. A string of *Calambucco* beads. He caused two antick heads to start out of a frame, move their eyes and tongues in a frightful manner. Four pretty inventions which he called his perpetual motions. 1. A B is a spiral channel

Signior  
Septala's  
cabinet of  
rarities.



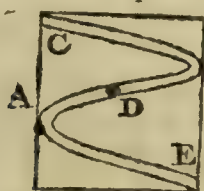


nel of brass, into which the ball C is put, that runs down to B, and falls into a frame, whence a ball is sprung up to the top of the frame, and falls into the channel at A.

turn'd a wheel, and moved all the clock-SKIPPON. works;  $g b$  was a cross balance to  $a b$ , that had a little weight  $b$  at one end, but none at the other.

In his work-rooms we observed the engine he grinds crystal and other stones in.

Pag. 593. 2. A pyramidal tower, and a ball running round it in a channel. See a particular description of it afterwards.

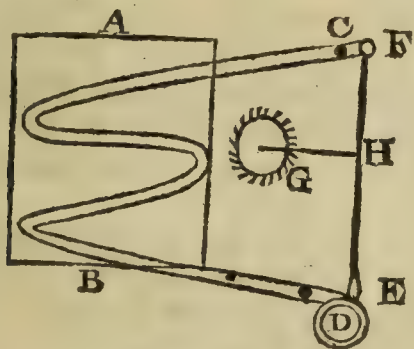


3. We look'd through a small glass in the side of a frame, and plainly saw a little crystal ball D move upwards in a channel from E to C,

which channel did seem fix'd on a declining glass, and when the ball came up to C, it fell down, and a ball ascended at E.

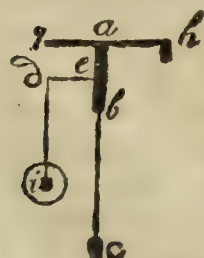
These three motions *Septala* would not discover the reason of, tho' we much desired him.

4. This was, to the best of our observation, after this manner;

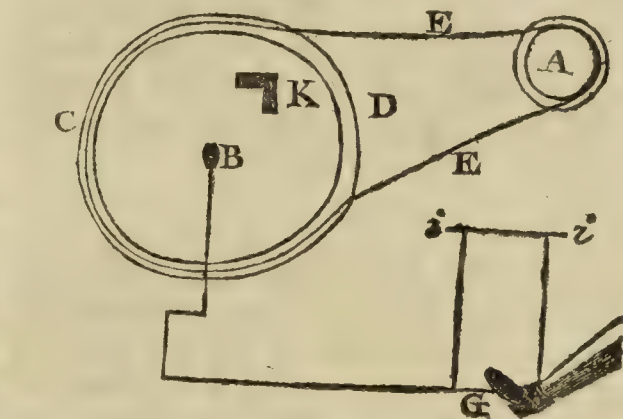


A B is an inclining glass. C is a ball that runs down a channel, whence it passes over a smooth and broad iron wheel D (gingling two bells in its passage) and falls into the lowest hollow end of a pendulum at E, which is forced upwards to F, where the ball is thrown into the channel. Every time the pendulum was struck up, a toothed brass wheel G moved a cog or two, which gave us occasion to think there was an axis from the centre of it to the pendulum at H, and probably there is something magnetical that makes the pendulum always hang perpendicular.

He shewed us several pendulum clocks of his own making, one with a weight at the end of a little cord, which made no noise. Another pendulum thus contriv'd;



$a b$  was perpendicular with the pendulum  $b c$ , to which it was jointed at  $b$ .  $d e$  made a right angle to  $a b$ .  $d i$  was a pendulum, the lower end whereof  $i$  was fastened to a circle, which it pull'd round, as  $a b c$  moved; from the centre of that circle went a tooth'd axis that



C D is a great wheel placed horizontally on a table, and compass'd with a cord E E that goes also round a lesser wheel A, which is moved very fast by one's foot that moves a hanging frame G i i on the axis i i, and so the turning iron that is underneath towards one side of the great wheel at B. The ordinary workmen of the city have a handle on the upper-side at K, with which they turn that wheel. The wheel A hath a superficies of brass, copper or lead, and thereon the crystal is held fast, being often wet with water wherein the dust of *Smyris* hath been dissolved; but for the last polishing they dissolve a light stone called *Saffo Morto*, found in this territory, and in a little river between the city wall and the *Lazaretto*. It is said that white stones will never die; when they look of a rusty colour they will ordinarily die in three or four months, and after that they begin to be soft and dry, and in a month or two's time will fall to dust and quite dissolve. Some of these dying stones will fall into thin plates or scaiole, but they use only such as fall to dust.

He had many turnes, wherein he makes glasses for telescopes, mingling with the water [*Spoltilia?*] *Tripoli*, and *Stanno Brusciato*, &c. He shew'd us a tube made of a very light wood, call'd *Legne d' Agellas*, in which he fix'd five glasses, and through them we plainly read what was written in small letters on a little stone upon a chimney cross the street; the writing was this, *Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex totum corpus lucidum erit. Manfredus Septala 1645.* Another telescope with four glasses. A small microscope with but one glass, which represented to us hour-glass sand as big as kidney beans, of a white colour, and seemed as if they had been polish'd. In another microscope one of his grey hairs appear'd as large as a reed, rough with *spinae*, and pellucid; through the middle of it we discerned a line of black, which he said was the *succus nutritius*



SKIPPON. *tritius* of the hair. In another he said he could see the atoms magnified, but we could not discern them. Many oils that were very odoriferous, which he made without fire. He had one room in which were several sorts of musical instruments, most of which were of his own making, and whereon he could play well. A pair of virginals striking upon little bells. Bagpipes with the bass, tenor and treble together. Double pipes. Four pipes which he play'd on at the same time. Lobsters claws made into pipes.

The great hospital.

The great hospital is part old and part new, having a brick front; both parts are stately buildings; the old one within is made in the figure of a cross, there being four large and fair rooms for sick people, and an altar in the middle, where mass is said every morning: Over one entrance is this written;

*Franciscus Sfortia Dux Mediolani quartus qui Urbis et regni imperium Soceri morte amissum recuperavit, ad sustentandos Christi pauperes dispersa alimenta concessit atq; ex vetere arce ædes ampliter excitavit. Ann. D. MCCCCVI. Prid. Id. Aprilis.*

The new building is a very large square, stately built, having a fair portico round it of marble pillars. In this hospital are eight lesser, yet handsome courts: a pretty chapel: an apothecary's shop: two physick gardens, and all other conveniencies, among which we observed one furnace that serves 40 stills. In two fair rooms hang the founders and benefactors pictures.

Over the great entrance into the old part is inscrib'd;

*Franciscus Sfortia Dux 1111. O. M. P. P. et ejus uxor Planca Maria Vececomites, qui sium ædesq; dederunt una cum Mediolanensi populo hoc hospitale posuere.*

Nazaræus. S. *Nazaræus's* church is but mean; it hath a roundish porch, wherein are several monuments of the *Triultii*, and one of them thus inscrib'd;

*Jo. Jacobus Magnus Triultius Antonii Filius, qui nunquam quievit, quiescit, tace.*

S. Paul. S. *Paul's* church belongs to a nunnery, and hath a front rarely adorn'd with marble pillars, carving, &c. Over the entrance is the conversion of S. *Paul*, well express'd in marble, and on the top is an image of the lady of *Loreto*: and we observed a basket carv'd in stone, which did exactly resemble one that was fullied with using.

S. Celsus. S. *Celsus* hath a front fairly adorn'd.

Lawrence. S. *Lawrence* is an octogonal church, wherein we saw a very rich marble pulpit;

before the entrance into this church stands 16 old pillars, suppos'd to be part of *Hercules's* temple: Not far from hence is a pillar, whereon was written, *Colonne Infame*, because a magician's house stood there, who poison'd the city.

S. *Ambrose's* church is an old building, where under the choir lie the bodies of S. *Ambrose*, *Ludov. II.* and king *Pepin*. High brass and iron rails part the choir from the body of the church, and about the high altar are four curious large porphyry pillars. In the nave or body of the church stands a pillar, with a brazen serpent upon it, which a priest told us was brought from the emperor's court, and that half of it was made of the serpent the *Israelites* had in the wilderness: At the west end is a square old portico; and at this church they say S. *Ambrose* stopp'd *Theodosius* the emperor.

Near it is a little chapel, where is written;

*Hic Beatus Ambrosius baptizavit S. Augustinum, Deodatum et Alipium. Hic B. Ambrosius incipit, Te Deum laudamus. Augustinus sequitur, Te Deum confitemur.*

The church of S. *Ambrose* belongs to . . . . monks, who have two very fair courts, and a fine rail of marble going up stairs: In their *Refectorium* we saw a picture drawn by one *Calisto Lodicensis*, which is much esteem'd.

S. *Francesco* is a fair old and long church, having a handsome monastery adjoined, where over the door of the room the novices are kept in, is written;

*Ubique sed non hic Augustine.*

Nigh this cloister we saw a pillar, where many formerly suffered martyrdom.

S. *Vittore*, belonging to white monks, is a very neat church, most curiously gilt and painted all over, a rich tabernacle at the high altar, and the seats of the choir are curiously carv'd; the *Sacristia* is handsome, and the cloister is stately, consisting of two fair courts, with double portici, and underneath the whole building are open vaults; one of the friars told us 3000 people might be lodg'd here; 45 monks live in this cloister; the abbot hath six fair chambers for the summer time, and there are large vineyards and gardens about it: They have an arched subterraneous passage for the novices to come in at, without being seen or taken notice of by any: We saw a picture here well drawn by one *Fr. Castello*, a *Milanese*, now living. The *Dormitorium* is handsome.

Some of these friars make a soap or *sapponetté*, which they sell when it is perfum'd for a pistole a pound, (12 per lib.) It is made of deers, and sometimes of beef fat, which

Making of Saponetté.



which they first dissolve in water till it be strong enough to boil an egg, and then they continually stir it over a gentle fire, to make the water and fat incorporate, and if it ropes from one's finger, stick, or spoon, it is boiled enough: After this they let it stand in the open air winter and summer for three or four years, but suffer no rain to fall in it: When it hath quite lost the taste of fat, it is weather'd enough; and if it be quite dry, they wet it with *Acqua di Tripoli* two or three times, and with rose water and a little musk give it a perfume: If it dries with keeping, they moisten it again with rose water: It is sent to the pope, cardinals, &c. and is good to supple and scent the skin of the face and hands.

*La Maria di Gratia* is an old church of the *Dominicans*, where over the altar of a chapel nigh the west door is a most lively picture of *S. Paul*, and under him is written, *D. Paulus Vas Eleē*. In the *Refectorium* is a rare picture of our Saviour's passion made by one *Leonardo Domenico*; being there a little before dinner, we observed four or five large buckets of wine with long spouts to pour out withal; the prior sits at the upper end of the refectory, at the middle of a table alone. In the *Sacristia* we saw many pictures, among which two of the virgin *Mary* drawn by *Titian*; and they shew'd us very rich embroider'd pieces to place before the altars: The library roof is supported by two rows of pillars; it is meanly furnish'd with books, the best was the king of *Spain's* bible: Over the inside of the door is a long excommunication against any that shall steal any books here. Next to the library is the inquisition prison, a dark and disconsolate cell, over the door whereof is written, *Ad meliora canendum*, by the picture of a bird in a cage.

Signior *Cavalliero Abbate Piate* with much civility shewed us these rarities, viz. A curious *Speculum* of crystal, which reflected one's face very true; it was adorn'd with two little pillars of oriental agate: Pieces of chalcedony and sardonix stones: A plate or dish consisting of several large and fair pieces of jasper: Many rich entaglie: Our Saviour's and the virgin *Mary's* heads well made in a cameo: A great and rich cabinet, adorn'd with wreath'd pillars of oriental agate, and four of amethyst: A large piece of oriental alabaster, being whiter than agate: Birds and flowers of *Mosaic* work, in a piece of *Lapis Lydius*: Several pictures made on stone, and emperors heads in great frames made by *Titian*.

We went to the castle, and expected some time without till we had leave given to enter, having a soldier with us that shew'd us about: Over the gate is written,

*Philippus II. Catholicus Hispaniorum Rex* SKIPPON.  
*Maximus, Defensor Fidei, Potens, Justus*  
& *Clemens.*

We pass'd several guards, and came into a large court, where we ascended a broad and high wall, built by the *French*, having a portico on the top, with a penthouse over it; many cannons and smaller pieces were planted on it, and one piece of ordnance hath an inscription signifying, *That the duke de Crecquy was kill'd by it March 17, 1638. at the siege of Brema.*

Within this wall is a square building moated round, built by the *Visconti*, formerly lords of *Milan*. The governor of the castle lives there, whose name is *Don Balibasar Marquadel*.

Without the *French* wall is a ditch, and a small bulwark at each of the four corners, and below the wall is a very strong new fortification, with good bulwarks fac'd with brick, having a deep broad ditch without, and between every bulwark a hornwork, and a line round all: Towards the front are two strong old towers, built by the *Visconti*, as appears by their arms on them: The soldiers were now about 600, (to defend it 6000 are needful) who have fair buildings within the walls of the castle to lodge in. This castle seems somewhat less, but is much stronger than that at *Antwerp*: Within it rises a river that drives a powder-mill, and runs away under the walls: Adjoining to the old castle (the governor's palace) is a large prison, where at this time was kept prisoner the governor of *Trin*, for delivering it up too easily to the *French*.

On a tower of the governor's palace is the figure of an angel without a head, which they say was shot off by a malefactor, (condemn'd to die) who aim'd at it, and was therefore pardon'd.

Without the castle is a *guasta*, or open place round about, and there is a stone pillar thus inscrib'd;

*D. O. M. Philippo III. Hispaniarum Rege ac Mediolani Duce. D. Joseph Vasquez de Azuna hujus Arcis prefectus hanc columnam et subiectum ipsi lapidem in quo Sanctus Martyr Protosius hujus Civitatis et Arcis defensor securi percussus creditur, è tenebris in quibus diu jacuerat in lucem revocavit Anno Domini MDCII. XIV Kal. Julii. Regnante postea Philippo IV. cum nova eidem arci propugnacula extrinsecus adstruerentur cumque proxime fossa huc obversa primævum ejusdem lapidis et columnæ situm arreptura sibi esset Don Joan. Vasquez Coronado intimus ejusdem Regis Consiliarius et è Regii hac in Provincia Exercitus Magistro Generali Prefectus hujus*

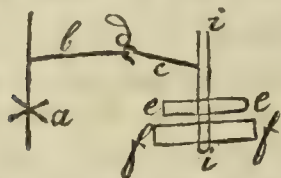


SKIPPON.

*jus arcis probatissimus alteriq; illi pietate non impar eandem columnam et lapidem Anno 1656. 17 Kal. Julii hac transferri jussit ut perpetuum hic essent tanti Martyris et Patroni Monumentum.*

Making of  
linseed oil.

In this city we saw the manner of making linseed, walnut and rape oil: First, they take the kernel of walnut, linseed, &c. and grind it with a stone, (as apples with a stone in some parts of England) mov'd round by a horse, and to 15 or 16 lb. put a boccale of water; then they put it into a dry cauldron, where it is only made hot, and after that, they put it into a hair cloth, and lay it in a press, where the oil is forced out thus:



At *a* a fellow turns and winds up the cord *b*, which is fastened at the hook *d* to a strong beam *c*, which is put into the

screw *i i*, and forces down a heavy beam *e e*, that lies upon a bag of seed upon a hollow wood *ff*.

S. Mark.

S. Mark's church belongs to the *Augustine* friars, where is a little chapel nigh the west door, the walls whereof are well painted; and over the altar the roof is rarely painted with angels, &c. the walls of the cloister are also well pictur'd, and in the *Sacristia* is a rich picture.

Jesuits.

The *Jesuits* is a pretty church, where we observed a pulpit and confessors seats very rarely carv'd; and one of the altars hath two pillars in a leaning posture, supported by the hands of two angels.

Palazzo de  
Marino.

*Palazzo de Marino* hath a fair stone front, is very great, but not yet finish'd; we were told that there being no issue of the family, the king of *Spain* came to be owner, and his chancellor lives there.

In *Milan* there are many jewellers, who make boxes, seals, and other knacks of crystal; they sell crystal *stugio's* (tweezers) for a pistole a-piece. In one shop we saw a large branched candlestick of crystal, valued at 400 doppie, and a large scollop cup of crystal, worth 40 doppie, another cup of one intire piece of crystal, that held a boccale and a half, which the workman intended to send into *England*. In the grinding of crystal they first use *smiris* and water, and at last *sassomorto*. When they make crystals hollow, they use oil of olives.

They make here several sorts of sweet cakes, viz. 1. *Cu . . gon*, shap'd like a *Rhombus*: 2. *Mustachin biancho*, made in an oval figure: 3. *Mustachin Negro*: 4. *Nevisal*, a long cake: 5. *Torte*, a little kind of tart; 6. *Armandole*: 7. *Coronea*, which is white bread made into a ring.

One evening a little after *Ave-Mary* time we observ'd on the pedestal of St. Carlo's statue in the streets a crucifix standing between two lanthorns, and people on each side the way repeating their prayers aloud.

*March 9.* O. S. was a great festival solemniz'd for St. *Joseph*, and before the church of that name was a stage built, and six or seven figures of men and women (representing persons in the sacred story) were plac'd on it. There was a great resort to this place all the day, and several persons waited about the church with dishes asking peoples charity; and we saw this procession: First went two bearing standards in red liveries, next came six trumpets in the same habit, with broad red hats and silver hatbands; then follow'd some of the magistrates, and after them the chief traders of the city, each having a banner carried before them, with the arms, &c. of their profession.

In a fair and large street is a pillar erected with a lion on the top, and on the pedestal inscriptions, one of which is as follows, viz.

*Leonem hunc Orientali Portæ insigne obiectum et profligatis hostibus monumentum Mediolanenses Antiqui posuere. 1628.*

The *Seminarium* hath a stately large court, and one tall portico over another round about; the portici have double pillars: There are several fair rooms, viz. the refectory, and *Hermathenaeum*, a long and arched place, adorn'd with arms, pictures and inscriptions to S. *Ambrose*, *Gaspar Vicecomes*, *Federicus Borromæus*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Cæsar Montius Cardin.* *Alfonso Litta*, now archbishop of *Milan*. The picture of St. Carlo with this inscription;

*Divum Carolum hujus Seminarii Fundatorem Patronum, Parentem optimum agnosce, reverere, Specta Innocentiæ Sanctitatis Simulacrum, inferendus Cælo erat quem Pius Nepotem numeraret, demittendus Cælo qui orbem Universum emendaret, debuit profana Urbs ab extero nata, sanctior et castior renasci abs cive nasci Orbis potuit nonnisi abs Deo, renasci ille nonnisi abs Carolo, ipsa quæ cuncta corripuerat Epidem. pepercit Carolo, non dcerant videlicet Cælo Dei, sed deerant Ecclesie Caroli.*

In this room doctors of law are made; 150 students live in this seminary, and have their diet and lodging in a long chamber; and there are professors that read to them.

The *Collegium Helveticum* hath a fair front, and two courts which will be very handsome.



handsome when the building and portici are finished: S. Carlo Borromæo founded it, and gave maintenance for 60 students of Switzerland, and some of Italy; they wear red gowns with long hanging sleeves, over a black cassock.

In a little chapel are a great many skulls, thigh bones, &c. heaped up in a handsome order, so that they covered all the inside of the walls: On the altar stood a crucifix between two skulls, and on the forepart of the altar table was written;

*Si ha per antica traditione che quelli estinti Fidele al tempo di S. Ambrosio sono questi qui reposti che tu vede dunq; con preci et elemosyne Socorelie e dagliata che ate infiniti favori, ne renderano. L'anno de Nostra Salute CCCLXXXX.*

On the outside of the chapel is inscribed,

*D. O. M. Ubi Civis Catholicus Servatus prælio cum Arrianis commissio et triumpho superstes maneat æternum pietas in tumulum collegit.*

*D. O. M. Ne parce Civis Concivis sui partibus particulam addere et ossi assem dare, si negas inhumato, inhumanus es.*

A legend.

We were told that S. Ambrose, after the fight between the Catholics and Arians, prayed it might be revealed how to distinguish the bodies of one party from the other, and his desires were answered, when he found all the Catholics with their faces upwards, and the others downwards; so he takes the Catholics and saves their bodies together, and their bones are in this conservatory.

In S. Stephen's church is a pillar nigh the west end, whereon is a stone wheel, and this inscription;

*Quisquis hanc suspicis rotam monumentum habes cruentissimi prælii Catholicos inter et Arrianos Divo Ambrosio Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis Antistite cujus precibus concurrens ante promiscuus cæsum sanguis Catholicorum cum Hæreticorum sanguine, repente in Rotæ figuram concretus Sacrum à profano discrevit, cognomentumq; fecit huic Basilicæ quod in ejus pavimento quod ex adverso rotæ, jacet cævus lapis prodigiosè huc devolutum pium cruorem exorbuït, Tu memoriam Venerare miraculi Vestigium adora.*

Cabinet of rarities.

Signior Antonio Maria Milio, an ingenious priest, shewed us a great many excellent pictures, and variety of other curiosities, both natural and artificial, at signior . . . . . house, where we observed these things following: Many agats and precious stones: Furniture for a table, a salt-seller, knives, &c. all of Lapis Lazuli: Natural landships in stone, repre-

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senting towns, moss, &c. A Sanctina, or Skippon, holy water pot, of precious stones: A crucifix, and all things belonging to an altar, adorned with gems: Fair cabinets: Many mathematical instruments: A pair of virginals, richly set with rare agats: Variety of fruits, &c. in wax: A double cage of wood conveyed into a glass globe, which was cut into long pieces, and joined together within a larger and intire glass globe, thus,

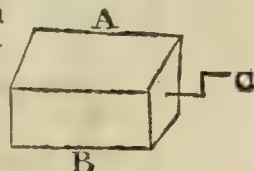
The two squares are the cages; the inner circle is the globe cut into pieces, and set together again; the outmost circle is the intire globe, with a little hole for the handle *h* to pass in at.



Many other glass globes, with bunches of wax-grapes conveyed into the cavity at a little hole.

A perspective cabinet, which was thus contrived;

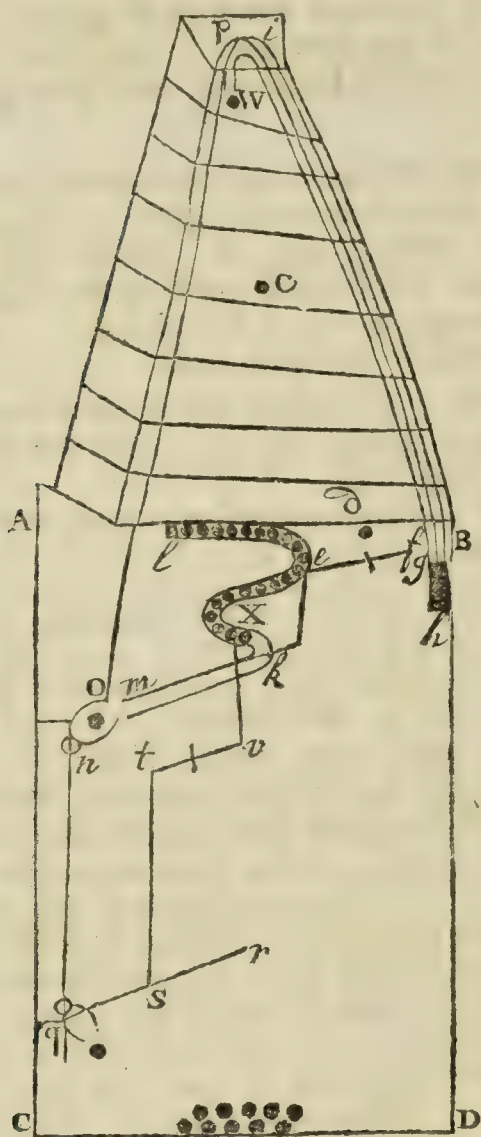
A B is a square, which on each side had a pretty representation of a garden; C is the handle that turns the square with the several sides upwards, and each side had a garden underneath that might be turned up, so that there were eight gardens, all pleasantly reflected by glasses within the cabinet. Prasme is of oil olive colour. This priest told us that the little figures of wood we saw dance upon a glass at Septala's were made of the pith of elder, over small pieces of iron, and that there was a loadstone underneath. That the ball which seemed to ascend was but *deceptio visus*, being reflected exactly by a *Speculum*, as it runs downwards. Crystals are coloured red, &c. by putting it into sublimated mercury, and arsenick in a crucible, and setting it over a very hot fire, for the crystal will then crack, and imbibe the tincture of those liquors. We saw here a very large granate, set under the forementioned sanctine. He shewed us the manner of the balls running about a tower, viz.



A P B is a tower with a spiral channel about it, in which descends the ball *c*, and falls out at *d* into the frame A B C D, where it lights upon *f*, the end of a little piece of wood *e f*, which turns on an axis nigh *f*; and this falling down of the ball lifts up the end *e*, and (whilst the ball runs in at *g* into the bottom of a tin pipe *b i*, and rests on a piece of wood *z*, which thereabouts fills the cavity of the pipe) that pulls up a wire *e k*, cross the inclining and winding channel *l m*, against that wire *e k*, rests a bullet, which, when the wire is up, runs out at *m*, and falls into a leather



SKIPPON. leather bag *o*, that descends with the weight of the bullet to *q*, where it is thrown out, the bag having a ring at the bottom about a stiff wire *nq*, fixed to the side of the frame *AC*: At *q* the bag and bullet rest against a little piece of wood which moves



on an axis near the end of it *r*, and the bag pressing upon it, pulls down the cord *st*, and that draws down the end of another piece of wood *tv*, (which hath an axis in the middle) and so forces up the forked wood *vx*, and makes a bullet go out of the fork *x*, and run against the wire *k*, where it stops till *ek* is pulled up, &c.

Note, That the fork *x* is below the superficies of the channel, and before it is forced up, that bullet rests in a hollow of it, but being raised the bullet runs to *k*, then another bullet succeeds at *x*.

Note also, That the distance from *o* to *q*, must be as long as that from *p* to *h*, because when the bag descends to *q*, by the communication of a string, (fastned to the bag at *o*, and moving over a pulley at *p*) the piece of wood *z* is plucked up the length of the channel *hi*, and when the bag is at *q*, the ball falls into the spire at *w*.

Note, That this ball will ascend and descend no longer than there are bullets in the channel *lm*.

This priest was more communicative and obliging then signior *Septala*.

The *Domo* is a noble and large building, <sup>The Domo.</sup> cruisted over with a white marble, and adorned with many curious statues of saints, &c. round the outside; the east end is quite finished, but the steeple and the roof of the body of the church are not: The portico at the west end will be very stately when it is finished, having rare carved work in the front of it: The roof of the church is high, and supported by four rows of pillars; before the entrance into the choir is an octogonal stone rail, where is enshrined the body of *S. Carlo*, that devout people kneel to, and in a large hole of the pavement is a net that receives their charity. Round the outside of the choir is fine carving in stone. A fair monument here, with this inscription;

*Marino Caracciolo Neapol. Illustri genere Orto, Qui plurimis pro Pontiff. Cæss. functus est legationibus primam Carolo V. Imp. ad Aquasgrani Coronam imposuit, Anglos ei conjunxit et Venetos ac demum à Paulo III. Pont. Max. in Cardinalium cooptatus ordinem dum Provinciam Mediolan. ab eodem Carolo sibi creditum regeret importuna morte maximâ cum Reip. Christianæ jactura sublatu est. v Kal. Feb. MDXXXVIII. annos natus LXIX. Jo. Baptista Fratri Opt.*

We went up the steeple, which had after every three or four steps a landing place: The statues of a *Visconti*, *S. Cerinus*, *Marco Carello*, and many others, we observed; that *Carello* gave 300 cecchini towards the building of this church. The rails and the pinacles of the steeple are more curiously wrought than those at *Strasburg*: In one pinnacle is the figure of the architect, and about it is written, *Jo. Antonius Homodeus Vene. Pe. Fadrice M<sup>li</sup> Architectus*.

The wings of the church and the east end, which are finished, are arched over with great . . . . . From the steeple we took a view of this large and round city, and the circumjacent country.

A handsome piazza before the *Domo*.

The archbishop's palace is stately, ha- <sup>Archbi-</sup>ving two courts one of which hath a fair <sup>shop's pa-</sup>portico within it. <sup>lace.</sup>

In the piazza *di Mercanti* is a tall statue, erected to *Philip II.* thus inscribed; *Justitiæ Simulachrum Quod ex antiquo Pii IV. instituto collocandum hic dixerant I C Mediolanen. In Philippo II. Rege Catholica expresserunt, Magno conestabili Jo. Velasco feliciter iterum gubernante, MDCXI.*

The government of this city is by a Govern- great council of all the noblemen, who ment. meet once a year about *Christmas* to chuse



A lesser council of 24, none of which must be longer than two years in office.

There are 12 senators for civil affairs, part *Italians* and part *Spaniards*; these are called *Potentiff. Rex.*

Sixty *Cavallieri*, who are *Milaneſe*, and are for life, who elect out of themselves by ballot 12.

*Qu.* Whether the same with the 12 senators?

The *Curia di Juſtitia* conſiſts of 17 or 18, who firſt hear criminal cauſes; but from thence there is an appeal to the 24, and from the 24 to the governor.

There is alſo an appeal from the lower courts to the 24 in civil cauſes.

A *Podeſta* for civils;

A *Capitano* for criminals, both choſen by the city.

Two *Tribunali*.

Two *Queſtores*.

The governor is ſent out of *Spain*; he hath a council of war, and a council of ſtate. He is captain general of the ſoldiers, except thoſe of the caſtle, who have a *Caſtellano* immediately under the king of *Spain*. The governor in time of peace hath little to do (ſcarce his vote.)

The preſent governor's name is *Don Lewis de Ponte Leon*, who ſucceeded the marquiſs *Caraceni*.

*Leti* ſays, "That in *Milan* 24 noble-men, who are doctors of law, have the chief rule; that when one dies they preſent two to the king of *Spain*, who chuſes uſually one of them, but hath power to chuſe any one elſe if he pleaſes." *Qu?*

This *Leti* was a *Milaneſe* born, yet I doubt the truth of ſome of his relations.

Good juſtice is executed here.

There are 3000 foot and 1000 horſe ſoldiers, beſides 100 *buomini d'arme*, all *Spaniards*. Two thouſand of thoſe ſoldiers are quartered abroad, and 1000 in fortrefſes, beſides the 500 in the caſtle of *Milan*, which are ſelected out of the 3000 ſoldiers where the caſtellano pleaſes.

Here is a company of *Iriſh* ſoldiers.

We obſerved many doctors of law, who were habited in a black gown with a very large cap, and ſleeves not much unlike our maſters of arts.

The chief families of this city are 1. *Viſconti*, 2. *Borromei*, 3. *Triulci*.

The buildings here are tall and fair, only they want glaſs windows. The city is full of inhabitants, who do many of them follow the *Spaniſh* mode, the men being in their ſtrait breeches and doublets, with ſhort hanging ſleeves, and the women in vaſt farthingals (which they call *Guarde infante*) and with long hanging ſleeves.

The fiſhmarket is in a fair piazza, where the fiſh is ſold dear, being brought from *Lago di como*. It is ſold for 25 or 28 ſoldi per lb.

The people here leave out the laſt vowels of words; and when they are angry, they uſe theſe ugly expreſſions, *Catzo*, *Sangue di Dio*, *Corpo di Dio*, &c. and inſtead of the common *Italian* word *Niente*, which ſignifies Nothing, they ſay *Mingo*.

A *Libra groſſa* is equal to our avoirdu-Meaſures. pois and troy weight pound, i. e. 28 ounces.

The *Libretta* = 12, or troy pound.

*Braccia di panno* = 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Braccia di ſeta* = 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

Good ſilk ſtockens and waſtcoats are made here.

Without the walls is the lazaretto, a Lazaretto. low but uniform building (except one ſide not yet finiſhed) having a ſmall portico round the inſide. They told us there are here 365 chimnies. The ſquare within is a green above four times as big as the great court in *Trinity college* in *Cambridge*, in the middle whereof is an octogon al chapel with a portico about it, where all the lazaretto may ſee the prieſt when he celebrates maſs.

At *Milan* we ſaw the beheading of a malefactor, who was a gentleman of *Bergamo*, that was condemned for murder. This proceſſion accompanied him; firſt went the executioner, who was diſguiſed in a ſackcloth robe, and hooded like a *Capuchin*; his face covered, only two holes left for his eyes, and a knotted cord tyed about his middle. In his hands he carried a death's head and a crucifix, and was barefooted. After him followed two gentlemen habited in ſhort ſurplices, with white ſhort cloth cloaks over them; on the left ſide whereof was a crucifix wrought. They had white hats with their brims turned up, and lighted tapers in their hands; then followed many noble-men and merchants, two and two in the ſame white habit; and after them came the malefactor in his chains, holding a crucifix in his hands, whereon he looked very ſtedfaſtly, and repeated his prayers all the while. On his right hand went a *Capuchin*, and on his left one of thoſe in white cloaks. Juſt before him went a prieſt with an attendant that carried a pot of holy water, which the *Capuchin* often ſprinkled on the malefactor and people. The *Ave Maria* was the prayer they repeated continually; and paſſing by a church the condemned perſon kneeled for ſome time. Halberdeers and ſome with carbines and piſtols attended near the executioner, and many with carbines after the malefactor; who being thus brought to an open place nigh *Lorenzo*, there was



SKIPPOON.

an engine placed within a rail that the malefactor laid his neck on, which was chop'd off by the falling of an engine upon it. He made no publick confession, but the people were exhorted three or four times to say the *Ave Maria* before he kneeled down and was executed, the crucifix being placed before him. The executioner took up his head and shewed it, till the body was carried away on a bier by some in the white habit, who sung a doleful tune as they went.

*March 10.* In the morning we went to the *Datii grande* or custom-house, where we had our portmanteaus searched, and the padlocks sealed to avoid the trouble of searching at the city gate and other places in the state of *Milan*. We also paid 4½ soldi for a bolletino; then we took our four hired places in the *Turin* coach, giving 3 pistole. Going out of *Milan*, we shewed our bolletin at the gate, which would not satisfy the searchers there, who expected some little matter that we gave them. As soon as we were out of the walls, two soldiers stop'd us, and required a bolletin for our persons, and therefore would have exacted on us; but after some time spent in wrangling with them, and giving them 10 soldi, we rode away.

This day we travelled some miles in a freight broad way, having the river *Bachilio* on our right hand, observing many barks full of people that came from *Bufalora*. We crossed over the river at a bridge, and rode then on the other side of it, taking notice of great plenty of rice sown in the low grounds. Thirteen miles from *Milan* we passed in sight of *Castellat*, a large *Terra* or village on our left hand a little way off the river; and four miles further, by a fair palace of the *Visconti* seated by the *Bachilio*, where we saw many wheels with buckets to water gardens with. We rode three miles further on a narrow bank by the same river, which was hereabouts shaded with shrubby wood, and in the evening we lodged at a small village called *Bufalora*, where the country women wear ruffs about their necks.

*March 11.* We passed over a bridge at *Bufalora*, and two miles thence ferry'd the river *Tison*, paying there two *Milan* soldi. Eight miles further we went thro' *Novara* (where we shewed our bolletin, and gave a soldier a small piece of money.) This is no great town, nor much peopled: there are some handsome houses in it. At this time there were making bulwarks and an out-line with stakes round about. Hence we travelled very bad way, and observed a country like the east parts

of *England*. Nine miles from *Novara* we came thro' *Borghetto*, a small village, where we shewed our bolletin to a searcher, and gave him a little money. Half a mile thence, we went over a brook that parts the duchy of *Milan* from *Piedmont*; and nigh *Vercelli* we ferry'd the river *Seno*, *Vercelli* paying 13 soldi, and two quattrini when we arrived at the gates of that place, 10 miles from *Novara*. At the dogana here the datarii would have sealed our portmanteaus again, because we brought a bolletin from *Milan*; but being unwilling to have a constant charge, we refused their sealing, and therefore they suspected we had merchandize.

This city is poor and meanly built. It hath a large piazza. The inhabitants are few, besides a garrison of the duke of *Savoy's* soldiers. The *Spaniard* restored it to him when the *French* gave back *Trin* and *Valencia*. The people here have ever since been discontented, and many of them retire to other countries, because the duke of *Savoy* oppresses them with ten times as many taxes as the king of *Spain* imposed.

*March 12.* About half a mile from the city four fellows with carbines stop'd our coach, and examined our portmanteaus, but were much disappointed after they had waited for our coming in a rainy morning, and finding nothing of merchandize. They were sent hither on purpose by the officers of the dogana. After eight miles, which were bad and dirty way, we baited at a terra called *S. Germans*. Ten miles from thence we lodged in *Sian*, a large terra.

*March 13.* We journied on a heath about eight or ten miles to an inn near *Chivas* (*Chivacium*) where, by reason of land-floods, we were forced to stay all night. *Chivas* is a poor, yet fortified place, tho' no garrison in it now. This day we paid 24 soldi for ferrying over the *Doira*. In the same inn lay the marquis of *Crescentin*, and count *Tisson*. We met here with an ingenious *Augustine* friar, who told us of one *Langhton*, an *Englishman*, who lived in the same convent with him at *Bergamo*, after he had dwelt in a noble *Venetian's* house. He was thought to be no *Roman* catholick, and they could never hear of him since he went from them.

*March 14.* We paid two *Savoy* soldi a piece for ferrying the river *Orro*; then we travelled bad way through a woody country, and forded several strong currents occasioned by late rains in the mountains. We then ferryed over the *Stura*, paying two and half *Savoy* soldi a man. Ten miles from our last night's lodging we went over a bridge cross the *Doira*, and a little di-



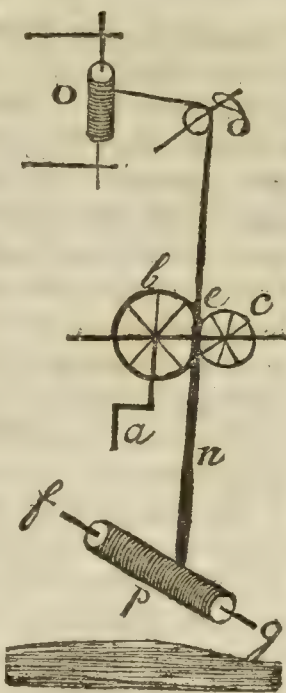
Turin. distance off arriv'd at *Turino*, where at the gates we had a bolletin given us for to lodge in the city; which we gave somewhat for, besides 10 foldi to the searher.

From *Vercelli* to *Turin* the country was thinly inhabited, and had but few villages, which were ruined and impoverish'd by the wars. On the right hand we had the prospect of the *Alps*, and on our left a ridge of hills on the other side of the *Po*.

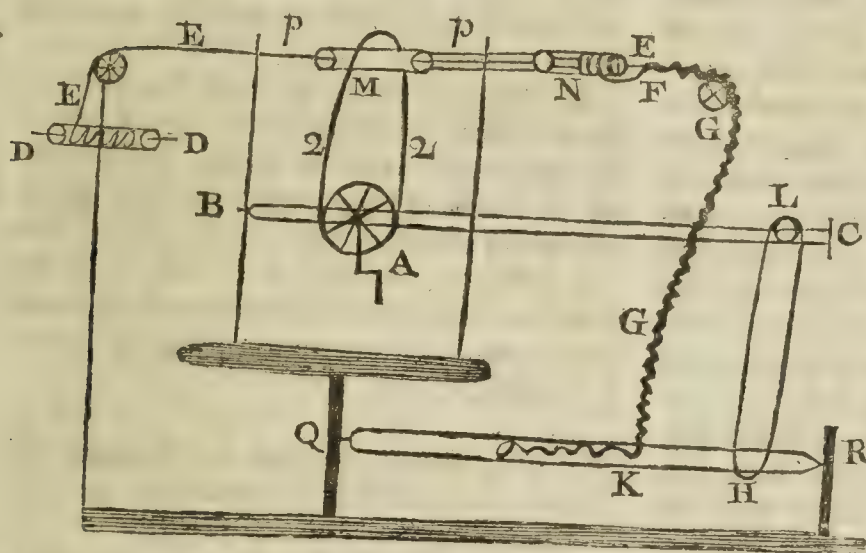
In *Turin* we saw the manner of making silver plate to weave into cloth of silver or lace, &c. and the manner of winding it upon silk thread: both engines very ingenious. The narrow lace or plate is made of silver wire, thus flatted;

*a* is a handle which turns about the wheels *b c*, the wheel *b* moving towards *c*, and the

wheel *c* towards *b*. *d* is the wire before it comes to the wheels, where at *e* it is drawn in between them, and by their close pressure flatted. *n* is the wire flatted, *o* the fufus or spindle the wire is taken from, and *p* the fufus whereon it is wound, which fufus is turned by a band that passes over the axis of the great wheel *b*, and the axis of this spindle *f g*.



Silver plate is wound upon silk thus,



The handle *A* moves a wheel which hath a band 2 2 that turns about the spindle *P P*. *BC* is an axis that passes thro' the wheel. *DD* is the fufus the filk is wound on. *EEE* is the filk that passes thro' the centers of the spindles *PPN*. The silver lace or plate is wound on the fufus *N*, which is turned round by the motion of the wheel-band 2 2. *QR* is a cylinder which is turned by the band *LH*, there being a little wheel or pulley *L* on the axis *BC*. This cylinder or beam draws away the filk *EEE*; and the plate twisting at *FGG*, is wound thereon at *K*.

This engine was double, the wheel-band 2 2 passing over another fufus like *P P*.

The duke's palace. The duke's palace is new, and hath a very fair tall front. When it is finished there will be a handsome square and a portico, &c. Here is a large and stately pair of stairs, at the bottom whereof stands a curious marble horse bestrid by a brass figure trampling on two men. On the pedestall is written,

*Divi Victoris Amedei bellicam fortitudinem et inflexum justitiæ rigorem metallo expressum vides, totum animum videres si velox ingenium flexilemq; clementiam exprimere metallum posset.*

The guard chamber is a large, square, and high room, having the roof well painted, and above a gilt leather hanging, several pictures on the walls sides, expressing the most famous acts of the *Saxon* princes, from whence this *Savoy* family derives itself. One of the pictures hath this inscription,

*Angliæ Dux, Britannia Domitor Vertigerus, Britannicis Leonibus mucrones Anglicos infgens, Britannicis leges dedit, nomen eripuit, mirante oceano, ubi natabat Britannia, nata est Anglia.*

The present duke of *Savoy* is *Carlo Emanuel*, about thirty years old, of indifferent stature, and of a careless, or rather wild carriage. He was at this time in mourning for his mother *Christina di Francia*, called *Madama Reale*, and his duchess *Francesca Borbona*, called *La Duchessa Reale*, who died at 16 years of age. The duke himself is called *Sua Altezza Reale*.

*Victor Amedeus* was his father, and his uncles were, 1. *Tomaso*, married to . . . who left two sons, viz. *Emanuel Philiberto*, about 36 years old: he is dumb, and lives at *Turin*; and *Eugenio*, now in *France*. 2. Prince cardinal *Mauritio*, who quarrell'd after *Victor's* death, with *Madama Reale* for the tuition of this present duke. A dis-



SKIPPOY. dispensation was granted him to marry *Ludovica Maria*, his niece, and this duke's sister, who buried the cardinal *Maurice* her husband when she was 35 years old. *Henrietta Adelaide*, the duke's second sister, is married to the duke of *Bavaria*, and the third sister, *Marguerita Yoland*, was lately buried by her husband the duke of *Parma*. It was thought the duke of *Savoy* would have a second wife (out of *France*) having no issue by her.

The chief minister of state is *Marchese Pianezza*.

Domo de. The *Domo* is an indifferent church: the high altar hath eight fair, black and tall marble pillars. A monument to *Argentarius* the physician, and a vault here that the duke's family lie buried in.

S. John Baptist.

On 25 *March*, N.S. being *Lady-day*, we heard a sermon here about the virgin *Mary*; and towards the latter end of his discourse the preacher paused whilst there was a collection. At the conclusion he blessed the people, and made a cross towards them with his hands. The duke and his sister *Ludovica Maria* and four courtiers were present in one seat, and many court ladies in an adjoining seat. A guard of *Switzers* with halberts, and about 12 other fellows attended with carbines.

Before the duke's palace is a large piazza, which hath two sides fairly built and cloistered; the third side was the palace of *Madama Reale*. In a straight line from this piazza is a beautiful street that runs the whole length of the city, so that the duke hath a pleasant perspective from his palace to one of the city gates at the further end. All the houses of this street are uniform brick buildings four stories high, plaistered over with white, and inhabited by tradesmen. In the middle of the street's length is a large piazza, having on each side a broad and fair portico before noblemens houses and some shops.

The palace, or citizens town hall, is in this piazza, where are pretty rooms with painted roofs.

Government.

The government of this city is by 60 *Nobili*, who make the great council, which meets about *Michaelmas*, and chuses the several officers. When any of the great council dies, the rest chuse another, and the duke confirms or appoints another. Some say they present two or three to the duke's choice; two consuls out of themselves, and one out of the merchants.

A senate for criminal causes; *Qu.* Whether the same with the *Camera di Conti* that hears some civil causes?

This city is well situated on a rising ground nigh the *Po*, which here receives the river *Doira* into it. The walls and outwork, &c. are good.

In *Piemont* are 15 marches, 50 counts, and 60 signorie.

There are 30 fortresses, and it is said the duke can raise 80,000 soldiers.

The people do generally speak *French* as well as *Italian*, and they count themselves neither in *France* nor *Italy*. The women are dress'd after the *French* mode.

*Turin* is noted for making of oiled coats, which, they say, were invented by one *Giacomo Marigi*; and the *fattura* of it is still kept as a secret. We only learn'd that they use bees-wax, linseed oil, and verdegrease; and we saw linen cloth stretch'd on wooden frames, and besmear'd with the composition twice on each side, and dry'd in the sun.

Making of oil'd coats, &c.

A razzo or yard is equal to  $23\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and they have but one measure for silk and cloth. A pound is equal to  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Measures.

We were told, that about 16 miles from *Turin*, in the way to *Savona*, is mount *Vin* or *Mons Regalis*, where a red and medicinal earth is found.

Hiring three horses for four *Savoy* livres, we rode about three miles to a new palace of the duke's call'd *Venerie Royale*, as it is written on the front of it, with the year 1659. where we entred a neat court with a portico within; two sides of it hath a double portico, and round about were fix'd many stags horns with inscriptions, one of which I transcrib'd, viz.

Venerie Royale.

*Jay estè destornée Maturin et l'eramano aupres de la Cassine de praions, e pris au mesme lieu. le 13. d' Aust. 1653.*

Next we came into a larger court, where at the further end was the chief building of the palace, and on one side, a long and fair stable well furnish'd with horses. In the middle of the court a fountain is intended, and a garden making on the opposite side to the stable. In a pretty hall are fair and large pictures of hunting, wherein are represented the duke of *Savoy* and his late wife on two stately horses; 2. the duke of *Bavaria* and his duchess; 3. the duke of *Parma* and his lady; 4. prince *Philibert*; and 5. two court ladies, all on horseback.

In the other rooms are many pictures of birds, &c. some very lascivious. Here were large looking-glasses and some handsome beds. Where the beds stood, the fellow that shewed us the palace, bade us be uncover'd. A small chapel where the patron saints of hunting, *S. Hubert*, *S. Egidius*, &c. are painted on the walls. Over the high altar is the picture of our Saviour's passion between two stags horns. Many white and other pheasants (about 100) were kept together in a yard. A little river runs close by this palace; and the adjacent country seems proper for hunting, which this duke is extremely addicted to.



In our return this evening to *Turin*, we met with the duke in his coach and six horses, with many attendants, going to *La Venerie*.

He hath another palace called *Millefiore*, three miles another way from *Turin*; and just without the city is *Valentin*, a third palace of the duke's.

The *Parco* is a pleasant shaded place by the side of the river *Doira*.

At *Turin* we were told that the *Genebrines* or *Barbetti* live in a valley of the *Piemont Alps*, called *Lucerne*, and are the only protestants in *Italy*. They have no towns but live dispersed in houses and villages among the mountains. They are about 15000 people in all, 1500 or 2000 of which are stout fighting men, and are divided into 15 companies. One *Jean Janeval* is their chief captain, and a good soldier. The duke of *Savoy* is their prince, who endeavoured by force to alter their religion, &c. but they defended themselves in the strait passages of the mountains, and kill'd many of his soldiers. *Oliver Cromwel* assisted them with monies; and by the mediation of the cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne*, they were reconcil'd to the duke. These protestants say they have been of that religion for 1200 years.

*Leti* says, that at *Mondovi* (*Mons Regalis*) 35 miles from *Turin*, the inhabitants are divided still into the factions of *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins*. The *Guelfs* are known by wearing a black or white feather on the right side of their cap. They lay knives, spoons and forks on the right side of the trencher, break the bread on the side, and cut apples lengthways, and lemons crossways. The women carry nose-gays on the left side. The *Ghibellini* do just contrary.

*March* 17. We hired four horses of a *Vitturine* for 4½ *Spanish* pistoles, to carry four of us to *Genoa*, the *Vitturine* going a foot, and paying for himself and the horses on the road.

We left *Turin* and rode thro' a suburb of it called *Borgo del Po*, and pass'd a bridge over that river, and then went a mile by the river's side, under a ridge of hills adorned with many pretty and pleasant palaces. After that we came into a narrow stony valley, and ascended a steep clayey hill; not far from the foot whereof grew these plants, *Dens Caninus* flo. albo; *Viola bulbosa*; *Doronicum* offic. *Hepatica trifolia*; *Hyacinthus Botryoides*. From this hill we went down to *Cbier*, a large wall'd town five miles from *Turin*, indifferently built, having in the middle of it a triumphal arch of brick erected to *Victor Amadeus*, this duke of *Savoy's* father. We then travell'd a valley full of meadows and pastures, and two miles brought us to a

large village called . . . and a mile and an half thence we went by the walls of *Villa Nova*; and one mile further we baited at . . . a little village. In the afternoon we rode over shady hills, and pass'd by no considerable town or village. Towards the evening we came into another valley, and twice forded a river that runs into the *Tanaro*. This night, 20 miles from *Turin*, we lodged in *Assè*, a place indifferently walled, and guarded by soldiers, who let us go in and out without examination. The houses here are but mean.

*March* 18. We travell'd three or four miles by the river *Taner's* side, having it on the right hand; and in a bank, as also on the shore, we found great variety of stones resembling oysters, scallops, cockles, pettines and belemnites; and the *tubuli striati*, which we first saw at *Rosachio's* in *Venice*, and are the stalks of *Equisetum* petrified. We rode meadow ground and some corn fields, and went by a large village call'd *Non*, and *Felizan*, which was formerly wall'd; and six miles from thence, baited at *Alessandria*, a large and well fortified city, the works whereof are now repairing. It is divided into two parts by the *Taner*, which seems as big here as the *Po* near *Turin*; and we went over a fair long brick bridge, with a handsome cover supported by stone pillars on each side. A soldier accompanied us from the gate to the inn where an officer came to us, and civilly asked what news, &c. The houses here are meanly built and low. The cathedral is not considerable, but hath a large piazza before it; and at one corner of the piazza is a triumphal arch erected to *Phil. IV.* and his queen, as is intimated by these inscriptions,

*D. O. M. Serenissimæ Mariæ Annæ cum potentissimo Hispaniarum Rege nostro Philippo IIII. augustissimum Connubium Alexandrina Civitas gratulata triumphale excitavit monumentum æternitati.*

*Profilite lætitiis omnibus fortunatissimi Cives fores aperuistis toti invidendas orbi utriusq; orbis complexuras majestatem non clausuras.*

*Excipe utriq; Soli adoratum Verticem moles ambitiosa Caesarum fortunam Vehit Austriacorum hoc est summam quodq; mirere magis dum transit, fugit.*

*Ingredere expectatissima Regina plaudentibus dudum excepta animis fidelissimæ civitatis.*

On the top of the arch are four marble statues, two kings and two queens.

*Hac ne transeas Viâ, quin dicas Ave Maria*, is written under a picture of the virgin *Mary* at the forementioned bridge.

After dinner we were stopt at the gates by the searchers, who begg'd a little piece

SKIPPON.

AND.

Petrified shells.

Alessandria.



**SKIPPON.** piece of money; then we rode a little way and ferried the river *Bormia*, paying 10 soldi a man; from hence we travelled in an open plain of corn fields, &c. and passed by *Figarole*, a village belonging to the duchy of *Milan*, and 12 miles from *Alessandria* we lodged at *Nove*, a large town and pretty well built, it belongs to the state of *Genoa*.

The corn fields in *Piedmont* and these parts, are not so neatly cultivated as in *Lombardy*, having no rows of trees, &c.

The women hereabouts have yellowish hair, which they wear hanging down about their shoulders.

*March 19.* We rode over many pleasant and shady hills, and after five miles riding pass'd through *Gavi*, a pretty little walled place, situated under a high hill, on the top of which is a strong castle fairly built, and strengthened with good works; five miles further we baited at *Voltagio*, a well built town. From hence we mounted a winding way about eight or ten miles, and came to the top of a high mountain, whence we had a prospect of the sea, and *Borgo di S. Pietro* nigh *Genoa*; and we descended five miles in a paved way to a fair inn called *Torre d' amico*, and rode five miles further in a narrow valley to *Genoa*. From that inn we observed the sides of the hills well peopled, and built with many houses not ill built; many chesnut trees grow on the hills, and near *Genoa* are large olive grounds. After we left *Voltagio* we met and overtook about 500 or 600 mules and asses laden. *Borgo di S. Pietro* is by the sea-side, well stored with pleasant and stately palaces; and gardens full of orange-trees, &c. When we had pass'd through this *Borgo*, we entered the outwall of *Genoa* nigh the *Pharos*, and rode by the haven's side, then came thro' a gate where a guard of soldiers was kept, and a good distance further came to the gate of the inner wall, where we deliver'd our fire-instrument to an officer. This night we went to the palace, and took a bolletin, which was after this form, viz.

*Præstantissimo Magistrato della Consigna della Sereniss. Republica di Genoa.*

*Si Concede licentia a P. S. &c. d' alloggiare per Notte 4. in Donato Rinaldo, con che non accompagni Giovani di Notte, ne porti arme senza licenza, altrimente resti nulla, et oltre la pena dell' armi incorra in la pena che si dà à forastieri, quali dimorano nella Città senza boletto, è ciò d'Ordine Del Præstantissimo Magistrato della Consigna in Genoua. Alli 29 di Marzo 1664.*

**Government.** The government of this commonwealth see in Mr. Ray's observation, page 253, and in my collection of governments.

The weather was, 22, 23 and 24 *March*, very windy and cold, and on the mountains within the walls of the city much snow fell, tho' scarce any fell where the houses of the city are.

There is a proverbial saying of this place, viz.

*Huomini senza fede, Donne senza Vergogna  
Mare senza pesce, & Montagne senza arbore.*

Which last is not true, the hills being covered with wood.

No coaches are used here, but a great many horse-litters carry'd usually by lusty mules. **Customs.**

None except soldiers, or such as have licence, can wear swords, pistols, &c. in the night-time. If any do, and are apprehended by the *sbirri* (who are up and down the streets) they are punished. When any one is kill'd, the murderer flies to the next church.

*Montferrat* wine drunk in this city; it is red, and of a very pleasant taste, as if made with rasp-berries.

If one that kills another flies to *Corfica*, they say he is free from justice; and so if any escapes from *Corfica* to *Genoa*.

The fish-market afforded variety of strange fishes, which are sold by a few fish-mongers that are locked up in a great iron cage, where they weigh out the fish to the buyers who crowd about the cage. The price of fish is set by officers, and the fishermen pay two thirds toll. If any fisherman does amiss, his thumbs are tied together behind him, and in that posture he stands some time within the cage.

There are few fishmongers stalls besides what are in the cage.

The Jesuits church is small, but very rich, being curiously adorn'd with marble and inlaid work, gilding, pictures, &c. The duke hath a private passage out of his palace into this church, and hath a gallery here very richly gilt. The Jesuits have a good interest in *Genoa*. **Jesuits church.**

The *Dominicans* church is an old and long building. **Dominicans ch.**

*Strada Nova* is a narrow street, consisting only of nine or ten palaces, which are all very magnificent. One of the palaces belongs to prince *Doria*, who is an admiral of the king of *Spain*'s galleys, and honour'd by him with the title of duke, who hath another palace without the inner wall nigh the haven, which we saw, and observed several particulars there, viz. on the roof of an entry is the picture of an ox, who always turns his tail to the beholder, which way soever he looks. The garden is divided into quarters by myrtle and box hedges; and in the middle is a stately fountain, having a large figure of *Neptune*, &c. made

**Strada Nova.**  
**Palace of prince Doria.**



made of white marble; a fine walk over a portico which looks towards the haven; a long and very high bird-cage or *Aviarium*, made of iron bars and brass wire; within it grew tall trees. There were two or three fountains, but at this time few rare birds in it. Behind the palace we ascended a hill, where there is a fair fish-pond, which is supply'd with water by a pretty fountain out of a neighbouring rock. Here is a huge statue of *Jupiter*, and under him a stone thus inscrib'd,

*Qui giace il gran Roldano Cane del Principe Gio. Andrea Doria, il quale per la sua molta fede e benevolentia fu meritevole di questa memoria et perche . . . merita si grandemente d'ambi-due le leggi fu anco giudicato in morte doverfi collocare il suo cenere appresso il supremo Giove veramente degno de la reale Custodi.*

The present prince *Doria* is a child. He hath these titles in the kingdom of *Naples*, *Principe d' Angri*, *D' Avello*, *di Melfi*, *Duca d' Avigliano*, *d' Evoli*, & *Conte di Capaccio*.

On *Palm-Sunday* we observ'd the people with palm branches wrought into crosses and other figures.

Hospital.

The hospital hath but a mean outside, tho' within are fair rooms. Below are four which make a  $\frac{1}{4}$ , where the sick lay on iron bedsteads cleanly kept. In niches of the wall are the statues of the most noted benefactors, with inscriptions to them. The boys are together in one side, and the women have an apartment above stairs, and are look'd after by nuns; the men by *Jesuits*. Many bastard wenches are maintain'd here, who are clad in blue, and marry away, &c. Over the entrance into the hospital, is written,

*Egregius Vir Bartolomæus Boscus IC celebrissimus, primus hujus Xenodochii fundator Anno MCCCCXXIII.*

Five governors chosen every year, govern this hospital.

On the *Tuesday* after *Palm-Sunday*, they told us, the women of this hospital may be seen, and not at other times, by strangers.

Spinola's palace.

*Spinola's* palace is curiously painted on the outside by one *Cambiaza*, a *Genoese*. Within the house is a double portico, the uppermost of which is painted on the walls with the chief cities of *Italy*, &c.

Strada Barba.

*Strada Barba* is not much inferior to *Strada Nova*, being a new street that consists of eight or nine palaces, one of them belonging to *Fra. Maria Barba* we saw: It hath within a tripple portico, one over another. The rooms were kept very neat, and richly adorned with antient and modern statues,

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and excellent pictures of *S. Francis*, *S. Hieronymus*, a *Venetian* lady drawn by herself, *S. Paul's* conversion, *S. Francis* tempted by the devil in several shapes, tapestry with excellent imagery work, a looking-glass adorned round about with curious figures of horsemen, &c. in silver. A pleasant orange garden belongs to this house, and three fair fountains in it.

The *Annunciata* is a church of the dis-Annunci-  
calceat *Franciscans*, the roof whereof is ata.  
richly pictured and gilt, and supported by  
curious marble pillars; the altars not yet  
finish'd were stately, and built of marble.  
This cost was bestow'd by a noble *Genoese*.

The duke's palace is a large building Duke's  
with a great area or court, where are two palace.  
statues of marble. Under one is inscrib'd,

*Jo. Andreae Doriae Patriæ Libertatis Conser-  
vatori S C P.*

Under the other,

*Andreae Doriae quod Rempubicam diutius oppressam pristinam in libertatem vindicaverit, Patri proinde Patriæ appellato Senatus Genuensis immortalis memor beneficii Viventi posuit.*

Four or five hundred *German* soldiers are a constant guard here.

The armory at the palace is furnish'd Armory.  
with arms for 30,000 men. We saw several arms made for *Genoese* women in the year 1311. who had design'd themselves for the wars in *Palestina*; a leather cannon; a halberd with two pistols in it; and a shield with 120 pistols.

We saw some of the duke's chambers, which are furnish'd only with his private goods. He sits in the audience chamber under a canopy of state; the walls are hung with curious hangings exactly representing the figures of men, &c. in the story of *Adam* and *Eve* in paradise. In one room were two large maps of *Genoa*, and two pictures of *Columbus*. One represents him fixing a cross on the *American* shore, and beating down the *Indian* idols; the other relates how he presented his discoveries to king *Ferdinand* and queen *Isabella*. The duke's chapel is neat, and the walls well painted with the story of *Columbus*, &c. Over his placing the cross in *America* is this written,

*Christophorus Columbus Genuensis mundo veteri novum, novo veterem patefecit et Deum.*

In the lesser council-room the duke, *Gubernatori* and *Proteſtori* sit at the upper end within a round rail. The great council-room hath a roof rarely carved in wood. At the upper end is also a round rail, and



SKIPPON. in the walls are marble statues to *Janus Grilius, Julius Sale, Tho. Ragio, Paulus Spinola, Baptista Grimaldus, Ansaldo Grimaldus, Vincent Odonus, Fr. Lercano, Ælianus Spinola.*

We saw the duke habited in a red velvet gown, with large sleeves, like the Cambridge bachelors of arts, but somewhat shorter; the wings of the gown like our aldermens. His cap of red velvet was shap'd into a high square, thus:



The *Gubernatori* and *Proteſtori* wear black velvet gowns, and ſuch ſquare caps, with ruffs about their necks.

We had ſome diſcourſe with *Durazzi*, a *Genoeſe* gentleman, who had been in *England*, and an ambaffador in *France*, tho' he ſeem'd to be but a young man.

We obſerv'd before a hearſe in the ſtreets, a company of men that went two and two, with lighted torches in their hands, and diſguiſed in ſackcloth which covered their faces, only leaving two holes for their eyes.

We were told, that there is a ſociety of ordinary citizens who pay a piece of eight every year, and when any dies, he is buried at the charge of the company.

An antiquary ſhewed us a ſmall braſs medal of *Otho*, which ſeem'd to be no counterfeit; a braſs *Britanicus*, and a braſs *Gordianus*, which had theſe words, IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. on one ſide; and VICTORIA AVG. SC. on the reverſe. This antiquary fooliſhly over-valued them at 100 piſtoles a-piece.

Engliſh-men.

Mr. *Tho. Kirk* (my merchant) Mr. *Ellham*, Mr. *Cock*, Mr. *Langhorn*, Mr. *Shugsberry*, Mr. *Welſh*, and Mr. *Legat*, *Engliſh* merchants at this time in *Genoa*.

The Ean-cho.

The *Engliſh* fetch from *Genoa* filks and oranges, which grow there very plentifully. Letters are going about 21 days into *England*. The *Bancho* is a large open hall where merchants meet. When any veſſel comes in, a flag on the lanthorn gives notice to the city, and the ſhip muſt ſhew a bill of health before it can have pratique, or leave to trade.

A Proceſſion.

On  $\frac{24}{31}$  of *March* 1664, being *Holy Thurf-day*, there was great ſolemnity, and about noon a proceſſion began, which laſted till two hours in the night. Firſt there came a little girl finely dreſt up, having a lap full of flowers, then followed ſix or ſeven girls in black and white veils, who ſang ſometimes; after them came men diſguiſ'd in grey ſackcloth, ſome barefooted, and with great torches in their hands lighted; between every two was carried by boys ſome representation of our Saviour's paſſion. Many diſguiſ'd with black ſackcloth, having a croſs in the middle. Six diſcalceate *Franciſcans* ſinging. Six penitents

clad in ſackcloth, having their backs bare, which they ſcourg'd as they walk'd, with cord whips, that had little ſteel rowels (five or ſix in a whip) which fetch'd blood at every ſtroke. Some of theſe whippers were hooded, ſo that their faces could not be ſeen; and ſome went barefoot. Many of the whippers that went in this proceſſion ſeem'd to make but a ſport of it. And we were inform'd that they are porters, and mean perſons hired by the rich to undergo this penance injoin'd by the prieſts. A crucifix and ſeveral diſguiſ'd in black. Six more diſcalceate *Franciſcans*, and ſix whippers. The *Santa Citta*, a pageant carried by men. Black diſguiſ'd perſons, and eight or ten whippers. After theſe followed the five quarters of the city; in each quarter were four companies, and about 200 perſons in each company. In the firſt quarter came the company of, 1. *S. Giacomo della Marina*, which conſiſted of two in white diſguiſes, four pages before a little boy on horſeback, many in white habits, with ſome representation of our Saviour's ſtory carried between every two by boys. A croſs. Black habits with grey tippets over their ſhoulders. A croſs. More in diſguiſes. Another croſs, and two more in black. Six diſcalceate *Franciſcans*. More in black. A pageant of *S. Giacomo di Gallicia*, repreſenting *S. James* beheading. Many lighted tapers placed round him, and two whippers followed him. After this manner went the companies of, 2. *S. Antonio*. 3. *S. Croce*; and 4. *S. Maria* in the firſt quarter. As alſo the ſecond quarter conſiſting of theſe companies, viz. 1. *S. Maria Angelorum*. 2. *S. Maria della Pieta*. 3. *S. Giacomo delle Foſſe*. 4. *S. Tomaſo*.

In the third quarter,

1. *S. S. Giacomo e Leonardo.*
2. *S. Brigida.*
3. *S. Conſolata.*
4. *S. Giovanni.*

In the fourth quarter,

1. *S. Steffano.*
2. *S. Gia. Battiſta.*
3. *S. Andrea.*
4. *S. Bartolomeo.*

In the fifth quarter.

1. *S. Francisſco.*
2. *S. S. Pietro e Paolo.*
3. *S. Ambroſio.*
4. *S. Antonino.*

Every company before they went home, viſited the cathedral church call'd



led *S. Lorenzo*. The archbishop's name is *Durazzi*, a cardinal.

All this day there were several companies or guards of soldiers in many places of the city; and many *Sbirri* went up and down. We saw many *Corfican* soldiers, that march'd before the serjeant-major who walked on foot, attended by many *Genoese* gentlemen richly habited, and with fair plumes in their hats.

Slaves.

In *Genoa* we first had the opportunity to see gally-slaves, who are most *Turks* and *Moors*; they are generally habited in coarse hair habits, with a *Cucullus* to put over their heads; some go bare-legg'd, and all have an iron lock fastened to their left foot; they have a maintenance from the state, and are employed to make cables, &c. Many of the slaves have liberty to go up and down the city in the day-time, and sell stockings, herrings, &c. but at night they must return to the galleys and lodgings within the arsenal.

The *Genoese* have two large ships of war, and some galleys, besides brigandines.

*Genoa* is built round the haven in form of a bow, and the streets are on the rising of the mountains which hath the new stone wall on the top, that encompasses seven or eight miles, a great deal of waste ground, and large suburbs. Within this is a strong inner wall.

The new mole or pier with a tall pharos or lantern, is curiously built of stone, which they say cost as much as the new wall.

The old mole or pier is on the other (south) side of the haven, which is now very secure. Within the haven are several landing places they call *Ponti*, as *Ponte di Mercanti*, *Ponte Reale*, &c. In the middle of the last is a fair fountain, and here is a fair and strong gate built by the *Proteſtori di S. Giorgio*.

The *Genoese* are very suspicious of strangers, as *Dr. Yardly* of *Trinity* college in *Cambridge* lately experienc'd, who was apprehended and search'd, for drawing with a pencil the remarkable buildings.

They at present have war with no prince or state, only there is some quarrel between them and the *Maltese*. The inhabitants do generally follow the *Spaniſh* fashions, the men being in strait breech, and the women in farthingales. They seem'd to be of a furly ill-condition'd nature.

An aqueduct conveys plenty of water from the mountains to all parts of the

city, and drives many mills. On the north of *Genoa* is the river *Porciferà*, and on the south the river *Bisagno*.

A *Palma* is equal to 10 inches. The *Measures*. *Canna* to nine *Palmas*. The *Pound* to 11 unc.

*Pasta di Genoa* are round pellets of dried paste they boil in pottage. We ate young artichokes raw and with pepper.

Every one that goes by sea from hence to *Ligorn*, takes a certificate or bolletin of health at an office, where in the walls are places like the *Denoncie* at *Venice*, and there is written, *Aviſi all' officio di ſanita*.

*April 1.* We hired a felucca (which is a small boat with a steersman and six oars, that are used by watermen standing and rowing, with their faces the same way the boat moves) for four pistoles, to carry us to *Ligorn*. This day in the afternoon, we row'd nigh the shore or *Riviera di Genoa*, which is hilly, and full of pleasant houses to *Porto Fino*. As soon as we were come out of the haven, the watermen mutter'd over some prayers to our lady, who is much reputed for her miracles in a church nigh *Genoa*. We came to *Porto Fino*, and then resolv'd to go by sea all night, that we might reach *Ligorn* the next day. In the evening the boatmen said their prayers again, and we compos'd ourselves for sleep. Sometimes the sail was set up, but for the most part they row'd. Towards the morning we had a stiff wind that blew our felucca (before the sail could be loosened) close to the rocks, and broke one or two of our oars. We observed a shining light in the bubble of sea-water that the motion of the oars made.

*April 2.* We went into *Porto Venere*, a little wall'd town with a castle, having two islands before it, which make a secure haven; after the watermen refresh'd themselves with a breakfast, we were much troubled to persuade them further, but at last they went off, and sail'd cross a fair bay, call'd *Golfo Spezzia*, passing by on our right hand, a pentagonal tower built on a rock in the sea, and on our left hand saw another fort. Five miles from *Porto Venere* we reach'd *Lerici*, a little place belonging to the *Genoese*, whence we could not force the boatmen further, and so paid them three pistoles, and gave the postmaster seven testons a man for riding post to *Luca*. The first stage was to *Sarzana*, a strong town of the *Genoese*, and we rode on mules these four miles over olive hills, having on our left hand several towns built on the sides of the hills. At *Sarzana* we took horses, and



SKIPPON. and 10 miles thence arriv'd at *Massa*, where we lay this night.

*Massa.* *Massa* is a small city on the side of the hills, belonging to a prince whose name is *Cybo*. On the town gate is inscrib'd,

*Albericus Cybo Malaspina sacri Romani imperii civitatisq; Massæ, &c. princeps.*

He coins money, and hath much revenue out of the marble quarries at *Cararra*, &c. He is titled also duke *D'Ayrallo* in the kingdom of *Naples*.

*April 3.* We took new post-horses, and rode at the foot of the hills, having on our right hand a fenny level, and pass'd thro' olive woods, observing the country to be very thin of houses and inhabitants. About three miles from *Massa* we went thro' a pass guarded by a new tower or fort of the duke of *Florence*. About three miles further, we came thro' *Pietra Santa*, a streight street walled, belonging to the same duke. Five miles before we reach'd *Luca*, we travell'd over a craggy hill, and then descended into a well cultivated, tho' narrow plain, and after a mile's winding road, we had four miles of streight road, and then we entered *Luca* at *Porta S. Pietro*, where all strangers must enter, and at no other gate. We gave our names here, and receiv'd a bolletin for to lodge in the city. But three gates at this place. None of the citizens are permitted to walk in this town with swords, or other arms, nor any strangers, without leave first from the magistrates. Some *Frenchmen* that travelled with us from *Lerici*, presumed to walk with their swords, but presently a dozen *Sbirri* went after them with their muskets, and perceiving them to be strangers commanded them to their inn.

One Signior *Gioseppe Baroncini* shewed us many remarkables of this place.

*Cathedral.* The cathedral is a neat building; in the north isle is a pretty round chapel, where is kept the *Sanctus Vultus*, a figure in wood representing our Saviour on the cross; this they say was made by *S. Nicodemus*, and they stamp the figure of it on their money. These *Easter* holidays it was expos'd to view, the people kneeling before it, and a priest rubb'd their beads on the legs of this image. Nigh it is written on a pillar,

A legend. *Sempiternum adorare prodigium, A. D. MCCCXXXIV. hujus Stæ. crucis auxilio Joannis Laurentii Atrebatensis precibus implorato, securis in sui necem erecta vitam servat, innocentiam patefecit, falsò enim homicidii insinulatus cervicem impigre supponit ferro, ferrum terno iclu innocentis mollescit*

*ad vitam, abi & disce nullas esse ad ipsa impetranda prodigia preces innocentia efficaciores.*

The body of *S. Regulus*, a martyr, is enshrined at one altar. A fair marble monument is erected to three *Giudiccioni* that were cardinals. A little chapel, made exactly after the form of *La Santa Casa* at *Loreto*; on the outside is written,

*Forma domus in qua Verbum caro factum est, ædificatæ anno salutis per Virginis partum reparatæ MDCLXII.*

Over the altar is, *Lucensem populum tu pia virgo fove.*

On an altar in . . . . . is inscrib'd, *Hic jacet corpus Sti. Riccardi regis Angliæ, and Carmina in honorem S. Riccardi.*

*Hic Rex Riccardus requiescit sceptrifer almus. Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste Polorum Regnum dimisit, pro Christo cuncta reliquit, Ergo Riccardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum Hic genitor sanctæ Valborgæ virginis almæ Est Villebaldi sancti simul et Venebaldi Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.*

The *Theatins* is a pretty church.

The *Augustines* church hath on the south side a chapel, which is pictured with the story of a gamester that lost all, and spoke against Christ and the virgin *Mary*, &c. A legend. The fellow was immediately swallow'd up into the ground where this chapel stands; the hole he sunk into is covered with a stone thus inscrib'd,

*Ne maledictum memor ejus et dedecus ejus non delebitur, Ecclesiæ. cap. xxiii.*

Under the picture is written,

*Proluat ut culpam dat virgo sanguinis undam  
At cadit ignorans impius esse piam.*

In a printed paper hung the story at large, the beginning whereof is thus,

*Lucensium pietati pro Deiparæ, &c. Solatium. Affixa supponitur hæc inscriptio Lucæ sacello B. Virginis à saxo dictæ ubi profundissimus adhuc extat hiatus descensuro vix patens homini, quo mersus olim perditissimus aleator dum ipsiusmet jecturam indusii adverso sibi imputans Christo eandem urbiq; sacram pietam jacto contriverat saxo, ipsa Deipara à dextera in levam filium transferens excepisset pro eo vulnus ad etiam dato sanguine propalavit, &c.*

The



The Olivetans church.

The Olivetans church is a neat place, dedicated to St. Pontianus, where, on an altar of the north side, is an inscription; I writ out the beginning of it, viz.

*Jesu Chr. Red. sanguinem pretiosissimum, effugiem in ampulla intra venerandam ejusdem crucifixi quæ Hierosolymis divinitus Lucam delata vultus Sanctus dicitur innocentum olim huic ecclesie dono datum in hoc sacrario conditum, cernuus quisquis ades, adora, &c.*

Government.

No Jesuits suffer'd to live in Luca.

The government of this commonwealth consists in a council of an hundred and sixty noblemen, who must be all twenty-five years old. These chuse out of themselves a lesser council of thirty-six.

In neither of these two councils can be two brothers, or a father and son at one time; and when any of the council die, they chuse none into their room till the time of election returns.

Nine *Antiani* are elected every two months by the thirty-six, three out of every quarter of the city. These must be thirty years of age. They have no stipend but meat and drink. They are call'd *Illustrissimi*.

A *Gonfaloniero* chosen also by the thirty-six for the same time, who with the *Antiani* must reside in the palace, which is guarded by eighty *Switzers*. The *Gonfaloniero* must be fifty years old; and he hath no stipend but his meat and drink, and his being excus'd from taxes.

None can be *Gonfaloniero*, except he hath been first *Antianus*, and none can be *Antianus* unless they have been of the thirty-six, but not of the thirty-six that rule at present. The *Gonfaloniero* is call'd *Excellentissimo*, and wears a red silk gown. The *Antiani* wear black silk gowns, with long narrow sleeves and caps, like the doctors of law at Padua.

A *Podesta* (a stranger) elected by the thirty-six. He hears civil and criminal causes; when a malefactor is condemn'd by him, the sentence must be confirm'd by the hundred and sixty, and then there are four *Protettori* of the *Incarcerati* that supplicate the thirty-six, and if they do not pardon, or remit of the punishment, he is executed the next Saturday.

None can be of the government but noblemen; and none of the thirty-six, but those that are noble for seven descents. The greater council, for a great sum of money, or desert, may make noblemen.

The gentlemen that are not in government have the charge of military affairs, and every night is equally divided by four of them.

Every quarter or *terciero* of the city is distinguish'd by its arms or banner painted on the corner of the streets, with the name of the bulwark they are to defend, viz. *Quartiero di Papagallo, Stella, &c.*

For at the ringing of a bell all are in arms in their several stations. The extent of the country belonging to Luca is not above ten miles any way; the city is placed in a level that is incompass'd round, except towards the south, with high hills. They say they can make thirty thousand fighting men to defend their city and country.

Luca hath very neat walls strongly defended by good bulwarks, and store of cannon above and below; a double row of trees is planted on the walk upon the walls, without which is a broad dry ditch, that may be filled on occasion with water, and beyond the ditch are strong half moons, &c. It is very pleasant, and free for any stranger to walk the walls.

The people are very civil and kind; and the women walk up and down with more freedom than in other places of Italy. They follow the French fashions in their cloaths. Whores are tolerated here, and when they are weary of their trade, they may turn nuns, which they call *Convertiti*.

The water of this city is very good and pleasant. The streets are pav'd with broad free stone, and kept very clean.

Over the gates is written, *Libertas*.

The *Gonfaloniero's* palace hath large rooms for himself and the *Antiani*, who have lodgings together in a place like the dormitorium of a cloister; over each of their doors is a saint's name written, as *S. Martinus, S. Paulinus, &c.*

Here we read this following inscription on a marble fix'd in the wall.

*Per lege quisquis ades libertatis fautor, ut scias qualis fuerit in rep. nostra Podiorum familia, horum opera Petrus Cenarnus unus ex Antianis anno MCCCCXXXVI. fuit interemptus, anno deinde MDLII. animo libertatis opprimendæ Hieronymum Vellatellum Vexilliferum just. fœdissimè trucidarunt, tota autem civitate contra eos arma capiente, parricidæ effugerunt, rebelles facti, conscii capite sunt multati, in alios ejusdem domus multa extant decreta. Deo agantur gratiæ et hæc oblivioni non tradantur.*

This family of the *Podii* is now (they told us) in favour, and is capable of bearing office, but could never yet have interest enough to procure that inscription to be taken away.



## SKIPPON.

## Measures.

A *Luca* braccia is equal to  $23\frac{1}{4}$  inch.

A pound is equal to 12 unc.

April 5. We hired a guide and a horse for four julii to carry our luggage to *Pisa*, whither we travelled ten miles on foot this day.

We went out of *Luca* at *Porta di S. Pietro*, and walk'd about three miles in a strait road, where we saw some pleasant summer-houses; and two miles further we baited at a village called *S. Giacomo*, where we observ'd in the church the priest and country fellows sitting and singing in the choir, as the monks, &c.

The making of olive-oil.

At this place they make olive-oil after this manner; 1<sup>st</sup>, They gather their olives in *October*, when they begin to fall, being blackish and thorow ripe; for those that are greener make a worse oil; then they dry them in the sun, and after that bruise them under a stone that is turn'd by a horse (as apples are bruised for cyder in some parts of *England*), then press them in bags or frails of withy, or reed, &c. and at last pour hot water upon the oil, which carries all the dregs down to the bottom of the vessel.

At *Montpellier* they make oil after the same manner, only after the first pressing out of the oil, they pour hot water into the frails, and press them again, which is repeated a third time, and the oil is skimm'd off.

*Luca* oil is much esteem'd in foreign parts, as *England*, &c.

From *S. Giacomo* we walk'd up *S. Juliana*, a high craggy hill, and then came down into a plain belonging to the duke of *Florence*; five miles from our baiting place we enter'd the city of *Pisa*; observing, by the way, a long aqueduct with large arches of brick (some say there are five thousand arches) that brings water from the hills between *Luca* and *Pisa* to this city, where it furnishes many fountains with an excellent water that is much esteem'd, and sold at *Ligorn*. Under the arches of this aqueduct hung many long and white stalactites, or droppings of water, &c. petrified. This aqueduct was built by *Cosmus* and *Ferdinand* dukes of *Florence*. At *Pisa* we observ'd these particulars:

\* Vide Thuanus, l. 32. p. 158 2 tom.

The church belonging to the knights of \* *St. Stephen*, and dedicated to that saint, hath a curious marble front, and the roof within is painted with stories and victories over the *Turks*, as the arms of the *Medici*, and this inscribed, *Qui filius nunc pater*, there being the pope's triple crown over the arms, who was of this family. Also these inscriptions I transcrib'd.

*Cosmus magnus Dux I. D. Steph. equitum relig. instituta. Magni magistri capit insignia, A. D. 1561. Triremes duodecim in auxil. sacri fœderis mittit victoria rediere, A. D. 1581.*

*Ferdinandus magnus Dux III. Henrico III. Franc. Regi, Maria fratris filiam in matris collocat, A. D. MDC.*

*Magni Ferdin. Triremes 6. ab ipso mari Egeoque quatuor Turcarum captivas ducunt, anno Dni. MDCII.*

*Nicopolis Aëtiaca Turcar. munitiss. oppidum à D. Steph. Equitum V. Trirem. Magni Ferdinandi auspiciis fortiter expugnat diripitq; A. D. MDCV.*

*Cosmi principis auspiciis, Ferdinando patre annuente, Bonna olim Hippo regius expugnatur, A. D. MDCVII.*

*Ferd. Mag. Dux II. Fac. jussit. MDCLII.*

The roof of this church is flat, and hath no pillars to support it.

In the piazza before *S. Stephens* is a pretty fountain, of a fellow spewing out water, and behind him is a fair statue erected with these two inscriptions,

1. *Ordo Eq. S. Steph. Cosmo Medici M. Duci Etruriæ, conditori et parenti suo gloriosiss. perp. Mem. C. statuam è marmore collocavit.*

2. *Ferdinando Med. Mag. Duce Etr. et Ord. mag. magistr. III. feliciter dominante, Anno Domini MDXCVI.*

On a large building where students live is this inscription over the door,

*Ferdinandus Medices Magnus Dux Etr. III. has ædes quas olim Bartolus juris interpres celeberr. incoluit, nunc renovatas et instruitas adolescentibus qui ad philosophorum et jurisconsultorum scholas missi publico urbium atq; oppidorum suorum sumptu separatim alebantur, publicæ utilitati consulenti addixit, legesq; quibus in victu, vestitu vitæq; simul degenda uterentur tulit anno salutis MDLXXXV.*

The domo is a fair and neat building, having rarely carved brass gates, double isles, and marble pillars, which are all round and smooth, except two that are furrow'd; the roof is richly gilt, and the inside of the west end adorned with marble. The pulpit.



pit hath fine marble figures underneath. Two monuments erected to *Matthæus Rinnuccinus*, and *Julianus Medici*, both archbishops of *Pisa*; the latter persuaded the French king to go back when he was entering *Italy* with a great army. Round the body of the church were red velvet hangings and rich altars. Six great silver candlesticks stood before the high altar, and on each side of it is a picture, with these inscriptions:

*Templum hoc ut auctæ potentia ac religionis  
insigne monumentum posteris extaret Pisani,  
ex Saracenorum spoliis capta Panormo ædi-  
ficatum ac sanctorum reliquii è Palæstina  
usq; adventis auctum Gelasius 2dus. P.  
M. Solemni pompa consecravit, A. D.  
MCMXIX.*

*Pascale II. P. M. Auctore. Pisani classe  
300 triremum comparatum Petro Arch.  
Pis. Duce Baleares insulas profligatis  
Saracenis in ditionem redigunt Christia-  
noq; nomini adjungunt captaq; regia  
conjugæ ac filio præclaram victoriam il-  
lustri pioq; triumpho exornavit. A. D.  
IIII5.*

In this church is an altar, whereon is written,

*Altare Sti. Rainerii Pisani viri nobilis, cujus  
ossa in hac conduntur arca.*

The *Baptisterium* is a fair round place, built in fashion of a crown, in the middle is a large font of marble, which hath water always running into it as in fountains.

There are stone steps round this church.

The *Campo Santo* is nigh the domo, and is a large square piece of ground (said to be of the bigness of *Noah's ark*) having a broader cloister about than we ever yet saw, which is pav'd very neatly with grave-stones, and on the walls painted with several stories of the bible. Many monuments here, one to *Matthæus Curtius*; another thus inscrib'd,

*D. O. M. Franciscus ill. gentis nomine olim  
Sanseverinus postea quod ejus majores stu-  
prum per vim oblatum Ulti occiso regis filio  
Neapoli Pisas migratum ex fuga Muranus  
jure Conf. Canonicus Pisanus Eques Pius  
gentis sue solus superstes. S. P. K. M.  
MDLXIX.*

The painter's name who pictur'd the stories in the *Campo Santo* is mentioned in these verses,

*Quid spectas volucres pisces et monstra fe-  
rarum,*

*Et virides Sylvas Ætheriasq; domus,  
Et pueros juvenes matres canosq; parentes  
Quis semper vivum spirat in ore decus.  
Non hæc tam variis finxit simulachra fi-  
guris*

*Natura ingenio fœtibus apta suo  
Est opus artificis pinxit viva ora Benozus,  
O Superi vivos fundite in ore sonos.*

The *Campanile*, or steeple, is a round tower of marble, having six *portici* one above another round about it; this tower leans much awry, and they say it was made so on purpose.

The physick garden is large, and well kept, where we saw *Palma Dactylifera*; *Tho. Belluccius* was professor at this time, who was very morose, and bid us Go out. In the entrance is written, *Hic Argus esto, non Briareus*. There hang the bones, heads, *spinæ*, &c. of whales, a seal's skin, &c.

Over the door is inscrib'd,

*Ferdinandus Medices Magnus Dux Etruriæ  
III. ut adolescentes studiosi paratum habe-  
ant locum in quo fruticum herbarumq; fa-  
cultates et naturas pernoscant hortus instru-  
endos curavit domumq; sua pecunia emp-  
tam et scite instauratam adjunxit per quam  
eos ingredi cupientibus aditum patere voluit  
anno salutis CIOIOIVC.*

*Collegium Puteanum pietate et liberalitate  
Caroli Antonii Putei Archiepiscopi Pi-  
sani fundatum & donatum, anno 1605,  
is written over one college.*

The merchants-hall is a fair new build- The mer-  
ing, consisting of a double portico, with chants  
this inscribed on it, hall.

*Ferdinandus M. Dux III. Mercatorum com-  
modo, civitatis ornamento, publicæque uti-  
litati consulens antiquis ædificiis dirutis et  
area data forum a fundamentis excitavit,  
anno MDCV.*

This city seems somewhat larger than *Luca*, is meanly wall'd, and without any fortifications; the houses and streets are indifferent, and not much frequented by people; the trade being removed to other parts since the city and commonwealth was reduced under the obedience of the duke of *Florence*.

The river *Arnus* runs through the middle of *Pisa*, and is a large and pleasant stream; over it are three bridges, one fairly built of stone, where twice a year, viz. on *S. Antony's day*, and the last day of carnival, is a fight among the citizens, who divide them-



SKIPPON. themselves into two parties, one called *Tramontano*, and the other *Mezogiorno*, each having a general, and is subdivided into six squadrons, the names of which are,

- |               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| 1. Calcé.     | } <i>Tramontani.</i> |
| 2. S. Michael |                      |
| 3. S. Maria.  |                      |
| 4. Calcezana  |                      |
| 5. Mattacini  |                      |
| 6. Satyri.    |                      |

- |                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. S. Marco.   | } <i>Mezogiorni.</i> |
| 2. Dragone.    |                      |
| 3. Leone.      |                      |
| 4. Delphino.   |                      |
| 5. S. Martino  |                      |
| 6. S. Antonio. |                      |

All distinguish'd by their several banners, and painted shields they call *Targoni*, which are made long of wood, and the only weapons they thrust, fence and knock with. The two parties meet upon the middle of the bridge, and at the drawing away a sail or curtain between them, and the sound of a trumpet, they begin the fight, which continues for half an hour, or an hour. Every one is arm'd with a head-piece, back and breast-plates, and buff gauntlets; very seldom any are kill'd or desperately hurt. Every squadron prints a little paper, which they dedicate to the ladies. We were inform'd the occasion of this custom was from a fight here formerly between the *Pisans* and their enemies of *Majorca*, who were beaten hence.

Sir John Finch is professor here of anatomy, and with him lives Dr. Robert Baines. Mr. Clutterbuck hath a house here and at *Ligorn*.

April 7. We went in the *Navicella* (as they call it) or little boat, like the *Padua* bark, in a narrow cut of water, and observ'd on our right hand a woody place (half way to *Ligorn*) where the duke of *Florence* hath a park, decoys, &c. on our left hand we had a fenny country covered with reeds and water, &c. In five hours time we arrived at *Ligorn*, where the soldiers examined us at the gates, and one soldier was sent with us to the governor's house, where we left our fire-arms.

We stay'd here till April 16 this time, and from the 9th to the 12th of July, when we return'd hither from *Naples*.

English merchants, Mr. Robert Foott, Mr. Thomas Detbick, Mr. Henry Brown, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Death, Mr. How, Mr.

*Ashfield*, Mr. Thomas Stone, Mr. John Heard, Mr. Ley, Mr. Beale, Mr. Norleigh, Mr. Constable, Mr. Longland, Mr. Gold, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Serle, Mr. Hatton, Mr. Micho.

All sorts of nations and religions frequent this place. There are many *Greeks* and *Armenians*. The *Jews* have a large part of the town to dwell in; their burying-place is a little distance without the walls; on their grave-stones are *Hebrew* inscriptions, with the date according to the Christian account. Many *Jews* sell old cloaths in the streets. Mr. Foott, Mr. Detbick, Mr. Brown, Sig. Benj. Benassai of *Luca*, and Jacob Rodrigo Francia a *Jew*, were our merchants.

*Ligorn* is of an indifferent bigness, the streets broad and streight, centring in a large piazza where the merchants meet. The houses are not tall, and are not ill built. Round the town are strong fortifications, a castle towards the sea, and towards the land a high earth-work and stone wall, with several mounts and bastions, besides a broad ditch and out-works. None are permitted but soldiers to walk on the highest part of the wall, but a little lower is a publick way. On one side, without the wall, is a fort with a ditch only about it, and towards *Pisa* is a suburb consisting of two or three streets, call'd *Venetia*, having a channel of water running through, and a slight wall about it. There are strict guards at every gate, many centinels on the walls, who have each of them a watch-house, with a bell that they ring every hour when the centinels are changed. The chief street is from one gate to the other; at the land-gate are planted cannons which command the piazza. Guards of soldiers stand in several places of the streets. The duke's gallies lie within a port that is wall'd and built about.

On the key is erected a stately marble figure to Ferdinand duke of *Tuscany*, and at each corner of the pedestal is a brass figure of excellent work, and representing four slaves.

Many slaves go up and down the streets with a lock on one foot, and they are employ'd in all servile works, as porters, &c. Some cry *Pisa* water, which is also sold by the apothecaries for two gratz a flask. The slaves have a market within the town, and another nigh the gallies, for the selling of cheese, &c. At night they lodge in the gallies, but are better us'd here than at *Genoa*.

Towards the haven is a strong castle, having sea-water round about it. The mole or pier is long, and secures many ships

Ligorn.

English  
merchants.



ships that lie within it; the lanthorn is a tall tower in a rock within the sea. On another side of the haven are two or three lanthorns more. *Ligorn* road is safe for ships. They drink here red *Florence* wine, which is somewhat like, but stronger than *French* wine. It mingles well with *Pisa* water. *Verdea* is a whitish wine of a pleasant taste, and is sold here for about two julii a flask.

Great variety of fish taken in these seas.

At the theatre where comedies are sometimes acted, we saw a *German* woman dancing well on the ropes, and her daughter and two youths shewing many tricks on the ropes.

*April 16.* We went aboard the *S. Gertruda*, a ship of *Amsterdam*, of 600 tons, having 26 guns, and *Cornelius Klausen Vos*, captain, carrying with us a bill of health, which is after this form. Under the picture of the *V. Mary*, and our Saviour in her arms, the duke of *Florence's* arms on her right hand, and a castle with a flag, (the arms of *Ligorn*); on her left was this written,

*Gratis. Adi. 26. di Aprile 1664. Noi conservatori e magistrato di Sanità della Città, e porto di Livorno, per ill' Serenissimo gran Duca di Toscana attestiamo come si parte dalla presente Città e porto, ove per la Dio grazia, e della Santissima Madonna di Monte Nero nostra Protettrice si vive con ottima sanità e senza sospetto alcuno di mal contagioso perandare a Napoli . . . P. S.*

*April 17.* We weighed anchor and sailed with a good gale, and in a smooth sea, in sight of the islands *Gorgona*, *Capraia* and *Corfica* (which is mountainous) on our right hand, and passed between the isle of *Elba* and the continent, after that between two rocks, one on the left hand called *Palmaiolla*, the other . . . Thro' a perspective we observed *Elba* to be mountainous, and saw *Porto Ferraio* which hath a strong castle situated on a hill. We were becalmed almost all night.

*April 18.* We had a gentle wind in the forenoon; and about noon a strong gale, which grew less after some time; then we were becalmed; and after that a stiff gale again: thus the weather was variable till night, when it began to blow hard, continuing so all night and the next morning. We sailed this day towards *Monte Christi*, and passed by *Formiges* and *Gigio*, two islands on our right hand, and saw *Porto Hercule* and *Orbitello* on the continent.

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*April 19.* We passed by *Sanuti*, an island not far from *Civita Vecchia*, and about noon sailed by *Ostia*; then we were becalmed; but in the afternoon the wind proved very fair, which continued but a short space, being becalmed again till some hour in the night, when the wind grew strong, and blew till the next morning.

*April 20.* We had a calm for some hours, till a little before dinner, when the wind blew fair, but all the afternoon we were becalmed, and before the watch was changed at night the wind was fair, and we sailed till the next morning. We passed by a promontory, called *Monte Circello*; and on our right hands had *Palmerola* and *Pontia*, two islands; and a rock, called *Botto*.

*April 21.* We had a calm, and then a small gale carried us in sight of *Gaeta*; against which place lay two small islands; in one of which is a little tower, with some guns in it: we passed then between the islands of *Ischia* and *Caprea*, and entered the gulph of *Naples*. A felucca came to the ship a good distance from *Naples*, and was dispatched presently away with a letter to a *Dutch* merchant in that city: After dinner we sailed not far from *Castle Ovo*, and then a boat, rowed by eight or ten slaves, met us, having an officer in it, that examined what the ship's lading was, whence she came, and what news, &c. Then our ship discharged six guns; which were answered by a *Holland* ship now in the *Spaniard's* pay. After that, a felucca brought an officer from the office of health, who demanded our bolletin we took at *Ligorn*: then *Dutch* merchants came in their felucca's, and presented the captain of the ship with fallads, oranges, wine, bread, &c. received their letters, and drank a welcome cup, but entered not the vessel. We cast anchor some distance from the mole or pier, and this afternoon saw a *Neapolitan* and *Genoese* galley bringing in 16 *Turks*, and 6 *Christian* slaves that were taken in a small boat: At their arrival, the galleys and castles signified their joy by shooting. When our ship entered the gulf, a flag was hung out of the *Castle Ovo* and the *Castello Novo*, to give notice to the city.

In this *Dutch* ship we observed great neatness and order; every half hour the steersman, (in a room between the deck and the captain's cabin) at the ringing of a bell, is changed: He had two compasses placed before him, and a lanthorn in the middle for a candle in the night-time. The bell was rung also every time they changed the watch, and for prayers, break-



SKIPPON. breakfast and dinner. Their prayers were made in the steer-room; one of the sea-men reading a chapter, and then they all sung a psalm. Most of the sea-men lay in hammocks: over the captain's was the pilot's cabin; and underneath the gunner's room were swords, pistols, half-pikes, carbines, &c. hung up.

April 22. About noon two or three Dons came in a felucca with the Spanish colours, and stayed by the ship's side, while the sea-men went down into the boat, where they were numbred about 45, besides the captain and four of us English travellers, with a Dutch merchant, Gio. Bap. Vanden Broeck, consul at Messina for the Dutch nation: After this, the ship had pratique, and guns were discharged. Then we went in a felucca, and landed within the pier or mole of Naples; where, as soon as we arrived, a searcher came, whom we gratified with two Carolini: after this, we went and gave in our names at an office, and had another searcher begging our courtesy; and then we marched to our lodging.

Naples.

Before we took shipping for Messina, we stayed at Naples till 27 April; and after our return from thence we stayed at Naples from 13 June till 30 June.

A procession.

April 23. We saw part of a procession, which was managed by the Jesuits; this day being devoted to St. Gennaro, silk carpets, &c. hung out of the windows, and in the middle of the street was erected a handsome arch covered with gilt and painted cloth; within it was an altar, and opposite to it a chair of state for the vice-roy. Here were these two inscriptions.

1. D. O. M. Lege Viator ac ne luge, hunc curram trahit Januarius Martyr augustissimus, qui tormenta & seipsum vicit, Patronorum maximus, qui catenis victus, sub jugum missus, sub iugo Timothæi tyrannide triumphum egit, Io triumphæ, non semel dicet populus omnis Io triumphæ, sic ubi superi sunt spectatores triumphatur.

2. D. O. M. Quem securi cæsum vides ille Divorum Tutelarum caput est, & Urbis hujus Vindex auspiciatissimus, cujus sanguis, semper ut Vivat semel funditur, semper ut juvet nunquam moritur ad ejus aspectum Pericula infortuniaq; P. Neapolitani terga vertebant sed quod caput est Oculorum lumine mortuo sed non extincto, Vesuvianos non semel terruit ignes & lucifera machinamenta disjecit, hæc Januarii tessera est, quam habet nobis præstat felicitatem.

I

We saw several silver figures of saints, viz. S. Maximus Xaverius, Franciscus Dominicus, Antonius, Andreas, Patricius, Thomas, many sorts of friars, and the people very zealous in rubbing their beads on each saint. Before S. Gennaro's blood came some canons, and after it followed a mace, and then came the archbishop's vicar. We observed the vice-roy in a sedan, attended by many Switzers in red velvet breeches and caps with feathers; and after came the proregent, a nobleman of Naples, who was also attended by Switzers.

We hired a felucca, and went by mount Pausilippus, a promontory, which hath opposite to it a little rock, called Gatola, on which is the image of S. Sebastian. Then passed by Nisea, a small island, with a castle on the top; and near it is the lazaretto, built on a long rock. We then arrived at Puteoli, a small decayed city, where the people brought us shells, old coins, &c. to sell. Here we took one old Cicero for our guide, who shewed us these following remarkables.

Mount Pausilippus by sea.

Puteoli.

Caligula's bridge, of which remain several arches that went cross three miles to Baiæ, where we saw an old arch that was part of the house where Agrippina was killed; another old arch, part of Hercules's temple: We went up a cliff, and behind the promontory of Misenus observed shady fields, that they called, the Campi Elizii. We went into a large cave, made by art, and supported by three rows of about 15 square pillars; and here we every one lighted a candle, and entred a dark hole; whence we descended into the Cento Camarelle of Nero, observing arched passages, broad enough for two men to walk abreast: these passages went cross one another, and were divided into long rooms by walls that had holes in them to creep through; in the walls of one room were hollows to set lamps in, and one passage had an open end that looked into the sea.

Almost cross the promontory of Misenus is the Piscina Mirabilis, a stately antiquity, supported by 48 tall pillars. In the middle is a long place lower than the rest of the pavement, which argues it was formerly a receptacle of water, conveyed thither by channels; the outward crust of the pillars is observable, being perfect stone, which they say was made, by Nero's order, of marble dust and whites of eggs.

Nigh the Piscina Mirabilis is a small round lake close to the sea, and called, Mare Mortuum.

We saw Il Sepulchro degli Gentile, which is a little old building, that hath round about



about within, holes like those in pigeon-houses; there were about 90 holes, and in every one was fixed a large urn of earth, wherein the antients put the ashes of the dead.

Hereabouts was the *Mercato del Sabato*; and we took notice of many ruins that they say were shops; some of which had the insides of the roofs well carved; and in the walls were several hollow places, where they probably set their wares: at the further end of every shop is a nick, and a scollop carved on the top.

With lighted candles we went down a hole, and entred the *Sepulchro d' Agrippinæ*, a low, narrow and short arch, curiously wrought with the figures of animals, &c.

The *Piscina Hortensii* is a ruined place.

Almost round this bay, near the shore, and under the water are many ruins of houses, and on the cliffs some ruins of palaces; among which that of *C. Marius*.

A strong castle built by *Charles V.* where about 70 soldiers keep garrison. Under the castle are the ruins of the city *Baia*; the temple of *Venus*; the tomb of *Diana*; the baths of *Trullius*, which are stopped up by the sea-sand; which are removed when the baths are used in *May* and *June*.

The ruins of *Julius Cæsar* and *Nero's* palaces: The last had a private way within the cliff.

The *Stufæ* of *Tritola* are in the side of a cliff; which we entered with lighted candles, going into a narrow passage; whence comes always out a suffocating fume, which is very prejudicial to any one that stands up; therefore we crept upon our knees, and held our heads downwards; and the further one goes in, the more one must stoop. We went as far we could well endure the heat and fume, and saw another passage within this of the same nature. At the farther end is water. It is observable, that the lower sides of the passage are rocky, but the upper parts (where the fume passes) of a sulphureous clay. Here diseased persons sit and sweat a prescribed time, and then go to bed in old rooms (which are about ten) in a long dark passage, called the *Sybils Grot*. In many of these rooms are three places cut out of the rock to lay beds on, and a sloping stone for a pillow.

Just before we entered the forementioned *Stufæ*, we observed that the sand under the sea-water nigh the shore was hot, but the sea-water cold.

*Balneum Ciceronis* is a large round cave, arched under the cliff, the roof whereof is somewhat defaced: there are several bathing places, but the water in them is now salt.

*Monta Nuova*, about 126 years ago, <sup>SKIPPON.</sup> in the year 1538, was cast up by an earthquake: It is of a sandy colour, and looks differently from the neighbour hills: There grows on it only *Erica Arborea*.

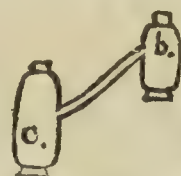
*Monte Barba*, antiently *Abulus's* mount, where the *Vinum Falernum* grew.

The ruins of *Jul. Cæsar* his mole, and part of a lanthorn.

A mile from *Pozzuoli*: a *Franciscans* chapel, dedicated to *St. Gennaro*, where one of the friars shewed us a stone that he said he was beheaded on; which stone is fixed nigh an altar, and hath red spots in it, that the *Franciscans* believed were *St. Gennaro's* drops of blood: On the other side of the altar was the figure of that saint's head, which, they say, some hereticks would have carried away by sea; but the ship would not stir as long as the head was on board.

*Solphaterra*, is a little level surrounded <sup>Solpha-</sup> with a hill: Here we saw three several <sup>terra.</sup> places, out of which we observed smoak and burning brimstone to arise; and we gathered *flores sulphuris* near one of the holes, about which the ground was very hot. We took notice when we threw great stones against the ground of this level, it echoed a noise as if underneath there were a great hollow; and near the place the brimstone came out, we heard a loud murmuring like the current of a river. Brimstone is made here for sale.

On a long furnace are fixed many pots filled with sulphur-stone, which melting, the earthy parts sink to the bottom, and the brimstone swimming on the top, runs out at *b.* into the receiver *c.*



We walked thence to the sea-side, and saw bathing places in a cave cut out of the rock, warm and salt water being conveyed to them by a channel from a well in another cave. This place is called *Cantarello*.

This day, being the 24th of *April*, was the first time we observed an *Italian* drunk.

The houses at *Naples* are large, high, and fairly built of stone, with flat roofs; some of the streets are broad, and that called the *Toledo* street, is long and stately, where one *Vander Enden* of *Antwerp* hath a large palace, who came hither in a mean condition, but is now very rich, and marries his children to the greatest nobility of *Naples*.

In *Naples*, on the corners of some streets, are inscriptions, prohibiting whores to dwell in them.

The watermen and country fellows are very well represented in the picture of



SKIFFON. of *Massanello*, before *Howell's* history. They have a broad band sewed to their shirts, which hangs behind their necks.

Customs. In the summer time fellows cry up and down the streets *Aqua Fresca*, *Aqua Ghiacciata*, i. e. cold water; ice-water; having little vessels at their backs, which have ice or snow mingled with the water: a glass-full costs a *Bolognino*. This city is of a great length and good breadth. Before the last plague, the inhabitants were very numerous, and still there is a great concourse of people. In that sickness, they report, 120,000 dyed within six weeks time. Many streets in the suburbs; the walls not worth any notice. Four castles; viz. 1. *S. Elmo*, upon a high hill. 2. *Castello d'Ovo*. 3. *Castello de l'Ovo* upon the haven, which they say was formerly *Lucullus* his palace. 4. *Castella Carmine* (which *Massanello* had in his possession) commands the city, being guarded by *Spaniards*. Without the city towards mount *Vesuvius*, are a great number of gardens; in every one of them a well, whence water is drawn out by an *Aste* turning a wheel with buckets, which pour the water out into a great cistern for the use of the garden. Many gentry live in *Naples*, where all provisions are very cheap, except bread. Two sorts of wine frequently drank here: 1. *Lachrymæ Christi*, which is red, and somewhat too sweet. 2. *Cerelle*, whitish; both too strong to drink at meals. At the cloister of *S. Fra. di Paolo*, the friars sell several sorts of excellent wine. Here is plenty of oranges and other fruits; and commonly sold long capers, and another fruit, called *Magliniano*, (being a sort of gourd) almost as big as a quince, which they likewise pickle as they do capers. Their chamber-pots are cylindrical glasses, set in neat flasks, with a cover made of wicker. The brass and silver money coined in the rebellion 1648, is still current here. At *S. Severinus*, the monks of the *Benedictine* order sell wine. At *Naples* we eat raw artichokes with pepper and oil. Sedans frequently used here. The king of *Spain* allows every trooper a horse; which has one of his ears cut off, that the horse may be discovered if run away with. The troopers ride with their swords drawn thro' the cities.

We were told, that eunuchs may be priests, and say mass, because they carry their *Testes* about their necks.

*John Van Limpert*, whose brother travelled with us from *London* to *Venice*, shewed us many remarkables in the city. Here, and at *Messina*, many of the cart-wheels are made of one solid piece of wood, without any spokes.

In the street, called *Furcello*, we saw a marble figure of the river *Nilus*, and an ancient head, called *Caput Neapol.* The house it stands nigh, is the oldest house of the city. We observed one night several boats fishing near the shore, having a fire at one end of the boat; and a fellow stood ready to strike the fish with an instrument like that we catch moles with.

April 26. In the morning we went by *Felucca*, towards mount *Vesuvius*, and smelt a strong smell like *Petroleum*, which they told us comes out of a rock under water, and in the hot months the oyl lies in great spots upon the superficies of the sea; it is taken up with cotton, and sold to the apothecaries. A little from thence we landed, and hired a barefooted guide for three carolins, to shew us the way up to mount *Vesuvius*, now vulgarly called, Mount *Monte Suma*. We walked a continual ascent from the shore four miles to the top, where we climbed up a steepy place that tired us: upon the top we looked down into a great hollow within the mountain, and at the bottom saw a round bank or circle of earth, out of which brake many smokes of brimstone. Dr. *Mapletoft* went down within the mountain, as he himself told us. We returned by an easy descent in a deep sand. Near the top we observed a burnt stone, wherein were sparkles like gold and silver; on the sides of the mountain are deep channels, which convey away water and stones, &c. when there are eruptions; all about was a burnt surface; here and there some freestone. *Abrotum Campestre*, *Genesta Hisp.* *Colutea Vesic.* & *Acetosa Ovilla*, grew nearest the top. Near this mountain is *Torre del Greco*, which gives name to the *Greek* wine, that is strong, and coloured (but nothing so pleasant) as *Canary* sack. On the shore, at the foot of *Vesuvius*, we tasted a fresh-water spring, even with the superficies of the sea.

April 27. We saw a procession towards the mole. 1. A banner, with a red cross in it; then 10 slaves sounding of trumpets; next a crucifix, carried by a young woman, and on her left hand another finely dressed: after them followed many girls and young women, two by two, and behind them came nuns: in the middle of the mole stood two rows of christian slaves, with beads and candles (which are malefactors condemned to the gallies) tied six together with chains; and a company of priests and singing boys about a pageant of the virgin *Mary*. The slaves sounded their trumpets; and singing boys sung towards the galleys, which answered with a volley of shot and noise of trumpets:



trumpets: little guns on the ground were fired at the entering into a church, where none but the slaves were permitted to go in to hear mass. These slaves were then confessed before their going to sea.

We observed, one day, a *Venetian* astrologer (as he called himself) or mountebank, who sat on his horse, and discoursed to the people of the stars, &c. and he spoke to a fellow in the crowd through a long whispering-pipe of tin, and then gave him one of his medicines.

*June 13.* After we returned from *Sicily*, we saw the granary belonging to the city of *Naples*, which is under-ground, consisting of 30 *fossæ* or *grotte*, supported by pillars: they say here is always store enough to provide the city seven years: I believe there might be enough to supply for two or three years. The corn is kept here cool in the summer, and warm in the winter; it is turned over very often, some said every two days. The *Neapolitan* bakers are obliged to buy here 25,000 *tumuli* every month; and if they have occasion for more, may buy it where they please. Five *Conservatori delle fosse*; four chosen by the nobility, and one by the commonalty, oversee this granary.

*June 14.* We walked up to the *Carthusians* cloister, (which is under castle *S. Elmo*) where we saw their small church, more polite than the *Annunciata* at *Genoa*, dedicated to *S. Martin*, curiously adorned, all the pillars and walls being crusted over with fine inlaid work of marble, brought from *Carrara*; very excellent pictures over the altars, and two in the choir, made by a *Flemming*, who was rewarded with 2500 ducats. Here is one large cloister, being the most curious and neat place of this nature that ever we yet saw, all the pillars and pavement of the best marble, and at each corner, over doors, the figures of the virgin *Mary*, &c. were rarely carved: from a balcony, on one side, we had a delightful prospect of the city, country and mountains; and from another part of the cloister, looked over their large and pleasant gardens on the side of the hill; and the sea, with that part of the city near *Castelle Ovo*, came into view. We saw here a huge cistern to receive rain-water in. This day being *Midsummer-day*, N. S. the fathers (being 85 belonging to the convent) walked up and down, and conversed freely with one another; which liberty is denied them at other times.

As we returned from the *Carthusians*, SKIPPON. we came in a way cut very deep in the rock, and saw large quarries.

We passed by a nunnery, called *Tri-La Trinita*, where are none but noble-women. nita.

*Le Penitente* are nuns, which they say *Le Penitente* are women who have been ill treated by their husbands. tente.

*Le Convertiti* entertain such as have been whores. Le Convertiti.

*Santo Spirito* is a place for young bastard wenches.

*June 15.* We visited the *Augustines* cloister, who have a church, called *S. Jo. à Carbonaria*; where, behind the altar, is a stately mausoleum of marble; on the top is the figure of a man on horse-back; and underneath is written, in old characters, *Divus Ladislaus*; in the middle lies the image of a bishop, who erected this monument to this king of *Hungary*, when the excommunication was taken off for his fighting against the church: underneath is the king's effigies, in a sitting posture, with his wife *Johanna* by him. In a large, round chapel, some of the monuments of the *Caraccioli* are worth noting; and behind the aforesaid mausoleum is a fair tomb of one of them; and on the wall, his face and upper part of his body naked is painted.

*Sancta Catharina à formello* belongs to a *Dominican* convent, where we saw a fair *spiceria*, or an apothecary's shop, consisting of three or four rooms: in one are all chymical preparations; in another we were shewn several rarities, viz. a child with two heads; another with four legs; a rat with the head like a lion's; which all seemed to be artificial: *Minera Diamantis*, *Scapula Gryphonis*; the seven penitential psalms, and the *Officium pro mortuis*, written in small.

The *Ammiraglio* is a large prison.

The *Domo* is a fair great church, where, *Domo.* on the south side is a curious chapel, with a high pair of brass gates. The statue of *S. Januarius* is erected on a fair column before the south door.

*S. Cajetan* is a curious church belonging to the *Theatins*; all the pillars and walls are hung round with pictures of miracles; and about one chapel are none but pictures in silver plate. *Cajetan's* statue stands before this church, just before the front whereof are eight old *Corinthian* pillars, supporting some defaced figures; underneath is this inscribed:

TIBERIOS ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΤΑΡΣΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΟΥ  
ΝΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΝΤΩ ΝΑΩ . . . ΠΕΛΑΓΙΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΣΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΤΕΝ.



SKIPPOON. This was the portico to the temple of *Caster* and *Pollux*. We observed here a great quantity of womens hair hanging up, offered after the death of their husbands, signifying their future chastity.

The Cam-  
maidoli.

June 16. We walked early in the morning, about three miles, to the top of a hill, passing through pleasant woody places, where the *Camaidoli* dwell, a sort of *Eremites*, habited in white, who have every one a little house and small garden: there are 13 houses in three ranks on one side of a pretty church, (where are 100 confessing seats); and on the other side, six houses in two ranks: they have a prior, and are esteemed wealthy. From this hill we had a fine prospect of *Naples*, the adjacent country, hills, sea, *M. Pausilippus*, *Lacus Agnanus*, *Pozzuoli*, *Baie*. We had here a strong smell of brimstone from mount *Solfaterra* two miles distant.

Mount  
Pausilip-  
pus by  
land.

June 18. We went through *Portadi Chaii*, where are set up, in two iron grates, two heads of rebels in the tumults 1648. A row of houses here ruined by the command of the vice-roy, who commanded then; the most considerable conspirators living here. Beyond *Castello Ovo* we walked along the *Marina* (or shore) before a long front of houses, and came to mount *Pausilippus*, a promontory; about which, in the summer evenings, the nobility, &c. take the *fresco* or air in their felucca's. It hath a passage cut thro' broad enough for two carts; the length is about half a mile, and is level with the roads without: towards *Naples* the passage is highest, and in the middle it is lowest: light comes sloping in from the top; and about half way on the side towards the sea, is a small chapel within the rock, where a monk says mass every day: at the entrance of either edge the light may be seen quite thro'. It is all the way paved. When it is obscure, passengers coming from *Naples*, call out to those they meet, *Alla Marina*, keeping themselves on the right hand, or towards the mountain; and those that come from the other end, cry, *Alla Montagna*, keeping themselves on the left hand, or towards the sea.

Just before we went into this passage, towards the top, on the right hand, is a monument within the rock, which is believed to be *Virgil's* tomb. *Virgil. Georg. l. 4.* speaks of his studying here.

*Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat  
Parthenope, studiis florentem—*

Grotto del  
Cane.

Two miles from *Pausilippo* we arrived at *Grotto del Cane*, a short and low cave in the side of a shaly hill, that surrounds

*Lacus Agnanus*, (a little lake, about a mile in compass): the cave is broad enough for a man to turn about in. I went in, and stayed a considerable while, perceiving no inconvenience by standing upright in it; but putting my head down within a span of the bottom, a sudden smell of an arsenic vapour stifled my breath, and obliged me to withdraw my head presently upwards; for it is a mortal fume that arises, which we experimented in these creatures. 1. A large grass-hopper was killed in about a minute's time. 2. A beetle, in a quarter of an hour. 3. A chicken in a minute. 4. Two frogs in three or four minutes. 5. A little dog in less than a quarter of an hour: the dog chicken and frogs had some life left when we took them out, but we could not recover any of them presently into the lake. 6. A large snake was quite dead in the space of half an hour. We were told, that about 22 years since, a nobleman of *Naples*, the duke *di Matalone*, stifled one of his slaves here; whom he vainly endeavoured to recover by throwing him into the lake. The sides of the cave are tinged green, as high as the vapour rises, and are hot; but above that height the sides are rocky and white, crufted over in most places with a thin fragile substance. The water of the lake is fresh, and affords fish; it is about 15 paces distant from this grotto.

*Lacus Avernus*, *Grotto di Sybilla* and the *Stufe* of *Januarius* are not far from hence.

June 20. And all the rest of our time in *Naples* we observed these particulars following: In the booksellers street (called *Furcello*) is a fair palace belonging to the family of the *Rota*, where, in the entry, we saw old statues. Not far from hence is the prince of *Saiano's* palace, where are preserved curious antiquities; amongst which this inscription;

IMP. CAESAR.  
DIVI VESPASIAN.  
DOMITIANO AV.  
GERM. PONT. MA.  
TRIB. POTEST. XIII.  
IMP. XXII. COS. XVI.  
CENSORI PERPET. P.  
REG. VICT.  
VESTORIANI ET  
CALPVRNIANI.

On a handsome old square tower, I transcribed some of the verses on it, viz.

*Rex & Regina stant hic multis sociati  
Ungariae Reges, Generosa stirpe Creatus,  
Conspicis, Andreas Calabrum Dux Veneratus  
Dux*



*Dux pia, Dux magna Confers hujusq;  
Johanna*

*Neptis Regalis sociat soror ipsa Maria  
Illustris princeps Robertus & ipse Tarenti  
Ipseque Philippus Frater Vultu reventi  
Hic Dux Duraci Carolus spectat reverendus  
Suntque duo fratres Ludovicus & ipse Rober-  
tus, &c.*

At the Dominicans, called *S. Tho. Aquinas*, we went into a narrow school room, where the students wrote after a civilian that read, who was often interrupted by the scholars; and he familiarly discoursed with them in the midst of his lecture. In another school, a friar was reading divinity.

On June 22, the weather was very cool, by reason of the rain and thunder we had.

An execution. One evening (the usual time for executions here) we saw a fellow hanged that killed his wife: the gallows was erected before her father's house: one riding on an ass came before him, with a large banner folded up; which in time of joy is opened; then followed a crucifix, and some in white disguises: after the malefactor had done his devotion, he ascended the ladder, kissing every step he went up, and standing there about a quarter of an hour, one of the disguised gave him an exhortation; and at some sign or word, the hangman turned him off, and to strangle him the sooner, leaped upon his shoulders. Before and after the execution a trumpet sounded. He hung all night, and then was cut down.

*S. Dominico Maggiore* is a Dominican cloister, where they shewed us the cell of *S. Tho. Aquinas*, where an altar is erected to him. In this convent, Dr. *Cornelius* (who wrote the progymnasimata) reads mathematicks. In a handsome small school, where *Thomas Aquinas* used to read, over the chair the wall is well painted. On one side of the entrance is this inscription:

*Viator hic ingrediens Siste gradum atque  
venerare hanc Imaginem et Cathedram  
hanc in qua Sedens magnus ille magister  
Divus Thomas de Aquino Neapolitanus  
cum frequente ut par erat Auditor. con-  
cursu et . . . . . felicitate ceteros quam-  
plurimos admirabili doctrina Theologiam  
docebat, accersitus jam à Rege Carolo  
primo constituta illi mercede unius uncie  
annum per singulos menses. F. V. C. in  
anno MCCLXXII. D. S. S. F. F.*

The crucifix that spoke to *Thomas Aquinas*, is kept in a chapel over an altar.

*Donna Regina*. *Donna Regina* is a Franciscan nunnery where women of quality are cloistered, and

have more freedom than others: their chapel will be very rich, when finished. SKIPPON.

*S. Apostoli* is a pretty church of the *Santi Theatins*, where, on the left side of the altar, is a stately monument of the present archbishop of *Naples*, built of white marble; an altar-table is supported by two marble lions; over that a stone, curiously carved with the figure of little boys, which is esteemed highly: the archbishop procured it of one *Fra. Fiamingo* at *Rome*: above this is a picture representing, in Mosaic work of little stones, the annunciation; over it is written,

*Annunciatæ Virgini Dei matri, Ascanius  
Cardinalis Philamarinus Archieps. Neap.  
1642.*

The pictures of faith, hope, charity, and humility stand on each side of the same work; and lower down, at each corner, is a picture, one of himself, the other of his brother (lately dead) made with inlaid work. Under his own picture is inscribed,

*Pervetustum Philamarinæ gentis  
Monumentum  
è Sancti Georgii majoris  
anno MCCII. translatum  
in Pontificalis templi ædiculam  
sub S. Nicolai  
à Johanne Philamarino dicatam  
et post CCCX. annum sacrarum  
reliquiarum Sancti Januarii  
aliorum Sanctorum tutelarium  
pro urbis dignitate resciendo  
piissime Concessam  
Ascanius Philamarinus  
S R E Cardinalis  
Archieps. Neapolitanus  
pro se suisque  
hic instaurandum curavit.*

Under his brother's;

*Ut vero Philamarinæ familie  
Nomen  
una cum immortalitate perennet  
in hoc SS Apostol. ædis parte  
Columnis sigillis  
picturisq; missivis à se Exornatum  
ubi conditorium  
Ascanius idem Philamarinus  
S R E Cardinalis  
Archiepiscopus Neapolitanus  
tralatis è Pontificali Basilica  
majorum suorum ossibus construxit.  
Sibi et Scipioni Philamarino Fratri  
in regno Generali militiæ Vicario  
posterisque ejus mortis memor  
vivens Sepulchrum posuit  
Anno MDCXXXII.*



SKIPPER.

One *Giovanni Lanfranco* of *Parma* painted the roof of the church, and had 3000 ducats for his pains. The tabernacle on the high altar is very curious and rich, being made of precious stones, viz. oriental jasper, topaz, &c. and is adorned with silver figures gilt. Before the altar are two stately brass candlesticks on bases of the same metal, cast into the figure of the four evangelists, as they are represented by the ox, lion, &c. The altar is of inlaid marble, which they say cost 70,000 ducats. A young father was very civil, and willing to shew us their riches in the *Sacristia*, which was kept very neat; it being a proverb, *As neat as a Sacristia*, or vestry. In several presses were locked up distinctly the furnitures of several altars and priests, and hangings for the two doors that bring into the choir. We saw richly wrought copes, &c. some are used in the winter, and some in the summer; some were thick embroidered with gold and pearl, &c. one finely wrought with flowers: four candlesticks of brass, set thick with small pieces of coral; given by the duke of *Terra Nuova*, whose brother is one of the convent: great quantity of plate; a chalice, that was of one piece of crystal; chalices adorned with rubies, &c.

Here is a fair and large chapel on the south side, with a pair of brass gates wrought, which, they say, cost about 25000 ducats: This chapel is called, *Il Tesoro*, and has a revenue distinct from the *Vescovado*; it is served by different priests. At the high altar is a brass figure of *S. Januarius* and four saints more, that are the protectors of *Naples*. The cupola is well painted by *Lanfranco*. An altar-picture, made by *Cavaliero Maximus*; other altar-pictures (on brass or copper plates) drawn by *Dominico S. Pierre*; who had for drawing every whole figure 100 ducats, and for every half figure 50 ducats. In the church lies a huge old pillar of marble that was found underground. We were told, these fathers are obliged to have no revenue, nor are they permitted to beg; but yet what is given them maintains 'em very well.

The *Oratorium* is a church very richly gilt on the roof, supported by 12 shafts of old pillars. A picture here made by the famous *Pietro d' Acortone*. Here is a pretty small chapel dedicated to *Phil. Neri*.

In one street, on a wall, is this *Roman* inscription,

C. SEPTIMIUS. C. F. LIBO.  
AE. D. SCR. AED. CVR.  
SIBI ET  
LABERIAE TVSCAE VX.  
SEPTIMAE AMARANTI V.

There are in *Naples* five *Seggio* or The courts. 1. *Seggio di Nido*, corruptly so Seggii. called from the old figure of *Nilus* that lies in that street. 2. *Seggio di Capua*. 3. *Seggio di Montagna*. 4. *Seggio di Porto*. 5. *Seggio di Porto Nuovo*. The nobility is divided into these five parts, and when any difference or quarrel happens, it is brought before the *Seggio* they belong to. That of *Nido* is painted with the story of *Charles V.* his being presented with their privilege, whereby he was admitted as one of that *Seggio*.

The family of *Carafa*, we were told, received its name and coat of arms at the same time, upon this occasion. A king of *Arragon* fainting with his wounds in a battle, a soldier of his holds him up, and chances to put three of his fingers near the wound, and drawing three strokes of blood, gave original to the three bends in his coat, and the king at that instant expressed great kindness to him, calling him *Caro à fè*, whence they say, the name *Carafa* is derived.

An arch built at *Porto di Chiai*, which leads to *Pitro Falcone*, a promontory into the sea, which the people took possession of in 1648, and thence annoyed *Castello del Ovo*; but since the *Spaniards* have kept a guard there, and made a draw-bridge in the middle of the arch.

Near the sea-side the pope's nuncio hath his summer palace.

Under *Pausilippus* is a suburb or borgo called *Mergellina*, where we saw a pretty grotto (called *Grotto di Virgilio*) having a spring of water in it; over the gate of it is written,

D. O. M.

Inter \* Sinceri Cineres magniq; Maronis \* Sanaz.  
Qua Mergellina ac tollit se candida in zaro.  
undis

Condedit has genio et Musas Garophylus  
aedes.

MDLXX.

Hereabouts is the *Servites* cloister built The Serv. by *Sanazzaro* a famous poet; behind vice. the high altar is a curious monument of white marble, rarely carved, and on the top is his effigies, and under it is written, *Astius Sincerius D. O. M.* Under that a poetical fancy in marble sculpture, representing the gods *Pan*, *Neptune*, *Venus*, playing on instruments; on one side is the statue of *Orpheus*, on the other *Pallas*, whose shield is excellently wrought with gorgons head. But because this tomb is in a sacred place, under *Orpheus* they have written *David*, and under the other *Judith*.

This



This distich underneath:

*Da sacro Cineri flores, hic ille Maroni  
Sincerus Musa proximus ut tumulo  
vix. A. LXXII. obiit MDXXX.*

The workman's name, *Fio. Ang. Flo. Or. S. F.*

A gravestone in this church, with the effigies of a bishop holding a book, whereon is written, *Episcopi Arriani*, and under his feet is this distich.

*Carasæ hic alibi; jacet Diomedis imago  
Mortua ubiq; jacet, Vivaq; ubiq; manet.  
M.DXXXXX.*

An altar picture just by, wherein is described an angel treading on the devil, with the face of a woman, which was like a whore that fell in love with this bishop, who resisted her temptations, and sent her this picture for a present.

In this part of the city, nigh the shore, we saw a handsome *Roman* altar stone, thus inscrib'd.

AVGVSTO  
SACRVM  
RESTITVERVNT  
LAVRINENSES  
PECVNIA SVA  
CVLTORES  
D. D.

On one side of the altar, a fellow with an ox for the sacrifice.

On another side, a *guttus patinus & flagellum*.

Upon a gallows we saw the nose and ears of a soldier nailed, who ran away from his colours, and received this punishment, with a kick on the breech, when he was turn'd out of the service.

We saw a *Spanish* comedy at *Naples*, where nothing was remarkable.

The vice-roy's palace.

The vice-roy's palace hath a very fair front, with a double portico, one above another. A broad and stately ascent to it. The palace is much neglected, and not kept clean. The chapel is very much gilt, and pictured on the roof.

A Procession.

The *Dominicans* have a rosary procession, every first Sunday of the month; one we observed; viz. first went two trumpeters, then, in order, followed a flag, carried by a lay-man, boys with lighted tapers, some men, a monk with a banner, and a boy on each side of him, crowned with flowers; several *Dominicans* in their white habits; vocal and instrumental musick before the image of the *Madonna*, or *V. M.* a crowd of women.

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The *Canonici Regulari Lateranensi* have a convent, which is counted the greatest *asylum*, or place of refuge, in this city; on the roof of the porch is written, *Firmo che Regulari.*

We were admitted into the *Castello del Ovo*. The outward ditch is converted into gardens, which bring the governor in a good profit. The castle, within the walls, has strong towers. The front of the gate of this castle, is of rare carved marble work; king *Alfonfus* being drawn in a triumphant chariot, with men, armour, &c. This inscribed, *Alfonfus Regum Princeps hanc condidit Arcem*. Below that, *Alfonfus Rex Hispanus, Siculus, Italicus, Clemens, Pius, Invictus*. In this castle prisoners are kept, and at this time a captain of banditi was a prisoner, who got a great estate, and was made a marquis, who in 1648 did the king of *Spain* good service; but afterwards falling into suspicion, he was clapt up, and has been a prisoner seven or eight years, and like to continue so the rest of his days, being an old man.

Before this castle, in the piazza, are six fountains; one of them very handsome, having a *Neptune* and other figures.

June 26. In the evening we observed five galleys hung round with lights in lanterns, this being a holy-day.

At *S. Dominico Maggiore*, in the *sacristia*, are many trunks covered over with velvet, where the bodies of several kings, &c. are kept. In a table hang up these several epitaphs upon them, full of bald rhimes and false quantities.

*Carmina quæ in Regum Neap. Aragon. bonumq; Procerum sepulchris legebantur.*

1. *Ad Alfonso Regem.*

*Inclutus Alfonso qui Regibus ortus Iberis  
Ausonia regnum primus adeptus adest.*

2. *Ad Antonium Arag. M. A. D.*

*Dormis an Vigilas Antoniu' Sætor utrumq;  
Ossa quidem primum sed virtus fama secundum.*

*Sanguine procretus Genitorq; quidni moraris?  
Stirpis Aragoniæ Fernandus indicis bonum.*

3. *Ad Ferdinandum Arag. D. Neap.*

*Cernis Joannem magna de stirpe Nepotem  
Sustulit hunc puerum quæ rapit illa senes.*

4. *Ad Mariam Lazerda. M. A. D.*

*Quæ fuerant Mariæ Lazerdæ maxima vivæ.  
Et genus et culmen omnia mors rapuit.*



SKIPPO.

5. *Ad Petrum Arag. Primogen. D.*  
*Cernis Aragonci Petrum haud ignobile se-*  
*men*

*Antoni illustris sanguine stemmatibus.*  
*Prima ætate fuit perdignus sede paterna,*  
*Hinc rapuit terris sed Libitina suis.*

6. *Ad Anton. Arag. M. A. Ducem.*  
*Sarcophago clausus Dux est à sanguine Re-*  
*gum*

*Non obiit cujus nomen bonosq; manet.*  
*Spiritus astra colit vivit sua gloria terris*  
*In sedes rediit corpus inane suas.*

7. *Ad Ferdinandum Ursinum G. D.*  
*Gravinæ Dominum demonstrat candide lector*  
*Serica tumba tibi hæc Ursina à gente nitente*  
*Inclutus in bellis tenuit quod nobile nomen*  
*Sed tum hunc posuit Lachesis metuenda se-*  
*pulchro.*

*In parte dextera chori.*

8. *Ad Joannem Andegaven. Ducem Dyrrha-*  
*chii Regis Caroli II. filium.*

*Dux Duracensis regali stirpe Joannes*  
*Atq; Comes dignus Gravinæ mente benignus*  
*Ac Albanorum Dominus correptor et horum*  
*Angeli Montis sancti Dominator honoris*  
*Princeps discretus mira pietate repletus*  
*Francia cui patrem confert Ungaria matrem*  
*Sancta de gente generatus utroq; parente*  
*Hic jacet illustris vitæ clausis sibi lustris*  
*Anno Milleno quo Christus corde sereno*  
*Et trecenteno perfulsit per quoq; deno*  
*Quinto migravit Cælestia quod properatur*  
*Tertia præstabat indiētio quæ numerabat*  
*Rogamus Cbriste Cæli Dux inclutus iste*  
*Vivat in æternum Patrem speculando super-*  
*num.*

9. *Ad Ferdinandum I.*  
*Ferrandus senior qui condidit aurea secla*  
*Mortuus Ausoniæ semper in ore manet.*

10. *Ad Ferdinand. II.*  
*Ferrandum mors seria diu fugis arma ge-*  
*rentem*  
*Mox positus illum impia falce necat.*

11. *Ad Joannem F. P. F.*  
*Suscipe Reginam pura hospes mente Joannam*  
*Et cole quæ meruit post sua fata coli.*

12. *Ad Franciscum Ferdin. Avalum de A-*  
*quino Marchionem Piscariæ Generalem Vi-*  
*carium Cæsareæ Majestatis in Italia et in*  
*Regno Siciliæ Proregem.*

*Quis jacet aurato hoc loculo sub? maximus*  
*ille*

*Piscator, belli gloria, pacis bonos.*  
*Nunquid et pisces cepit? non ergo quid Urbes*  
*Magnanimos Reges, Oppida, Regna, Duces*

*Dic quibus hæc cepit piscator retibus? alto*  
*Consilio, intrepido corde alacriq; manu*  
*Qui tantum rapuere Ducem? duo numina*  
*Mars, Meris*

*At nocuere nihil, nam vivit fama super-*  
*stes*

*Quæ Martem et Mortem vincit et invidiam.*

*Lud. Ariost. idem Hisp. idiomate.*  
*Carmina quæ leguntur in gladio à Christianis-*  
*simo Francorum R. Francisco sibi donato et*  
*hoc in eodum tumultu servato.*

*Piscario Martis debetur Martius ensis*  
*Barbara adest, tutus medios potes ire per*  
*hostes.*

13.

*Effuat ex animo nunquam meditatio lucis*  
*Lege pari quoniam paupere dives obit.*

14. *Bernardo de Baucio Montis Caveosi Co-*  
*miti R.*

*M. Justitiario Franciscus de Baucio Dux*  
*Andriæ*  
*Princeps sepulchrum benemerenti posuit.*

15. *Ad Isabellam Arag. D. Mediol.*  
*Hic Isabella jacet centum sata sanguine Re-*  
*gum*

*Qua cum Majestate Itala prisca jacet*  
*Sol qui lustrabat radiis fulgentibus orbem*  
*Occidit inque alio nunc agit orbe diem.*

16. *Ad Mariam Arag. Vasti M.*  
*Eheu Vasti Domina excellens virtutibus ortu*  
*Orbis quæ imperium digna tenere fuit*  
*Sarcophago jacet hoc nunc parvus corpore*  
*pulvis*  
*Spiritus angelicus sed nitet ipse choris.*

17. *Ad Filium Ducis Turris Majoris.*  
*Flos tener hic languet, decidisset is nisi flo-*  
*rens*

*Laudibus eximiis exuperasset avos.*

18. *Ad — — — Carasam.*  
*Gentis Carasæ sydus spes una mariti*  
*Viva fuit, posthac mortua luctus erit*  
*Nunc ornat cælum radiis fulgentibus astrum*  
*Et micat ardenti lumine prope Jovem.*

19. *Ad Ferdinandum Franciscum Avalum de*  
*Aquino Marchionem Piscariæ in Regno*  
*Siciliæ proregem.*

*Marchio clara sui Generis quin Martia*  
*proles*  
*Præfetus Siculum conditur hoc tumulto.*

20. *Ad Filiam Ducis Bovini.*  
*Delitium fuerat, quæ mox jam nata paren-*  
*tum*

*Cbarius hæc vivens nempe futura fuit.*

21. *Ad*



21. Ad Aloysium Carafam. P. Sni.  
Stillani illustris propria virtute et avorum  
Princeps hic factus clauditur umbra cinis.

In parte sinistra chori.

22. Ad Philippum Andegaven. Principem  
Tarenti Regis Caroli Filium.  
Hic pius et fidus hic Martis in agmine sy-  
dus  
Philippus plenus virtutibus atq; serenus  
Qui Caroli natus qui Franca de gente se-  
cundi  
Regis fecundi regina matre creatus  
Ungariæ sive vir natæ semine divæ  
Regis Francorum Catherinæ persrenuorum  
Qui Constantinopolis extitit imperator.  
Atq; Tarentini Princeps dominator ac victor  
Jure tamen patris strenuus ac iētibus acris

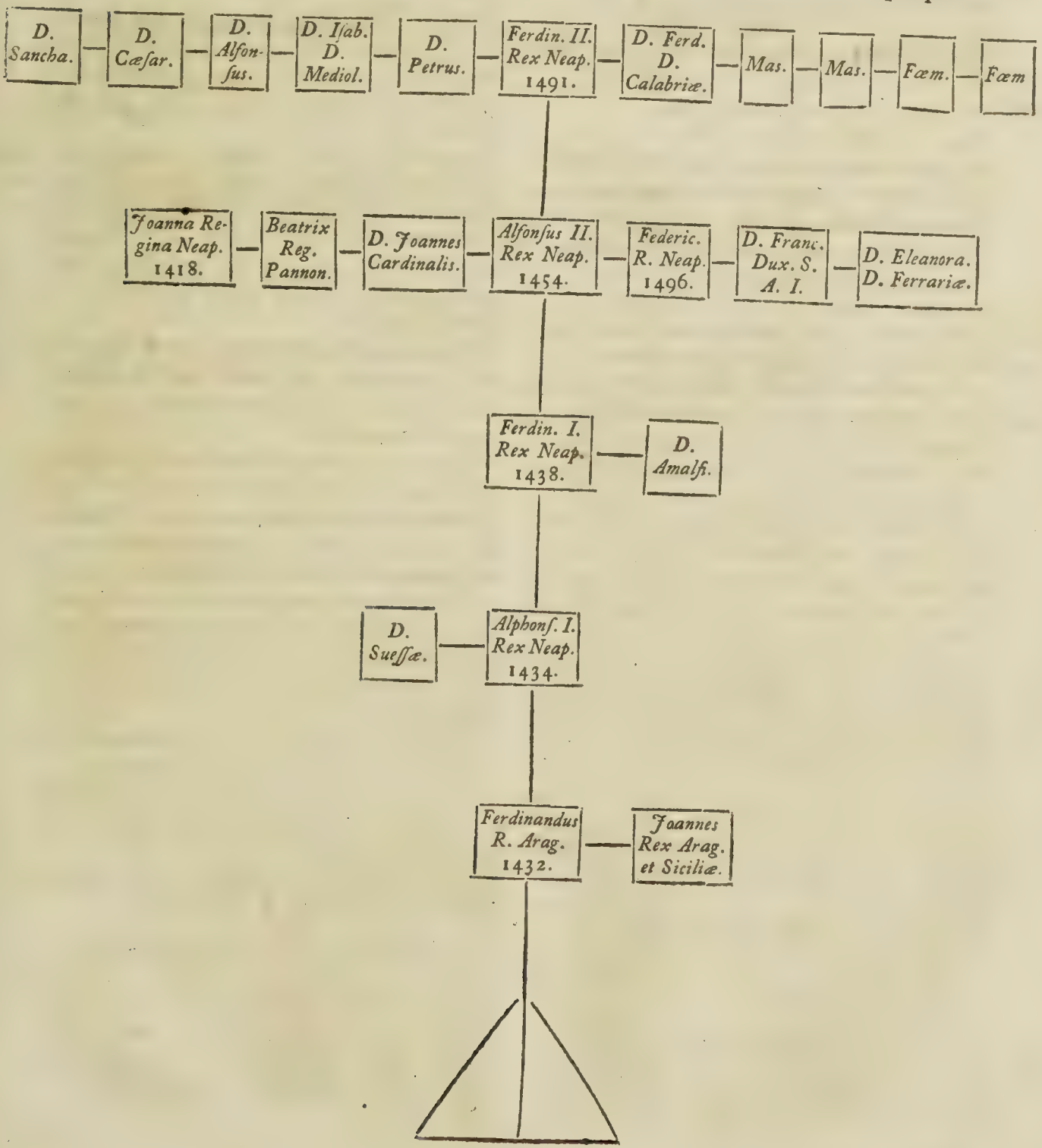
Achaia princeps cui Romania deinceps  
Tanquam Despoto titulo fuit addita noto  
Inclytus et gratus tumulo jacet hoc trabeatus  
Ejus qui magno solio migravit in anno  
Christi Milleno Treceno ter quoq; deno  
Bino December erat ejusdem sexta Viceno  
Facta Dies inerat indiētio quintaq; dena.  
1332.

Under the trunks is inscribed,

Memoriæ Regum Neap. Aragonensium tem-  
poris injuria consumptæ pietate Catholici  
Regis Philippi. Joanne à Stunica Mi-  
randæ Comiti et in regno Neap. Prorege  
Curante. Sepulchra instaurata A. D.  
CICIDXCIV.

Pictures of the kings hang over the  
trunks.

This pedigree is in the middle of the table among the forementioned epitaphs.





SKIPPON. In a nobleman's palace, I saw a fellow who was bitten by a tarantula; he danced very antickly, with naked swords, to a tune played on an instrument: They say, if the spider be presently killed, no such effects will appear; but as long as it lives, the person bitten is subject to these paroxysms, and when it dies he is free. Usually they are the poorer sort of people that say they are bitten, and they beg money while they are in these dancing fits; which makes some think, that the many stories of the bites of the tarantula are not true.

Near the *Seggio di Nido* is an old stone thus inscribed.

POSTVMNS  
I.AMPADIVS  
VC CONS CAMP  
CVRAVIT.

S. Clara. S. Clare is a large old church, built by queen Joane: the Franciscans *Minoris observ.* have a cloister here: behind the high altar is king Robert's stately monument. In the same church is a fair old tomb of an empress, with this inscription.

*Hic jacet corpus illustris Dnæ. Dnæ. Mariæ de Francis Imperatricis Constantinopolitanæ Ducissæ Duracii. hæc obiit anno MCCCCLXVI. die XXIX. mensis Maii cuius anima requiescat in pace.*

Torri di S. Vincente. *Torri di S. Vincente* is near the shore, and is a place for disobedient children.

The Arsenal. The arsenal hath 16 long arches fairly built, for to build and preserve galleys in; five galleys, and one hospital galley at Naples: every night there is good musick sounded by the slaves.

We visited Dr. Tho. Cornelius of Cosenza in Calabria, the author of *Progymnasmata*; he is professor of mathematicks and physick, and a great admirer of *Cartesius* and the new philosophers.

Academici Investigantes. At the marquis of Arena's palace, 29 June, we were introduced into the room where the *Academici Investigantes* meet every Wednesday in the afternoon, when we observed about 60 persons present. They discoursed about several things, and brought in the experiment of water ascending in glass *tubuli*, or small pipes; which they reasoned upon. After that, *Leonardus à Capua* discoursed about heat and cold; then *Lucas Anton. Portius* seated himself in a chair at the upper end of the room, and read a discourse on the same subject; and when the company was pleased with any thing, they cried *benè*. (Note, none but those who are *Academici* may read in the chair). This done,

Caramuel, a fryar of the *Benedictine* order, professor in *Salamanca*, and bishop of *Campania*, in elegant *Latin*, answered extempore the assertions of *Franciscus ab Andrea*, who most ingeniously defended the lord *Verulam's* opinion, that it is possible for a man to live for ever, if he can keep himself in one and the same condition of health. The marquis of *Arena* moderated with great ingenuity and understanding; and he was particularly civil to us. There are about 14 *Academici*, viz. 1. *Ill. Marchese d'Arena*. 2. *Thomaso Cornelio*. 3. *Joannes Caramuel*. 4. *Leon. à Capua*. 5. *D. Mich. Gentilii*. 6. *Fra. ab Andrea*. 7. *Januarius ab Andrea*. 8. *Joan. Bapt. Capuccius*. 9. *D. Joseph Medices Princeps Octaviani*. 10. *Lucas Ant. Portius*. 11. *Dominicus Scutano*, a young man, but very learned for his years. 12. *Franciscus Rosti*. 13. *D. Dominicus Emanuel Cirffi*. 14. *Salvator Scatione*.

They complained to us of the inquisition, and their clergymens opposition to the new philosophy; and of the difficulty they met with in getting books out of *England*, *Holland*, &c.

At Naples, every summer evening, before the noblemens coaches make the *Corso* in the chief streets, several carts go with large vessels of water, that runs out behind, and on each side, to lay the dust. We have already touched upon some other of their customs.

The Spanish soldiers keep guard, five and six in a company, up and down the streets. At the further end of the mole the *Neapolitans* have a guard.

There is a marquis that dwells in Naples, who was formerly a butcher.

Six troops of horsemen, most *Burgundians* and *Germans*, quarter in this city, and guard by turns, every night a troop; an *Englishman* is one of their trumpeters. Spanish captains are known by their small canes tipped with silver, and the ensigns by their leading staves trimmed with ribbands.

*Masanello's* wife is now a common whore; his brother and sister are still in prison.

The *Neapolitan* noblemen and citizens sit and chat together, in the doors, in the *fresco* of the day.

The *campanile* of the *Carmelites* makes a tall and fair shew, to the seaward.

The following is an account of the city and kingdom of Naples, taken out of *Beltrano*.

In Naples are these monasteries, with their number of fryars, &c. viz.



|                                                                | N <sup>o</sup> of Fryars. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 17 Convents of Dominicans,                                     | 781                       |
| 18 ——— Franciscans,                                            | 1013                      |
| 8 ——— Augustines,                                              | 428                       |
| 10 ——— Carmelites,                                             | 494                       |
| 1 ——— Carthusians,                                             | 100                       |
| 1 ——— Celestines,                                              | 90                        |
| 2 ——— Canonici Reg. S. Salvat.                                 | 27                        |
| 1 ——— Cruciferi,                                               | 38                        |
| 3 ——— Canonici Reg. Lateranen.                                 | 250                       |
| 1 ——— Benedictins,                                             | 150                       |
| 1 ——— Olivetani,                                               | 100                       |
| 4 ——— Minimi di S. Fran. di Paola,                             | 201                       |
| 3 ——— Servi del Parto,                                         | 56                        |
| 1 ——— Eremitani,                                               | 80                        |
| 1 ——— Camaidoli,                                               | 60                        |
| 1 ——— Montevergine,                                            | 36                        |
| 1 ——— Basiliani,                                               | 16                        |
| 3 ——— Spanish Monks,                                           | 71                        |
| 1 ——— Fratri Benfratelli del B. Gio, &c. con vestimento negro, | 80                        |
| 6 ——— Jesuits,                                                 | 387                       |
| 6 ——— Theatins,                                                | 325                       |
| 3 ——— Clerici Reg. minores,                                    | 106                       |
| 1 ——— Clerici Secolari,                                        | 280                       |
| 3 ——— Ministri deg l'infer.                                    | 160                       |
| 2 ——— Bernardites,                                             | 60                        |
| 3 ——— Pii Operarii, &c. —                                      | 90                        |
| 2 ——— Padri del Schaole,                                       | 55                        |
| 6 ——— in the Conservatorii di figliuoli,                       | 912                       |
| 11 ——— in another,                                             | 2295                      |
| 121                                                            | In all 8741               |

Also these nunneries, &c.

|                                       |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| 4 ——— Dominicans,                     | 328         |
| 11 ——— Franciscans,                   | 1041        |
| 4 ——— Augustines                      | 396         |
| 1 ——— Carmelites,                     | 40          |
| 7 ——— Benedictins,                    | 700         |
| 2 ——— Spanish Nuns,                   | 160         |
| 10 ——— in the Conservatorii di Donne, | 866         |
| 39                                    | In all 3531 |

The kingdom is divided thus, viz.

1. Terra di Lavoro has these cities, 14.
1. Aversa.
  2. Capua.
  3. Caserta.
  4. Gaeta.
  5. Ischia.
  6. Massa Lubrense.
  7. Nola.
  8. Pozzuoli.
  9. Cessa.
  10. Sorento.
  11. Teano.
  12. Traetto.
  13. Venafro.
  14. Vico Equense.

2. Principato citra, 18.

1. Amalfi.
2. Campagna.
3. Capri.
4. Casella.
5. Contursi.
6. Eboli.
- 7.

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8. Gragnano.
9. Lettere.
10. Laurino.
11. Nocera.
12. Salerno.
13. Sanseverino.
14. Saponara.
15. Sarno.
16. Scala.
17. Tramonti.
18. Ravello.

3. Principato ultra, 14.

1. Benevento.
2. \* Solofra.
3. Consa.
4. A. \* A vil-  
riano.
5. Avellino.
6. Bisaccio.
7. S. lage or  
Angelo de Lombardi.
8. Cedogna.
9. Montemarano.
10. Nusco.
11. Volto-  
rara.
12. Vico.
13. Vicodella Baronia.
14. S. Agata delli Groti.

4. Basilicata, 11.

1. Lavello.
2. Melfi.
3. Policastro.
4. Venosa.
5. Acerenza.
6. Muro.
7. Montepeloso.
8. Potenza.
9. Rapolla.
10. Tricarico.
11. Turfi.

5. Calabria citra, 12.

1. Mantea.
2. Cosenza.
3. Paola.
4. Montalto.
5. Rossano.
6. Bisignano.
7. Carjari.
8. Cassano.
9. Martorano.
10. Strongoli.
11. S. Marco.
12. Ubriatico.

6. Calabria ultra, 16.

1. Catanzaro.
2. Cotrone.
3. Squillaci.
4. Taverna.
5. Tropea.
6. Reggio.
7. Belcastro.
8. Bova.
9. S. Severina.
10. Gieraci.
11. L'Isola.
12. Montelene.
13. Melito.
14. Nicastro.
15. Nicotera.
16. Oppido.

7. Terra d'Otranto, 14.

1. Gallipoli.
2. Lecce.
3. Brindisi.
4. Matera.
5. Ostuni.
6. Taranto.
7. Otranto.
8. Alessano.
9. Castellaneta.
10. Castro.
11. Motola.
12. Nardo.
13. Oria.
14. Ugento.

8. Terra di Bari, 16.

1. Andria.
2. Bari.
3. Barletta.
4. Bitonto.
5. Terra di Mola.
6. Mol-  
fetta.
7. Monopoli.
8. Trani.
9. Gio-  
venazzo.
10. Biseglia.
11. Bitetto.
12. Conversano.
13. Gravina.
14. Monoruina.
15. Polignano.
16. Ruino.

9. Abruzzo citra, 5.

1. Chieti.
2. Sulmona.
3. Benevento.
4. Bovelle.
5. Ortona.

10. Abruzzo ultra, 5.

1. Aquila.
2. Atri.
3. Campi.
4. Ci-  
vita di Penna.
5. Teramo.

11. Contado di Molise, 4.

1. Boiano guardia.
2. Alferes.
3. Iser-  
ma.
4. Trivento.

7 S

12. Capi-



SKIPPON.

## 12. Capitanata, 13.

1. M. S. Angelo. 2. Ascoli. 3. Bovino.
4. Fiorenzola. 5. Larino. 6. Lucera.
7. Lefina. 8. Salpe. 9. Viceste. 10. Vulterara.
11. Termoli. 12. S. Severo.
13. Manfredonia.

So that, according to Beltrano, there are in the kingdom of Naples an hundred forty-two cities, of which twenty are archbishopricks, and an hundred twenty-eight are biskopricks, about thirty of them nominated by the king of Spain. Likewise there are eighty-seven princes, an hundred twenty-two dukes, an hundred fifty-nine marquisses, seventy earls.

The government.

The government consists in the *Seggii*; the nobility chuse four *Eletti di Nobili*, and the citizens elect *Riones*, or *Capi di Strada*, who meet once a year and chuse one *Eletto di Popolo*. The *Eletti* are known by their black gowns.

## 5 Seggi di Nobili.

1. Capua. 2. Nido. 3. Montagna. 4. Porto. 5. Porta Nova.

## 7 Officii del Regno.

1. Contestabile o Vice-Rè. 2. Gran Giustiti-ero. 3. Ammirante. 4. Camerlingo.
5. Protonotario. 6. Cancelliero. 7. Senescalco.

- 37 Tribunali Regii. 5 Tribunali Ecclesiastici. 3 Chiefe essente della giurisd. dell' ordinario.

Among the catalogues of archbishops of Naples is *Pietro Bellense Archidiac. della chiefe Battoniense in Ingleterra eletto Archievescovo è renuncio tal dignità*.

The vice-roy sends, for three years, to each province of Naples a president, and four *Auditori* his assistants, one advocate and a *procuratore fiscali*.

In Naples is a tribunal call'd the *Vicaria*, where all appellations of the kingdom are heard. In the council of state, call'd vulgarly *Consiglio di Spade è cappa*, three are *Spaniards* and three are *Italians*.

*Tribunale Collaterale*, whose counsellors are call'd *Reggenti*, and handle weighty matters. They are for life, and are part *Spaniards* and part *Italians*; for lesser causes, both criminal and civil, are divers judges.

The magistrates are five noblemen, and one chosen by the people, who are consulted withal, by the vice-roy, before any imposition be laid on the citizens or inhabitants of the kingdom. One nobleman out of a *Seggio*, as above.

I

The *Castellano* of S. Elmo acknowledges none but the king his superior. Three thousand *Spaniards* in the fortresses of the kingdom, and one thousand without, in several quarters under the *Maestro di Campo Span*.

English merchants here; Mr. Benjamin Child; two of the Chambers, brothers; Mr. Thelwell, Mr. Bayam, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Footte, (nephew to him at Ligorne) Mr. Joseph Kent.

At Naples they have a long spring, and warm winter.

*Ver ubi longum, tepidasq; præbet  
Jupiter Brumas.* Horat. l. 2. Od. 6.

Wednesday April 27. Having the opportunity of the same Dutch ship that brought us from Ligorne, Mr. Ray and myself took bolletins or bills of health for Messina, which were after this form:

## Gratis.

*Parte da questa inclyta è fedelissima Citta di Napoli, Sano è libero d'ogni sospetto di health. mal contagioso per gratia di Nostro Sign. iddio, della sua madre santissima concetta senza peccato Originale di santo Gennaro, è d'altri santi suoi Protettori, l'infra scritto per andare al sotto scritto luogo: perciò dunque capiterà, si potrà con esso conversare, e contrattare dandoli libera è sicura pratica, &c. in fede, &c. Datum Neapoli in Tribunali sancti Laurentii die 7 mensis Maii, Anno 1664. Filippo Skippon d'Ingleterra d'anni 22 incirco, giusta statura, Capelli Castagni.*

P. Messina.

We left our fellow travellers, Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Bacon ashore, who intended for Rome, &c. In the afternoon we imbarc'd in the S. Gertruda, the Dutch vessel, and about midnight we set sail.

Thursday, April 28. We sailed between Capo d'Amalfi and the island Capri, which is a large island, having a bishop's see in it; here are taken great numbers of quails that are sold at Naples. We had good gales and a rough sea this day. At night we had, for some hours, a storm, with thunder and lightning; but the next morning, Friday, April 29, we had fairer weather, which continued all night.

Saturday, April 30. We had a strong gale of wind, which brought us this night to Messina. This day we passed in sight of the island of Stromboli, where we observed the smoak arising out of a burning mountain;



tain; we had also on the right hand of us *Lipari, Felicur*, and other islands.

*Lipari* affords good raisins, and hath a bishoprick in it.

Sicily.

Before we entered the straight between *Calabria* and *Sicily*, or the *Faro di Messina*, (by our seamen called *The Vale of Messina*) a pilot came to us in a felucca, and demanded fifteen crowns, but took ten pieces of eight, to guide the ship into the port of *Messina*, the entrance being dangerous, by reason of the stroom or current here, which sometimes shipwrecks vessels, either on *Scylla*, the rocks of *Calabria*, or *Charybdis*, the sands of *Sicily*. Two months before an *English* ship call'd the *St. George* was run ashore on the sand for want of a pilot. At night we got into the haven, but had no pratique till next morning,

Sunday, May 1. When a felucca with officers came and inquired the ship's lading, &c. and told the number of mariners and passengers, and took our bills of health, and soon after they gave us pratique. *Dutch* merchants came then aboard, and five of the ship's guns were fired to salute the town.

We made our stay here before we went for *Malta*, till 5 May; and after our return stay'd from 22 May till 6 June, and inform'd ourselves of these particulars.

The statue of Don Juan of Austria.

Under the brass statue of Don John of Austria, near the vice-roy's palace, are these inscriptions,

*Philippus Hisp. et Sicil. Rex invictus juxta ac Catholicus cum S. Pio V. Pont. Max. S. Q. Veneto in Solum Turcarum Prin. Orien. Tyr. Christ. Nominis hostem immansiss. fœdus componit.*

*Joannes Austrius Caroli V. semper Aug. Fil. Phil. Regis Fr. totius Classis imp. summa omnium consensione declaratur, is in hoc portu Mamer. CCVII. longarum Navium VI. Q. Majorum totius fœderis classe coacta ad XVI. Cal. Oct. è freto solvit. ad Echinadas ins. hostium Tur. naves lon. CCXC. animo invicto Non. Octob. aggreditur. inaudita celeritate incredibili Virtute CXXX. cepit. XX. partim flammis absunit, partim mergit, reliquæ Vix Evadere potuerunt. hostium ad XVM. cedit; totidem Capit. Christ. Captivorum ad XVM. in libertatem asserit, et metu quem hostibus immisit, Christo semper Auspice Remp. Christ. liberavit. An. MDLXXI.*

*Messanam IIII. Non. Nov. Victor reverit. ingentiq; omnium lætitia triumphans Excipitur, ad gloriam ergo et æternit. nominis Phil. Regis tantæq. Victoriæ*

*memoriam sempit. Joanni Austrio. Fr. B. SKIPPON. M. Fortiss. Fœliciss. Q. Principi S. H. Æ.*

*S. P. Q. Messan. P.*

*Patribus Conscriptis*

*Christophero Piscio. Jo. Francisco Balsamo. Don Gaspare Joenio Antonio Aciarello. Don Thoma Marchetto. Francisco Rbegitano MDLXXII.*

These verses are under the armado,

*Gesta fidem superant, Zancle, ne longa Vestustas.*

*Deleat, hæc vultus finxit in ære tuos.*

Under the picture of *Zancle*, or *Messina*, carved in brass,

*Hostem boris binis superas, datur ære Colossus*

*Nunc eat et factis obstrepat invidia.*

Under the picture of the battle,

*Jam satis ostensum est quo sis Genitore Creatus*

*Africa regna Parens, ipse Asiana domas.*

*Non satis unus erat Victo tanto hoste triumphus*

*Esse triumphator semper in ære potes.*

*Tbuanus* l. 50, pag. 747, says;

*Christiana classis constabat CCV. Navibus; ac VI. majoris formæ.*

*Turcica, CCLX. constabat; perierunt ex Turcis 25000; capti 3500.*

*Ex Christianis XV. triremes deletæ sunt, quarum X. Venetæ fuerunt. de Christianis ad XCIC. ceciderunt. See also Paruta Hist. di Cypro.*

English merchants here, Mr. Nich. Mead, English Mr. Laurence Trelle a R. C. Mr. Martin merchants. Wilkinson, Mr. Jonathan Parker, and Mr. Morgan.

A Jesuits college, where the novices live, A jesuits is a pleasant building. They have three college. colleges more, and were building another. It is reported, the citizens have some controversy with them, because they send away the natives, and maintain strangers. Sometimes the *Messanese* threaten to banish them.

Near this novitiatory is a fortification, over the gate whereof is written, *E Forti Dulcedo*, and over another, under *Jupiter's* eagle and thunder-bolt, *Hostem repellas longius.*

We saw an engine for silk like that at *Bononia* and *Vicenza*; only this was moved by a man that walked round within the engine.

The



SKIPPON.

The present vice-roy's name is *Francisco Gaetano Ducq de Sarmouetti*; his palace is large and handsome, having a prospect upon the key.

The haven.

The ancients called this city *Zancle*, i. e. *A Scythe*, to which is resembled the long neck of land that hooks in the haven, which is very secure, and deep enough for ships of six hundred tons to ride in, and unlade at the very key side. At the further point of the promontory, or neck of land, is a large and strong fort called *Salvadore*, with a lanthorn on the top of it. About the middle of the neck is the *Carmelites* convent, and about the beginning of it is a square wooden building called the *Lazaretto*; the *Messanese* would have made it of stone, but the *Spaniards* would not suffer it, for fear that it might have been, upon occasion, turn'd into a fort.

The key is very broad, where the coaches of noblemen make the corso; the front of houses, upon the key, are adorned with fair balconies, stately built and uniform. Here lie always the four gallies, tartano's and felucca's. Upon the key a great many gypsies have little fires of charcoal, which are blown either by their wives or children, and the men work smith's work.

There are no gates to the city walls. Here are great *borghi* or suburbs.

*Messina* is situated under high mountains, and runs out in length by the haven's side. It is indifferently built (except the key-side) and the streets are nastily kept.

Customs, &amp;c.

The vice-roy of *Sicily* is chosen by the king of *Spain* every three years, and he usually stays eighteen months here, and eighteen months at *Palermo*; which two cities have great emulation, each pretending to be head or metropolis of the kingdom; and the cities in *Sicily* divide themselves into their parties; *Catania*, &c. for *Palermo*; *Syracusa*, *Trapanum*, &c. for *Messina*. In the tumults at *Palermo*, 1648, the *Messanese* continued faithful to the king of *Spain*. The *Palermitani* would have made the prince of *Botero* king, whose family is still banished from coming to either of these cities, without leave first from the vice-roy.

The king of *Spain* here calls himself prince in all spiritual causes, and there lie appeals from the bishops to a judge called *Monarchiæ Spiritualis judex*, or *Inquisitor*; and in petitions he is stiled *Beatissime Pater*. The kings of *Sicily* say they are born *Legati à Latere*, and have power to punish all clergymen.

*Baronius* in his 11th tome impugns this right; and therefore that book is severely prohibited in this and the *Neapolitan* kingdom.

The *Messanese* are counted uncleanly, proud, and ill-conditioned towards strangers, but the *Palermitani*, they say, are of a contrary temper.

The gentries coaches, in *Messina*, most of them drawn by mules, and when they drive with four they have a postilion.

*Banditi*, and other malefactors, escape hither out of *Calabria*, and those of *Sicily* escape thither, where the vice-roy of *Naples* hath his jurisdiction. The inhabitants, when they walk a mile or two out of their towns, carry long guns with them, for defence against them. Some years since a gentleman was taken out of the streets of *Messina* by the *Banditi*, in the evening, and while we were gone for *Malta*, another *Messanese* gentleman, travelling between *Messina* and *Malazzo*, was taken by them; but both were ransomed.

None are permitted to carry pistols in *Sicily*, under a great penalty, except those of the *Santo Officio*.

Great quantities of silk are made at *Messina* and *Reggio* in *Calabria*; therefore many mulberry-trees are planted, and the leaves sold to feed the silk-worms, which they call *Cavalieri*.

Any stranger may bring into *Messina* what he pleases, without trouble of searching, but going out, the *Guardiani* or searchers examine him; they attend upon the *Marina*, or the sea-shore, and observe what goes out of the port. None are suffered to carry away above ten scudi, like our *English* custom forbidding the transport of above five pounds sterling.

The killing of calves is prohibited in *Sicily*.

No youths (*imberbes juvenes*) can travel here without a pass.

*Messina* air is counted good for sore legs and bad for the head-ach, &c. *Reggio* is esteemed good for the head.

The senate-house at *Messina* is an indifferent building. In the piazza before it is a fair fountain. When any decree is published, a trumpet sounds immediately after, as we also observed at *Catania* and *Syracusa*.

The *Messanese* pretend great privileges from *Charles V.* and if the people are displeased with the vice-roy, the *Jurati* intimate as much to him, and, they say, he then departs from the city; else a great bell is rung, and all are in a sudden tumult.

The government of this city, see in my collection of governments, and in *Mr. Ray*. All the monies of *Sicily* are coined in the *Zecco* or mint of *Messina*.

Provi-



Provisions are sold at a reasonable rate, tho' the markets are not well serv'd.

The Spaniards have these forts. 1. *Castello del Salvatore*, on the very point of the neck of land at the haven's mouth; it is upon a rock, and the sea deep enough for a good frigate to convey men in by the boltsprit. 2. *Ca. Matagrifoni*. 3. *Gonzaga*. 4. *Castelazzo*. These three last are situated upon hills, and the second and third without the city walls.

The *Messanese*, besides their walls, have also their forts. 1. *S. Giorgio*. 2. *S. Vincentio*. 3. *S. Giovanni*, &c. See the map of *Messina*.

Many *Sbirri*, or such as belong to the *justitia*, walk up and down the streets every day, with a long gun on their shoulders, a great horn of powder, and a large bag of shot by their sides; they wear a long dagger behind them, and tie their hair up behind their ears. They have bailiffs here, that are known by their long wands.

The *French* trade much hither.

The vulgar *Messanese*, at the first accosting a person, say *Salute*.

They speak here, and all over *Scicily* and the kingdom of *Naples*, a very corrupt *Italian*.

In *Calabria* and *Sicily* they make great store of cheese, which is very hard and white; but the better sort is also hard, of various shapes, and made of *Bufalo's* milk, but called *Caseo di Cavallo*.

In *Sicily* and *Malta* they eat great store of chichelings raw.

*Sicilian* horses are counted good. *Sicily*, according to *Cluverius*, is 600 miles in circuit.

Measures.

Measures used in *Sicily*; four *Mundelle* equal to one *Tumulo*, 16 *Tumuli* equal to one *Salma*, and one *Salma* of corn (wheat) is worth now 24 *Tarè*. *Manganello* equal to 12 pounds.

Good corn at *Catania* and *Trapano*. Coral at *Trapano*.

Salt at *Marsala*. *Messina* silk. *Syracusa* and *Augusta* wine.

At a mountain called *Castellum S. Johannis* are salt-stones; it is near *Enna*.

We were told, that at *Trapanum* is a famous statue of the virgin *Mary*.

The king of *Spain* hath one million of ducats yearly revenue in *Sicily*, besides donatives, says *Brietius*.

At *Palermo* are two long streets, and they cross one another; the palace, fountain and theatre, are remarkable there.

When the *Sicilian* vespers were, *Sperlinga*, a city on a hill, in the middle of the island, did not consent to the plot against the *French*, but were favourable to them; whence this verse,

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*Quod Siculis placuit sola Sperlinga negavit.*

Italicè. *Quel c'ha Sicilia piacq;  
Sola Sperlinga spiacq;*

See *Buonfiglio* and *Fazellio* of *Sicily*.

About May 22. A great festival began at *Messina*, to the *Madonna della sacra lettera*; the original letter they say is lost, but they pretend to have a true copy, which runs thus,

*Maria Virgo Joachim Filia Dei humillima, Christi Jesu crucifixi mater ex tribu Juda, stirpe David, Messanensibus omnibus salutem, et Dei Patris omnipotentis benedictionem. Vos omnes fide magna, Legatos ac Nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos misisse constat, Filium nostrum Dei genitum Deum et Hominem esse fatemini, et in cælum post suam resurrectionem ascendisse, Pauli Apostoli electi prædicatione mediante viam veritatis agnoscentes; ob quod vos et ipsam civitatem benedicimus cujus perpetuam Protectricem nos esse volumus Anno Filii nostri XLII. Ind. 1. III. Nonas Junii. Luna xxvii. Feria V. ex Hierosolymis. Maria Virgo, quæ supra hoc Chirographum approbavit.*

The Legend of the V. Mary's letter to the city of *Messina*.

But *Baronius* in his annals, A. C. S. 25. speaking of the virgin *Mary's* writings, says, 'Fertur ejusdem Dei Genetricis, epistola ad Ignatium reddita ejusdemq; Ignatii una ad ipsam scripta, duæ verò ad Johannem Evangelistam de eadem ipsa loquentes. Sed Hieronymus & alii antiquiores, qui ejusdem Ignatii recensuerunt epistolas, eas non noverunt. Traduntur et aliæ ab ipsa ad alias scriptæ civitates; quas cunctas, cum careant ecclesiæ auctoritate nonnisi in Apocryphorum classem rejiciendas esse, omnes facillè judicabunt.

Question'd by Baronius.

On every door almost was fixed a printed paper, viz.

*Viva l'immacolata Madre di Dio sempre Vergina Maria della sacra lettera, perpetua Protettrice della nobile ed esemplare Città di Messina.*

And upon a festival afterwards of the *Franciscans*, on many places were fixed another printed paper, viz.

*Ad Messanenses ubiq; locorum sacræ epistolæ B. Virg. Festum devotissime recollentes.*

7 T

Sumptus



SKIPPON. *Sumptus, labores, Elemosynæ, generalis populi Communio, Missarum solemnità cæteraq; omnia conspicua opera, quibus ob acceptæ memoriæ epistolæ ardens Messanensium exemplaris pietas B. Virgini grates triumphali magnificentia quotannis rependit, meliora videri si dignissimas ejusdem in manus, animabus fidelium eorum defunctorum largiunda commendentur, ut purgatorii poenis absolutæ in coelestis curia pro dulci Deiparae Chirographo festum lætitudinæ ipsæ etiam celebrent, sicq; utraq; militans ac triumphans Messana, benedictionis obtentæ promissaq; protectionis fructum temporaliter prima expertam, æternaliter altera jam consecuta in tanta solemnitate congaudeat.*

The feast of the V. Mary's letter. The feast of the letter continued for some days and nights.

May 22. Was this procession: Drummers, bastard wenches, or poor girls, veil'd and led by old women to church, where they communicated. Six of these wenches are married every year by the hospital they were maintained in, and have each of them 100 scudi.

May 23. There was a great deal of jollity; the castles and forts fir'd their cannon, a great number of banners, carpets, tapestry, &c. hung out of the houses, and every shopkeeper dress'd up his shop with his wares, making altars and curious representations; but the most splendid and rich, were the goldsmiths and drapers, having before their shops (at this time) gilt and painted rails adorn'd with statues. The streets are crowded day and night with a multitude of spectators. In the night was the most splendid shew, the shops having tapers and candles good store, and paper lanterns hung from most windows; upon the windows and balconies, lamps stood very thick; so that the whole city seem'd to be of a flame in the night, which we observed some miles distance off at sea when we came from Catania. May 21. The eve of the feast, arriving at Messina at three hours of the night; these fire-works made then a very great reflection in the air, which was discern'd afar off. On one of the banners was written *Magna fides*. The gentry and ladies in coaches rode the *Corso* or tour in the chief street. In a goldsmith's shop were two or three figures covered over with chequins.

May 23. All day and night the same jollity continued, and in the morning was another procession; after the drummers went several men and boys with baskets full of bread, rice, &c. for the prisoners.

The cheesemongers and victuallers had large booths covered with boughs before their shops, and in these booths, cheeses and pieces of bacon, &c. hung very thick. All this festival 500 sbirri kept guard in several places of the city.

May 24. Was the great feast-day solemniz'd with the same jollity, which was much disturb'd after dinner by great rain and thunder, and at night the same bad weather disordered the procession of all the religious orders, who went two and two with lighted torches in their hands, every order having its cross, banners, and a relick carried on mens shoulders; and in this procession the copy of the V. Mary's letter was carry'd. They came to the domo (a fair church) which was gaudily dress'd up with gilt hangings, pictures, &c. and as they began to enter the domo, a stately fire-work (representing wheels, &c.) of a great height, began to play. In the church, at the high altar, six mired persons shew'd the host to the people, and then they all gave a great shout. Nigh the viceroy's palace was another fire-work, and in the great street were erected several arches with inscriptions, pictures, &c. All this night the thunder and rain continued, and the tempest lasted till next morning.

The *Bancho*, or exchange, is an open place (part of which is built) like that at Genoa, but not so big, where is this inscription,

D. O. M.

*Philippo IV. Regum potentissimo. Negotiatorum usui ac dignitati, quorum etiam frequentia semper urbs hæc inclita fuit, veteris fori elegantiam addita Basilica spatiis, prospectu, opere auxit amplificavitq; Senatus Mamertinus. D. Jacobus Campulo Baro Bonvicini. Sebastianus de Marinis. D. Franciscus Spatafora. Joan. Petrus Arena. D. Casar Pischi. Antonius Angioia, 1627.*

Nigh the exchange, on the key-side, is a fair statue of Neptune.

We visited Dr. Jo. Petrus Corvinus, nephew to Dr. Petrus Castellus Romanus the famous physician, who led us thro' a subterraneous passage from his house to the city ditch; which being dry, is allowed by the *Messanese* for a physick garden; it is of good length and breadth. Castellus was the first botanick professor here; he divided the garden into twelve quarters, called by the apostles names. Under one of the city bridges is a school where botanick lectures are read, and under another bridge is a room where skeletons of animals are preserv'd. Corvinus



*vinus* shew'd us his study left him by his uncle, who in two quarto volumes describ'd in painting and writing, several insects, which *Corvinus* confessed himself not able to be at the charge of printing.

The *Studio* or schools, is an unfinished building frequented by few students. Over the gate is written,

D. O. M.

*Philippo III. Rege invictissimo. Messana*  
*Protometropolis ingeniorum ferax ac vetus*  
*artium bonarum parens, ne quod ad litera-*  
*ria reip. splendorem et commodum desidere-*  
*tur Athenaeum erexit. Senatoribus juratis,*  
*Philippo Cigala. Marcello Cirino. D.*  
*Pietro Saccana. Joanne Pellegrino. D.*  
*Mauritio Porcio. Jo. Baptista Celio.*  
*Anno MDCCIII.*

Within, over an entrance to a pair of stairs, &c.

D. O. M.

*Messana.*

S. P. Q. R. *Imperatorum Regumq; de-*  
*creto Urbs Nobilis et Regni Caput pub-*  
*licum scientiarum Gymnasium solis clas-*  
*sium scholis destinatum majore schola-*  
*sticorum frequentia confluenta ad com-*  
*modiorem disputationum usum magni-*  
*ficus gradibus aulaq; peraugusta augere*  
*voluit.*

*Senatoribus. D. Marcello Cirino Barone*  
*Santi Basilii, Equite Sancti Jacobi. D.*  
*Nicolao Maria Paparda. Caesare Piscii.*  
*Carolo Vesalli. D. Placidio Marullo.*  
*Lucio Pellegrino. MDCXXX.*

*Placidius Reina*, a *Bolognese*, is chief professor, and none but a stranger can be in that place.

The hospital is fair and large; over the entrance of it is written, *Hic fides operatur per charitatem.*

Another hospital where poor girls are maintained till day of marriage, &c. and have then 100 scudi given them.

One afternoon, while we were at *Messina*, came into port two *Malta* gallies, hung full of colours, flags, banners, &c. upon the masts, sails, &c. which made a very fair shew; which gallies received pratique, and then they gave four guns, answered by *Ca. Salvatore* with three; then gave the viceroy four, who answered also with three. At last the gallies of *Sicily* were saluted with four, who returned their welcome with three shot. They came for money, which they had of their receiver, who collects all their revenues in this island.

The knights of *Malta* have a church at *SKIPPON. Messina*, called the *Priorato* of *S. John*, where the priests that attend wear a white cross on their left shoulder.

On *Corpus Christi* day was a great procession, and we took notice of one order of friars habited in white, without shoes or stockings, having only sandals on. They are of *St. Carlo Borromeo's* order.

In the senate-house, we observ'd in the hall a great many pictures explain'd by their inscriptions, viz. *Digito scribebat in terra*, *Joan. vi.* *Reddidit Chirographum suum*, *Tob. ix.* *Scriptis universis populis*, *Dan. vi.* *Mittam literas ad regem Israel*, *Reg. iv.* &c. where the words *Literæ* and *scribo*, &c. are only mentioned; all referring to the *V. Mary's* pretended letter to this city.

Here are preserv'd three old figures. 1. *Scipio Africanus.* 2. *Annibal Barchinus.* 3. *M. T. Cicero.* Over a door is written, *Gramerci à Messina.*

Under a picture of *Messina* with her flourishes, is inscrib'd,

S. P. Q. R. *decreto. Devicto Hierone*  
*statuit me Siciliae caput, titulo nobili-*  
*tatis extollit et fungi potestate Romana,*  
*deinde post acceptas à sanctissima Dei*  
*Genetrice literas sub ejus dulcissima tu-*  
*tela ita florui, ut regum animi cælitus*  
*propulsi principem me adhuc in toto reg-*  
*no confirmarint hisq; summis dignitati-*  
*bus quas hic vides expressas me exorna-*  
*runt.*

Over her head is written, *Regni Caput.*

May 26. We hired a boat with three men and a boy, and with a good wind soon arriv'd at *Reggio in Calabria*, twelve miles from *Messina*. It is a bishop's see, but seems to be a poor place, and is meanly built; it calls itself *Città fedele*. Towards the sea-side it is well fortified with walls, &c. Without the walls are large gardens full of fruit trees. Great quantity of silk is made here, which they sell at *Messina*. The king of *Spain* and the priests have their share in the silk.

Here they make pretty straw-boxes. In the gardens we saw pots they preserve grapes in all winter, which have large bellies with narrow mouths, and almost half one of the sides is to be open'd for the putting in of the bunches; after that it is shut up close. We saw the *Hirundo Piscis* here. *Monte Aspero* not far from hence, noted for simples or rare plants. At six miles off is *S. Agatha*, a strong city in the mountains. A little distance without the walls is a chapel, and over the door of it is written,

*Christus*



SKIPPOX.

*Christus nobiscum stat**Petrus Apostolus, et Paulus Doctor Gentium, ipsi nos docuerunt legem tuam, Domine.*

Within the chapel, behind the tabernacle, is preserv'd within a glass, as a relique, a piece of the pillar which they say shin'd when *S. Paul* preach'd here; it was broken by the *Turks* when they took this place, and this piece was kept at *Messina*, till they brought it hither; the *Jesuits* would have carry'd it to their college, but many men could not then move it; but resolving to place it in this chapel, one man's strength was sufficient. This inscription on the wall concerning it.

A Legend.

D. O. M.

*Philippo IIII. Hispaniarum Rege invictissimo. D. Innico Velez de Guevara et Tassis, Comite de Ognate et Villa Mediana in regno prorege. D. Sebastiano de Elizondo Rbegii belli pacisq; præfeto.*

*Christophorus Spano. Paulus Baronus ex Marco et Franciscus Derii. Rbegii Syndici.*

*Eum qui per Coruscans Columnæ lumen nobis, lumen fidei revelavit, jure sub hoc chrystallorum velamine una cum columna veneramur, Anno Domini MDCLIII.*

We return'd at night (having the wind favourable) to *Messina*.

May 28. We hired a boat, and went *terra terra* to the tower or *Pharos* of *Charybdæis* (nigh the *Pharos* are lakes) by reason the current was against us; and then we cross'd over to *Calabria*, and went close to a rocky shore, till we came to *Scylla*, now called *Capo dello Sciglio*, where, on the point of a rock, is seated a strong castle, and behind that is a large village, eighteen miles from *Messina*. Here we stay'd about two hours, but could not see any of the sword-fish (*Pesce spada*) taken, but saw the fishing boats, and were informed of the manner of fishing. Six men sometimes belong to a boat, which hath a little mast in the middle, and above half way up the mast is a round board, whereon one of the crew stands observing the motion and cries of a guardiano or fellow's hand and voice, who watches upon a tower, or high rock, on the shore, where the fish disturb the water; and upon his notice, then the boatmen row and turn the boat about very swiftly, and the man upon the mast perceiving the fish near, comes down, and takes a lance or

harping iron, which hath a long rope at one end, and that he throws at the fish, which being struck plays about till it is faint, and then they take it up into the boat.

This fish is very large and long, of a darkish colour on the back, having a long snout like a broad two-edged sword, and sharp at the point. The under jaw runs out but a little length. It has no teeth. About the middle of the back is a great fin, and not far from the tail is a small fin. A pair of fins behind the gills, and a pair behind the vent. The tail is forked, and near it are two callous substances like two small fins. The meat of this fish is much esteem'd in those parts, the flesh of it being sold for 36 grani *per rotam*, and at *Messina* for 50 grani. All the flesh is very firm, but the best of it is under the belly. We saw several of these fishes they had taken, and observ'd three priests fishing for them.

In the afternoon we returned to *Messina*, having the current or stream against us, therefore kept close to the *Calabrian* shore, then cross'd over to *Sicily*, where we went *ribba, ribba*, or *terra, terra*, i. e. by the shore, till we came to *Messina*. They told us there are eight strong currents they call *Reme*, contrary to one another, four always *descendente*, and four *montante*.

Between the *Pharos* and *Messina* is a round chapel with a portico about it, under a cliff, and called *Madonna dello Grotto*; then we pass'd by a handsome pleasure-house of a nobleman, which is called *Paradiso*. After that we came by a monastery, where some live according to the rules of *S. Basil* the *Greek* father; a little further we pass'd by a fair convent of the *Franciscans di Paolo*. Nigh it is a large village. Between that convent and *Messina* are pleasant walks of poplar trees, where the coaches take the evening *fresco*.

At *Messina* we observed many fisher-boats with fire in an iron grate at the stern, which in the night go out to sea, and take great store of *Sardene*, that flock about the light. Needle-fishes taken here at one time of the year, which they say are pursued by the *Porcupisce*, against whom they defend themselves, by gathering in a round body together, and pointing their sharp snouts outwards.

Great variety of rare plants about *Messina* and *Sicily*.

*A Messina assai polce, polvere è putane*, is a proverb.

We

The fishing for *Pesce Spada*.

*Scylla* and *Charybdæis*



We took bills of health for Malta, which were after this form:



*Da questa nobile e Essemplare Città di Messina si parte Filippo Skippon Inglese . . . d'età d'anni 22. statura . . . per esser à Dio piacendo in Malta—perciò dove Capitera se li potrà dare libera prattica, stante che in detta Città per gratia del Signore e della Madre Santissima della lettera nostra Auvocata, e particolare Protettrice non vi e sospetto alcuno di morbo Contagioso. Messina a di 14. Maggio. 1664.*

Gio. Giacomo Hofes.

May 5. We embarked in a felucca with six rowers, and a padrone, who steered; and having a favourable wind, passed in sight of *La Scalera*, a small town on a hill, where is the monastery of *S. Placidius* belonging to the *Benedictines*; *Taormina*; and rowed between *Capo di Molini* and three rocks, called *Li Faragliuni*, antiently *Rupes Cyclopi*; then came into prospect of *Acis*, a small place on a hill, and early in the afternoon arrived at (60 miles distant from *Messina*)

*Catania*, where we took up our lodging this night, provided our own meat, and paid for the dressing, according to the custom of the country. The shore is rocky near this city. I shall take farther notice of this city in another place.

May 6. We took boat, and crossed the gulf of *Catania*; then passed by *Augusta* and *Lisola de li Manghesi*, antiently *Tapus*, a peninsula; about noon arrived at *Syracusa*, above 50 miles from *Catania*. The shore is rocky hereabouts, where we observed beacons with straw, which they fire when the *Turkish* pirates come nigh.

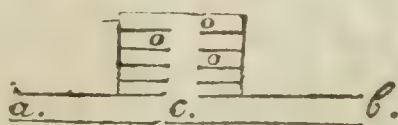
This city is only the insula which was antiently *Ortygia*, having on the east a haven, called *Portus Marmorus* (minor), because the bottom, they say, is paved with stone: and on the west is *Porto Magno*, a haven which *Strabo*, p. 271. says, is 80 *stadia* or furlongs large. The streets are but narrow, and the houses mean. Nigh the cathedral is the bishop's palace and the senate-house, with another fair building before a small piazza. This island is joined to the *terra firma* by one gate, called *Porta Realis*, where are four or five arches remaining of the *Templum Dianæ*. On this side is a double wall; the innermost very strong, and the other

well built: and without the walls on this side is a good counterscarp, and a large ditch of water, having the sides lined with stone; but towards the *Porto Magno* it is not so well fortified. The castle is called *Marietto*, seated on the point of land towards the sea. *Santa Lucia* is protettrice of this city, whose body is carried to *Venice*. The women here and at *Catania*, when they walk abroad, wear long black mantles, that reach to their feet, and cover their head and faces with a long peak. The wine hereabouts is much in esteem, being strong and of a red colour. It is sold here for four grani per quartuccio.

*Syracuse* not well peopled.

Antiently *Syracuse* comprehended 180 *Antiquistadia* or 22 miles and a half, and was divided into four parts, viz. 1. *Acradina*. 2. *Tycha*. 3. *Neapolis*. 4. *Ortygia Insula*, where was the fountain of *Arethusa*. *Epipolæ* was the farther part on the continent, where were quarries of stone, called by *Brietius*, in his geography, *Lapidicina Tyrannorum*, and *Latomie Carcer*.

We were beholden to *Padre Polycarpo* a *Carmelite* monk, (who with our leave came along with us from *Messina*, and was going to *Malta*) and *P. Bernardino* of the same order, who procured a gentleman's coach, and carried us three miles, and shewed us the ruins of old *Syracuse*. We observed a place, called *Auricula Dionysii*, which is a cave resembling the windings in the ear, where, they say, the tyrant had a chamber adjoining and could hear all that was said by those imprisoned here. Nigh this is another cave more lightsome, and supported by pillars cut rudely out of the rock; and just by is a tower upon a slender rock. In another cave they now make salt-petre, and cords. Half a mile from the present town, we came to a church dedicated to *S. Antonio*, where each of us took a lighted candle and entred the *catacumbe* or antient vaults, formed into several streets, having on each side long arched caves full of *loculi* or graves, of the length of men and children; *a. b.* the subterraneous passage or street, *c.* the entrance into the cave, *o. o. o.* the graves cut out of the rock.



In many places we saw round arched rooms shaped like cupola's, which were open on the top. Some think there were covers to every grave. Some



SKIPPON. of these passages are said to reach a great way under ground, and some we observed above ground. Nigh the cave, about *Dionysius's* ear, are the ruins of an amphitheatre, the lower seats whereof are cut out of the rock.

May 7. We entered our felucca, and the padrone sent a *tarò* to the castle; then sometimes sailed, and sometimes rowed, and passed by cape *Massa Ulivieri*, *Razi Canzir*, the islands *Longhina* and *Bindicari*; and in the afternoon we landed at *Capo Passaro*, antiently *Pachynum Promontorium*; which about four or five years ago, they say, was separated from the continent of *Sicily*, and is now a little island, where is a small castle garrisoned by 12 *Spanish* soldiers and a castellano. About 40 miles from *Syracuse* to this place: Where we staid one day and two nights, the weather being not favourable, but were not permitted to lodge in the castle, but in a little chapel, and there lay upon a hard bed (on the floor) that the priest lent us. On the shore, between *Syracuse* and cape *Passaro*, we observed many stone pillars set together at some distance one from another, which have covers of reeds laid over them for the fishermen to lodge under, &c. in fishing-time.

The *Carmelite* fryar, who came with us from *Messina*, was very civil and helpful to us; he seemed to be not very superstitious, when he set our meat and drink down upon the altar-table in the chapel we lodged in; but then he shut the door, and swept all clean before he opened it again.

He was born in the state of *Venice*; and he told us, he was employed by the *Venetians* at *Constantinople* as a spy, and by means of a renegado there did discover some affairs; but at last he was discovered, and forced to retire privately.

He hath travelled *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, *France*, *Spain*, *Turkey*, and *Persia*; and speaks these languages, *French*, *Spanish*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Italian*, *Turkish*, and *Arabick*.

From him we received many informations, viz. That in the college of cardinals, four ought to be monks; but at this time there were but two, viz. one *Jesuit*, and one *Dominican*.

The *Franciscans* general assured the pope of 30,000 *Franciscan* fryars (excluding the *Capuchins*) fighting men.

That there are many orders habited like the *Jesuits*. 1. The *Theatins*, who are distinguished by their longer beards. 2. *Thomastini*. 3. *Barnabini*. 4. Those of *S. Antonio*, who wear a red cross on their left shoulder.

The *Carmelite* fryars are habited in a dark red, and have a *lacinia* of the same stuff hanging behind and before; their head or *cucullus* is of the same; about their middle they wear a leather girdle: when they go abroad they wear a white *cucullus*: they wear no linen shirts, but instead of them linsley-woolsey, which they change twice a week in the summer, and once a week in the winter: at their first institution they wore no shoes and stockens; but afterwards they had liberty to wear them: but *Santa Theresia* of *Spain* reformed them, and obliged them to be discalceate again. By their rules they are not permitted to eat flesh, except when they are sick, or travelling by sea. When they visit any sick person, they must not beg any thing for themselves or convent. If a *Carmelite* travelling comes to a convent of the order, and the prior denies him admittance, he is, *ipso facto*, deprived of his place. The travelling monk hath his feet usually washed by the prior presently upon his arrival, and his garments, if he will, changed, and is treated with great respect for four or five days like a stranger. If a monk falls sick, he is then under the care of the *infirmarius*, and the prior hath nothing to do with him till he recovers: the prior is to watch with him every night the first hour, if the provincial be not in the convent; then the rest take their turns to watch, two and two at a time.

The prior is chosen by the chapter once every three years by major voice.

The generals of this order are two, and continue three years: one for *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. the other for *Spain*, having six provinces under him. In topographical maps of their convents, *Spain* is omitted, but in the rest of *Europe* are about 200 convents. At mount *Carmel* there is one; five in the *East-Indies*: that at *Goa* is a stately cloister. Four in *Persia*; five in *Syria* and *Palestina*; and six in the *West-Indies*. Nigh *Lyons* they have 33 *Curæ*, and great privileges in a jurisdiction of theirs, where they have a castle, and send a secular judge to condemn malefactors to death.

If a monk of this order lies with a woman, he is prohibited saying of mass for three or four years, and he hath no suffrage; he is declared infamous, and obliged to chastise himself publickly once a week. If he afterwards repents, and lives honestly, he is restored to his voice and other privileges, but seldom or never elected into any place of note. If again he commits the same fault, his penance is double, and he is enjoined to fast with bread and water: If he be guilty a third time,



time, a greater penance is required, and he is immediately expelled the order. They wear a wooden cross on their left breast, thus shaped .

May 9. We lunched out with our felucca in the morning, and ventured rashly 30 miles to sea; but having contrary winds, and rough waves, we were forced back to the first shore, (we endeavoured to land at *Puzzalu*, but it was dangerous, by reason the waves broke violently against the *spiaggio* or rocky shore) and came to a promontory, called *Punta di Circiola*, (where we staid till May 12.) where is a little haven for boats, and always a watchman or *guardiano*, who has a horse ready to ride up into the country, and give notice of any *Turks* upon the coast.

We lodged in his small hut, consisting of a low stone wall, and a cover of boughs of trees; and bought wine and some provisions, which, with a tortoise we took at sea, made good cheer.

The catching of sea tortoises. This tortoise was large, and eat pretty well roasted and boiled, the younger the better; the liver tasted well, and the blood of it boiled in the throat is good meat, and eats as well as a blood pudding. We took several in our return from *Malta*; some as they lay sleeping, or very still upon the superficies of the sea, were taken up by the boatmen, who brought the boat silently near 'em; others they come nigh to with their boat, and the tortoise being disturbed, a mariner being stripped, leaped into the sea and dived after it, and brought it up with the belly upwards, having more strength so to command the struggling of the tortoise. Upon most of the tortoises we saw little crabs sticking to them; and on one stuck a great bunch of bernacle-shells, which were large, and full of a purplish water; over the flesh within was a white membrane; and in some we discerned plainly a milt or spawn, and they moved their *cirri* or feathered parts in and out as they pleased.

Bernacle-shells.

Many rare plants here, and *echini spatagi*, with other shells.

Malta.

May 12. At break of day, rewarding the watchman, and the boatmen, giving him a *tarè*, we set forth, and had calm weather, so that we rowed almost all the way; and about half way over, came into sight of *Gozzo*, an island near *Malta*; and in about six or seven hours time safely crossed this canal of about 60 miles, and safely arrived at *Malta*, having most part of the way mount *Ætna* and the *Sicilian* shore in view. At our first appearance, a flag was set up on the castle wall, (when ships and other vessels are in sight, they also set up signs); and when

we were entering the port, a centinel called *Skippon* to us, and asked, What news? Whence we came? &c. Then a felucca met us, with an officer of the *Sanità*, who inquired, What news? &c. and took our bolletins of health, and gave us pratique. Early in the afternoon we landed, and observed upon the shore many people gazing upon us. During our stay here, we took notice of these particulars.

One morning we saw the grand master coming from mass; many knights went before him: his name is *Nicholas Cottoner*, of *Majorca*, whose brother was his immediate predecessor; this gentleman is antient, and of mean stature; his habit was a gown with sleeves somewhat like our lawyers, whereon a cross upon the left shoulder, and on his breast he wore another cross; after him followed his counsellors and pages. It being the custom for strangers to give him a visit, we went to his palace, and passed thro' a hall, where were pictures of all the famous sea-fights the *Maltese* knights have been masters in: at the upper end was a canopy and chair of state. Then we came thro' two or three rooms to the great master, who spoke very kindly to us.

*Brietius* says, the revenue of the order is 300,000 aurei, besides what they get from the *Turks*: and the great master hath 60,000 aurei *per annum*.

The government of *Malta*, and of the *Città Notabile* or *Vecchia*, see in Mr. Ray and my collection of governments.

The knights being divided into several Nations, every nation hath its *albergo* or hall, where they dine and sup. We went to that belonging to the *French*; which is a fair building, having a large hall, buttery, &c. There is an albergo designed for the *English*, but at present nothing besides a void space of ground walled in; which the order will not suffer should be put to any use: yet, hoping that the *English* nation may turn *Roman Catholics*, and have occasion for it, they chuse a prior of *England*: at this time *Cavaliere Mellino* is prior. Every nation hath its superior, one of the antientest amongst them, who wears a cross upon his breast, and another upon his left shoulder, and sits at the upper end. These superiors are the *gran croce*, and of the great master's council. The *English* are now made incapable of having a great master of their nation. He is attended by 24 pages, who must be nobly born; and when they are grown men, they are admitted into the order. The number of knights amounts to some thousands, but most are absent, being either in the galleys



SKIPPON. leys or with their friends in their own country. About 800 were now residing in Malta.

Such as are taken into the order, must prove their noble descent for four generations, and must swear before the *gran croce* and great master, and vow chastity, poverty and obedience. None can wear the cross till they have been abroad in service three years; but they are usually dispensed with after a year. They wear a cross on their left shoulder, and a silver cross hangs at their breasts, thus



shaped; but the cross they have in their banners is like the English cross, and is quartered with the great master's arms. The knights take place according to their seniority. They lodge, where they please, in the city.

They were first called *Hospitalieri*, from an hospital dedicated to S. John Baptist at Hierusalem. Then they were called Knights of Rhodes; which island they were in possession of from 1308 till 1522, when they were beaten out by Soliman the Grand Turk. And A. D. 1530, they had Malta given them; Clement VII. being pope, who was a knight of this order, and Charles V. emperor.

They take this oath; which I shall transcribe out of Bosius his history *Della S. Religione di S. Gio. Gierosolimitano*, pag. 63.

*Io N. faccio Voto, e prometto à Dio Omnipotente, alla Beata Maria Sempre Vergine Madre di Dio, & à S. Giovanni Battista d'osservare perpetuamente con l'ajuto di Dio, Vera Ubidenza à qualunque Superiore, che mi sarà dato di Dio, e dalla nostra religione; e di più, vivere senza proprio, e d'osservare Castità.*

About the porto are these three cities.

1. Città Valetta. 2. Città Vittoriosa. 3. Città senglea.

La Città Valetta.

La Città Valetta is not much above 100 years old, being begun 1566. It is built upon part of a tongue of land, between the Marfa or chief port, and Marfa Mascietto (where ships make their quarantine) and in the midst of it is an island, where the lazaretto is built: it seems almost impregnable, having very strong fortifications round, and a steep rocky cliff to the N. W. and S. E. and at the point of land a strong castle, called Ca. S. Elmo. Two of the walls bulwarks have large portici (to walk in) built upon them; and on one is a pretty garden and fountain; and near the water-gate is a handsome garden with fountains in the ditch. Great

store of cannon are ready planted on the platforms.

This place was formerly a void space of ground, and in Arabick was called, *Scebe Ras*; and where Ca. S. Elmo is, *La Guardia*. This city is 1500 rod (*canne*) long, and 380 broad. The streets, not yet paved, are eight in length, and there are 12 cross streets, all running in strait lines, but the rock they are built on, makes them uneven, there being many ascents and descents, yet the two chief streets are indifferently even; in one of which chief merchants and citizens live; and in the other, nigh the palace, many knights dwell. Abela, in his description of Malta or *Malta Illustrata*, says, There are 1891 houses, and 10,744 inhabitants. The houses are generally low built, and all flat roofed, the roofs have a firm plaster, whereon they sleep in the summer nights in the open air without prejudice, the air being very clear; and tho' it is the most southern part of christendom, yet here is usually a fresh and gentle breath of wind that tempers the heat; people living to a good age in this place. The market-place is neat, having a piazza rounded with a portico full of stalls, all built of stone. Great store of provision here every day of all sorts, and for a reasonable rate, though most of it is brought out of Sicily; whence they bring beef, veal, lamb, wine, snow from *Ætna*, &c. (Snow is sold for one *tarè per rotam*.) They had pretty store of strawberries at this time, and little fresh cheeses like curds; good little cheeses made of sheeps milk. It is a saying here, *La gallina in sacco, & lo formagio in gabia*; i. e. Hens in sacks, and cheeses in coops or cages: For the country people bring those commodities so to market.

Towards the land or S. W. is a strong and high wall, a deep ditch cut into the rock; as are also the bulwarks, and half moons, having deep ditches; and without them, a curious breast-work or counterescarp. Over the gate here is inscribed,

D. O. M.

*Fr. Jo. de Valetta sacræ domus Hosp. Hierosol. M. Magister periculorum anno superiore à suis militibus populoq; Melitæo in obsidione Turcica perpefforum memor de condenda Urbe nova, eaq; mœniis, arcibus & propugnaculis ad sustinendam vim omnem, propulsandosq; inimici Turcæ impetus, aut saltem reprimendos, muniendam, inito cum Proceribus Concilio die Jovis xxviii. Martii, MDLXVI. Deum Omnipotentem Deiparamq; Virginem et Numen tutelare D. Johannem Baptistam Divosq; Cæle-*



*ros multa precatus, ut faustum felixq;  
religioni Christianæ fieret, ac Ordini suo,  
quod inceptabat bene cederet, prima Ur-  
bis fundamenta in monte ab incolis Sce-  
berras vocato jecit, eamque de suo nomine  
Vallettum (dato pro Insignibus in parma  
Miniata aurato Leone) appellari Voluit.*

*Fr. Antonius de Paula. M. Mag. invictiss.  
Conditoris tantæq; rei monim. P. C. anno  
ab Urbe fundata LXVIII.*

Two bow-shots beyond this wall, there is another very strong, almost finished cross from one port to the other, where are good bulwarks, a ditch, and a counter-scarp cut all out of the rock. These bulwarks, and those at the city, are made hollow, to blow up, if there be occasion. Between these two walls is a large and void space of ground, which can receive all the inhabitants in the country, if they should be urged to it by an enemy. On one of the farthest bulwarks, the *Capuchins* have a convent and gardens. A bulwark that had gunpowder in it, was blown up by lightning a few years since. In this space is a pell-mell of an elliptick figure. These verses at one end;

*Otia quo pereant, pereantq; cupidinis Artes  
Hæc volis, Equites, area parva datur.  
Ludite vos alacres facit hic ad prælia ludus  
Enervant vires, Alea, Vina, Venus.*

*De mandato Eminent. M. Magistri Fr. Jo.  
Pauli Lascaris Castellani. Fr. Hen. Leonar-  
dus ejus Auditor. F.*

St. John's church. St. John's church is but a small cathedral, not yet finished; the roof whereof was now painting by a knight of the order, who will describe the whole story of that saint. Here are very neat chapels, some richly gilt and painted. The great master hath his seat under a rich canopy on the north side of the altar; and round about are benches with carpets for the *gran croce*. All the priests that officiate here, wear the *Maltese* cross on their cloaks, as the knights do. A rich marble altar on the south side of the high altar. Under the choir is a handsome vault, where the great masters are buried; and there are many effigies of great masters, with epitaphs, viz. to F. Martin de Redin. F. Jo. de Lascaris, &c. One of them we transcribed.

*D. O. M.  
F. Antonio di Paula  
Mag. Militiæ Hieros. Magistro  
Principi gratissimo splendidissimo  
Qui ob egregias animi dotes*

No. 257. Vol. VI.

*Vivens in omnibus sui amorem  
Extinctus desiderium excitavit  
Pacem mirificè coluit et affluentiam  
Ordini*

*Vires Opes  
Addidit auxit.*

*Ampliore munere vallo urbem aggesto  
Cum annum ageret Magisterii XIV.  
Ætatis supra Octuagesimum  
Diuturno cum morbo constanter Constatatur  
Semper se ipso major  
Piissimè ac religiosissimè quievit in Dno.  
V. id. Junii anno sal. MDCXXXIII.*

*F. F. Henricus de Merles Beauchamps et  
D. Martinus de Redin Sac. Cath. mag.  
à consiliis bellicis Tholosæ et Navarræ  
Priores, et Jo. de Bernay Villanova Bal-  
livus Aquilen. Consanguineus Testamen-  
tarii Executores qui Benefactori Mæren-  
tes H. M. F. C. C.*

There is a cloister of noblewomen of this order, who wear the cross on black upon their breasts and left shoulders.

The knights, on some occasions, wear red garments, which reach down to their feet, and have a white cross before, and another behind.

Seven galleys belong to the order, and in each are 500 men.

Several of the knights have leave to set forth ships against the *Turks*; and at this time about 20 were abroad.

We saw two vessels, which were newly brought in, that were taken after two days fight.

The *infirmario* or hospital is a handsome building, where great care is taken of all sick persons, cavalieri, and the inhabitants, none being permitted to lie sick in their houses, except the great master and those of the *gran croce*. Every sick person hath two beds for change, when there is need, and they are served after this manner by the knights who attend in their turns. One morning we saw two slaves bring a bier into the middle of the hospital-room, whereon stood the several dishes of meat, &c. Then a cavaliero read a scrawl, wherein the physician had ordered what every patient should have; and officers are ready to dish it out accordingly in silver plates, which are delivered into the hands of the knights that wait; who immediately carry it to the sick persons beds, which are known by numbers written on the wall. Wounded persons have chambers apart, two and two lie in a room. Every sick person hath a little closet, where he may dress and undress himself. We saw here several pictures describing this story: Three knights of this



SKIPPOON. this order were taken prisoners by the  
 A legend. *Turks*, and brought before the grand  
 signior, who endeavoured to make them,  
 by sending priests to them, renounce the  
 christian religion, but they continued sted-  
 fast. The grand *Turk's* daughter obser-  
 ving them, fell in love with them, and  
 told her father, she would endeavour their  
 conversion; after that, she imparted her  
 affection: but they informed her of their  
 obligation to live chastly, and discoursed  
 about the christian religion, and their  
 order, and promised to shew her the true  
 representation of the virgin *Mary*: so they  
 undertook to carve a piece of wood;  
 but none of them being skilful in that  
 art, they prayed for assistance, and sud-  
 denly appeared the miracle of the virgin  
*Mary's* image exactly shaped like her.  
 When the *Turk's* daughter saw this, she  
 turned christian, and resolved to go with  
 them into *Christendom*, and privately brought  
 them to the sea-side, where they found an  
 empty boat, and launched out in it; and  
 having favourable weather, they were in a  
 short time upon the *French* shore, where  
 they landed, and she placed herself in a  
 nunnery.

Castle  
 St. Elmo. Castle *S. Elmo* is upon the very point  
 of land, having a piazza before it, and  
 under that piazza is a large magazine of  
 corn. (In this city are magazines of oil  
 in stone wells, wood, wine, &c.) We  
 entred the strong outworks of this castle,  
 where the knights are imprisoned for  
 misdemeanors, debts, &c. In the castle it  
 self they are imprisoned for higher offences.  
 Here we went up a tower, which is made  
 within like the tower on the piazza of  
*S. Mark at Venice*; from the top of it  
 we had a large prospect. The soldiers  
 have little rooms for their wives and  
 children.

An *aqueduct* brings water into the  
 new city.

The slaves  
 prison. The slaves prison is a fair square build-  
 ing, cloistered round, where most of the  
 slaves in *Malta* are obliged to lodge every  
 night, and to be there about *Ave Mary*  
 time. They have here several sorts of  
 trades, as barbers, taylors, &c. There  
 are about 2000 that belong to the order;  
 most of which were now abroad in the  
 galleys; and there are about 300 who  
 are servants to private persons. This  
 place (*i. e. Malta*) being an island, and  
 difficult to escape out of, they wear only  
 an iron ring or foot-lock. Those that  
 are servants, lodge in their masters houses,  
 when the galleys are at home; but now,  
 lie a nights in this prison. *Jews*, *Moors*,  
 and *Turks* are made slaves here, and are  
 publickly sold in the market. A stout  
 fellow may be bought (if he be an in-

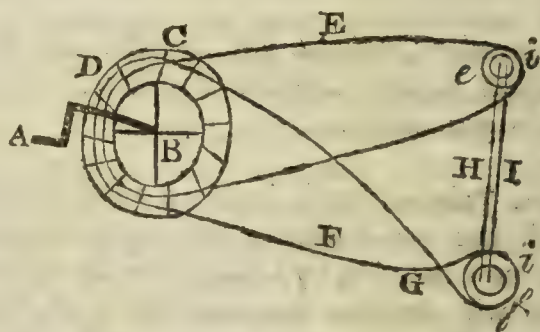
ferior person) for 120 or 160 scudi of  
*Malta*. The *Jews* are distinguished from  
 the rest by a little piece of yellow cloth  
 on their hats or caps, &c. We saw a  
 rich *Jew* who was taken about a year  
 before, who was sold in the market that  
 morning we visited the prison for 400  
 scudi; and supposing himself free, by  
 reason of a passport he had from *Venice*,  
 he struck the merchant that bought him;  
 whereupon he was presently sent hither,  
 his beard and hair shaven off, a great  
 chain clapped on his legs, and bastinadoed  
 with 50 blows.

The *Turks* when they deny a thing,  
 and say nothing, draw their hands under  
 their chins.

In the great master's stable were above  
 50 good horses, and as many mules and  
 asses. He and some of the *gran croce*  
 have coaches.

Mr. *Ray* having a bill for money, the  
 merchant on whom it was drawn, went  
 with him to a notary, and before him de-  
 clared, Mr. *Ray* declared he had received  
 it; and then the notary writ in *Latin* on  
 a paper, and Mr. *Ray* laying his hand  
 upon the paper, signified as much as if  
 he had set his hand to it.

We saw the manner of preparing cot-  
 ton for sale: after it is gathered out of the  
 cod, they separate it thus from the seed,  
 with this engine.



*A* is the handle that turns a wheel *B*, The cot-  
 ton engine. which moving from *C* to *D*, brings the  
 string *E* from *E* to *C*, and makes another  
 string *F* put cross at *G*, turn a little wheel  
 or pulley *i f*, and move from *i* to *f* con-  
 trary to the pulley *i e*, which moves from  
*i* to *E*. *H I* are two irons fixed in those  
 pulleys that lie close enough to draw the  
 cotton through to *H*, but the seed stays  
 behind at *I*. They anoint the irons with  
 oil. After this separation, they strike the  
 cotton with a bow-string, as hatters do  
 when they prepare their wool and hair for  
 hats. They sell cotton here for about  
 50 scudi the *cantare*, which is equal to  
 116 *English* pounds.

In hot weather they seldom work up  
 their cotton, which is usually laid up  
 in magazines under the walls of *Città*  
*Valetta*.



Anise and cummin is mowed about . . . . and the seed is cleansed from the chaff by a sieve. These are sold for seven, eight, or nine scudi the *cantare*. The last year they sold 7000 *cantari*.

The armory.

The armory at the great master's palace we saw by the favour of a commandador, who civilly shewed us a long and high-roofed room, filled with arms for 30,000 men. The arms are kept in good order. We observed a leather cannon, having the arms of *Wignacourt* great master, who defended *Malta* against the *Turks*. We saw also a little room full of arms, and walked to an upper portico of the palace, where were fair and large cages of birds; then came into a hall where are painted the several circumstances of the siege of *Malta*.

Cavalier *Spinola*, a *Genoese*, and secretary of the treasury, has a neat palace, which we saw; it hath handsome rooms, well adorned with pictures, maps, &c.

On the eighth of *September* the *Turks* retired from *Malta*, and ever since the great master on that day holds a sword while the epistle is reading.

The Carmelites cloister.

We crossed over the port to *Città Vittoriosa*, and visited the *Carmelite* monks, who have a little cloister, and many small gardens; in every one of which is a well, and in one a grotto, with a spring of water that makes a little pool. Here *Sig. Alfonso D'esclaus*, consul for the *English* and *Dutch* nations accompanying us, produced a paper written at *Bristol* in *English*, being a certificate under the hands of five merchants, *Tho. Speed*, &c. that two women, quakers, . . . . *Evans* and *Anna Chivers*, some time since prisoners in *Malta*, were safely arrived at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*, *A. D.* 1663. Which persons *Sig. Desclaus* relieved and freed out of the inquisition, where they had been kept three years; and the consul undertaking to send them home, he gave 500 *scudi* bond for their return. Mr. Ray translated the certificate into *Latin*, and we both attested it was faithfully done, before father *Polycarpo* and a German friar of the same order.

Città Vittoriosa.

*Città Vittoriosa*, formerly called *Il Borgo del Castello* (*S. Angelo*) à mare, is large, upon a neck of land that runs into the port; the castle built upon the very point: the streets are narrow: 782 houses, and 3063 inhabitants here. For the defending itself against the *Turks* 1565, it is now called, *The Victorious City*. And over a gate is the inscription following,

D. O. M.

*Sub verè aureo diuq; felici moderamine Seren.*  
*Principis M. M. F. Alofii de Wignacourt.*

*Dum Victam cupiunt Thracas auxere trophæis* SKIPPON.  
*Vittricem nivea me reparante Cruce*  
*Principis Egregii longâ nunc pace fruentem*  
*Manere jura Regunt, mania porta tegunt.*

We crossed over by boat the haven between *La Città Vittoriosa* and *Senglea*, called *glea*. also *L'Isola*, where is the fort of *S. Michael*: 994 houses, 4050 inhabitants here; walls and bulwarks about it: and for defending itself against the *Turks*, hath deserved the title of *La Città Invitta*. A chain is drawn from hence to the *Borgo del Castello*, that the ships and galleys, which lie here, may not go out without leave. Here they repair and build vessels. We rowed then to the further end of the great haven, where is great store of mud, and wild-fowl very many.

Many gardens about these cities.

Hiring each of us an ass for four *tari* an ass, (which beasts stand ready at the gate to be let) we rode out into the country, and observed our asses to have their noses slit for the better fetching of their breath; and when we first went out they carried us very vast without the encouragement of whip or spur, but afterward they grew duller. At four miles distance from the new city we arrived at a village called *Casal Kurmi*, a large place, where *St. George's* church is very neat, and the altars curiously carved and adorned with statues, &c. wrought out of the *Malta* stone. About two miles farther we came to *Casal Sebuch*, where *S. Philip's* church is a pretty building, with neat altars, &c. This is counted the biggest *Casal* in the island, and is called by some, *Milano di Malta*, having about 500 inhabitants in it. All the houses here are low built (as they are in all the villages) and flat roofed, and most of them without windows towards the street and highway. The people live neatly, having orange gardens, &c. We were civilly entertained by one that lives in this place, whose name is *Gioseppe de Mege*. The country, we observed, is most or all of it rocky, with a little surface of earth, which is industriously improved, and parcelled out into closes and small plots, divided by walls of stone. At this time, being *May* 15, we saw them reaping of corn. Store of pigeons in the *Casals*, which none dare shoot.

*Abela* in his *Malta illustrata* says, there are 16,000 *terre lavoraticcie salmate*, half Corn. of which is sown every year, and produces 70,000 or 80,000 *salme* of corn; whereof 40,000 *salme* of barley.

They make also every year of *cimino* Cummin. agro 3000 *cantara*;



SKIPPON. 12,000 cantara, and about 14,000 cantara of cotton; which is sold abroad.

They sell much of their grapes in the market, and therefore make not above 150 (sometimes 300) butts of wine.

The island Gozo produces by estimation, about a third of what Malta produces.

The product of Malta is counted worth 760,000 scudi, and that of Gozo 250,000 scudi.

They suffer no muck or dung of horses, &c. to lie in the highways, but immediately carry it away in baskets, as at Gaunt, &c. in Flanders.

There are about 35 Casals or villages in Malta, and they say about 25,000 fighting men.

Four miles from Sebuch we dined in a cloister of bare-footed Franciscans, at the Borgo or Rabbato of the old city, called Città Notabile, and gave them eight tari of Sicily. A little distance from hence stands a pillar, whereon they say S. Paul preached, and his voice was heard all the island over; and near it is the grotto of St. Paul, but big enough to receive two men, where they dig a white earth, they make a terra sigillata of. Over the grotto or cave is a small chapel, where is kept, as a relique, the hand of S. Publius, and the walls hung with pictures of knights and ladies of this order of Hierosalem, canonized for their sanctity. At the grotto are these two inscriptions.

*Giubelei et gratie Concesse da N. S. Paolo V. in questa Grotta di S. Paolo concede indulg. plen. et remissione di tutti li peccati in perpet. à tutti li fideli che confesse et communic. visiteranno il detto loco Sto. nella festività di S. S. Pietro et Paolo, di S. Luca, della conversione di S. Paolo, di S. Barthol. di S. Cecilia et ogni di giorni 100 di indulg. alli peregrini indulg. plen. perp. il di del natale indulg. plenaria, chi celebra la messa nel di della Commemoratione di morti et per tutta l'ottava tutta Lunedì e mercoledì per tutto l'anno in perpetuo libera una anima dal purgatorio, il di di S. Publico indulg. plen. come pare per brevi Spediti à di x. e xxx. di Sepbre et à di viii. di 9<sup>re</sup> 1608.*

Under the marble effigies of Alofius de Wignacourt:

*E<sup>no</sup> et Rev<sup>mo</sup> Dno. Fratri Alofio de Wignacourt S. R. H. magno Magistro et insularum Melitæ et Gaulos Principi meritisissimo. Qui Sacrum Pauli Apostoli Cryptam mole annorum vetustam, in novam et elegantiore formam reduxit*

*ac in ea collegium erexit atq; dotavit anno Dni. MDCVIII. idem collegium Beneficiorum non immemor, Fundatori Monum. pos. anno Sal. MDCLXI.*

A little cave just by which is made a charnel house, where mass is said every day.

The Città Notabile is situated on a hill well walled about; there are some new fortifications not finished. It is indifferently large, but meanly built, and not many inhabitants in it, considering its bigness. The bishop hath a palace here. In the cathedral the grand master hath his seat, and they preserve a sword in this church, that was left here by Charles the fifth. The Carmelites, Augustines, and another order of Franciscans, have convents in and about this city.

See the government in my collection, &c.

Two miles from hence we came to Boschetto, the grand master's pleasure house, built square, with four towers. In the middle is a hall painted with stories of Verdale grand master and cardinal. We had here a great prospect round the island, and saw Sicily; a descent from the house into long and large gardens, set thick with olive and orange trees, &c. A vivarium for rare animals; but at this time there was nothing remarkable. Several fountains and sports of water. Through the middle of the gardens, is a streight walk, between pillars, about which vines twist themselves, and in the summer make a long arbor.

At S. Antonia, a village, the grand master hath another pleasant garden.

The women in Malta are counted infamous; they are generally habited as at Catania and Syracuse, in black, and cover their faces with a black peak.

A Cantare is equal to 116 lb. English. Measures. 100 Rotæ = 172 lb. English. This Rotæ is also used in Sicily.

We were much disturbed every night with gnats, they call moschetti, which venomous our faces and hands more than those we have in England.

The butchers kill all their meat without the new city, nigh the sea-side.

The common people eat chich-pease raw in the summer-time.

Turkish slaves and Moors are the usual servants in Malta.

The cats of this island are much in esteem; they are of a curious dark griseous colour.

We saw no beggars here within the new city, &c. but only without the gates.



The natives of the country speak little or no *Italian*, but a kind of *Arabick*, like that the *Moors* speak; but in the cities, most speak *Italian* very well.

In *Malta* they reckon the hours of the day as we do.

Every *Dutch*, *English* or *Hamburg* vessel that enters this port, pays a pistole to the consul.

About eight or ten miles from *Città Valletta*, is the *Cala di S. Paolo*, or the place where *S. Paul* landed, and handled a viper without hurt: and since that, they say, there have been no vipers or snakes in the island; and that they were converted into stone. Here, and in other places, great variety of stones representing animals, and some they call serpents eyes, serpents teeth, tongues and eggs. *Bastoni di S. Paolo*, &c. The serpents teeth are the teeth of a sharke petrify'd.

We took a licence to depart, and a bill of health for *Messina*, which cost two *tari*.

Bill of health.

*Fr. Nicolaus de la Durandier miles Ordinis. Sti. Johannis Hier. Ven'blis. lingue Francie Castellanus sive præsides magis. Cur. Castell. Melit. Universis et singulis præsentes nostras literas visuris, lecturis pariter et audituris, salutem, fidem facimus et in verbo veritatis attestamus. Quali si parteno da questa isola di Malta Giovanni Wray d'eta anni 35. Filippo Skippon d'eta anni 22. Inglesti per esser (a Dio Piacendo) in Messina et tutti luoghi di passaggio alli quali dounq; capiterano se gli potrà dare liberamente ogni buon recetto e sicura prattica, perche qui per la Divina gratia regna buona sanità senza sospetto alcuno di morbo contagioso, ne d'altre mal influenze. In cujus rei testim. datum Melitæ in hac Civitate Valletæ die xxvi. mensis Maii, 1664.*

Under this was a large seal, and this name subscrib'd,

*Le Cbr. Fr. N. de la Durandiere del Castell.*

Below this,

*Bap'ta Gregs. Barbara de magn. Cur. Castell. Melit.*

*Malta* island is 60 miles in circuit, 12 miles broad, and 20 long.

Five miles from it is the island of *Gozo*, 30 miles about, eight broad, and twelve long.

Between *Malta* and *Gozo* (*Gaulos*) lies a little island, call'd *Comino*, which formerly was call'd *Ephestia*, five miles in circuit. Good store of corn grows there.

About noon the 17th of *May*, after the padrone of our felucca had his oars deliver'd to him, which were secur'd by an officer during our stay in *Malta*, as we took boat, and delivered our licence to depart, to an officer, giving him a piece of money; then we rowed by *Torre Orsa*, a fort on the other side of the haven's mouth, where a guard examined us, whither we were going; and gave us leave to be gone. We had a calm and smooth sea, and rowed all the way; and in the evening spied some boats near the shore of *Sicily*, which we fear'd might have been *Turks*, therefore delayed our passage to the *Sicilian* shore till it was dark, and then arriv'd at the *primo terreno* or first land; whence we went close by the shore, where the guards and sentinels asked us, whence we came? what news? &c. And then we came to *Punto Circiolo*, where we slept in our felucca till morning. We observ'd this night the bubbles of sea-water, made by the strokes of the oars, shine like great sparks of fire; as we took notice going by sea in the night from *Genoa*.

*May 18.* We rowed *ribba, ribba*, or *terra, terra*; i. e. near the shore-side, and saw many huge and long nets laid for catching of the thynny fish; and in the afternoon reach'd *Syracuse*: where we stay'd all night, and made observations; which see, *May 6. pag. 629.*

The curious will be pleas'd with the following specimen of the language of *Malta*.

| LATIN.   | MALTESE. | LATIN.  | MALTESE. | LATIN.   | MALTESE. |
|----------|----------|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| Deus     | allhe    | Terra   | ard      | Ventus.  | riah     |
| Coelum   | femma    | Pulvis  | trab     | Sol      | fcems    |
| Stella   | keucba   | Coenum  | tagmes   | Luna     | kamar    |
| Ignis    | nar      | Tonitru | raat     | Saxum    | chagiara |
| Fumus    | dochan   | Nubes   | fehah    | Aurum    | deheb    |
| Cineres  | armier   | Pluvia  | scita    | Argentum | fidda    |
| Aer      | aria     | Nix     | escilg   | Gramen   | zara     |
| Aqua     | 'elma    | Glacies | nida     | Flos     | zahar    |
| VOL. VI. |          | 7 Y     |          | Arbor    |          |



| SKIPPOON. | LATIN.        | MALTESE.    | LATIN.      | MALTESE.   | LATIN.      | MALTESE.    |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
|           | Arbor         | figira      | Latus       | gemb       | Auditus     | fmich       |
|           | Musca         | dobien      | Augustus    | daiak      | Surditas    | truffin     |
|           | Piscis        | haut        | Altus       | aali       | Olfactus    | teschin     |
|           | Avis          | asfur       | Humilis     | humili     | Gustus      | gost        |
|           | Bestia        | dibiba      | Oriens      | leuant     | Tactus      | mesf        |
|           | Lignum        | chatab      | Occidens    | ponent     | Vita        | thaia       |
|           | Radix         | eruk        | Septentrio  | sepentrion | Mors        | meut        |
|           | Cortex        | kfcira      | Meridies    | nufs naar  | Salus       | facha       |
|           | Folium        | uaraka      | Multitudo   | gimiaa     | Morbus      | mard        |
|           | Semen         | ziria       | Paucitas    | ftita      | Robur       | kava        |
|           | Pinna         | pinna       | Unum        | vahed      | Debilitas   | oglubia     |
|           | Squama        | kiscira     | Duo         | tenein     | Dolor       | ugieh       |
|           | Rostrum       | muchar      | Tres        | tliata     | Mas         | teffel      |
|           | Ala           | givienah    | Quatuor     | erbaa      | Fœmina      | teslah      |
|           | Penna         | kallem      | Quinque     | chamfa     | Fertilis    | galiela     |
|           | Ovum          | baida       | Sex         | fetta      | Sterilis    | chaulia     |
|           | Crinis        | fciaar      | Septem      | sebar      | Maturus     | missiura    |
|           | Cornu         | kurun       | Octo        | tmenia     | Sapientia   | elf         |
|           | Cutis         | gibin       | Novem       | tiffaa     | Stultitia   | gen         |
|           | Cauda         | denb        | Decem       | aascera    | Fidelitas   | fedeltà     |
|           | Lac           | halib       | Undecim     | hidascer   | Perfidia    | stinat      |
|           | Sanguis       | dem         | Tredecim    | tlitasc    | Mendacium   | gdeba       |
|           | Cerebrum      | moch        | Quatuorde-  | herbatafc  | Fortitudo   | kaua        |
|           | Os, Offis     | aadam       | cim         |            | Crudelitas  | kaffi       |
|           | Caro          | leham       | Quindecim   | thamstasc  | Patientia   | pacenza     |
|           | Adeps         | fimin       | Sexdecim    | scetasc    | Liberalitas | liberalita  |
|           | Caput         | ras         | Septende-   | febatafc   | Avaritia    | sectia      |
|           | Facies        | ug          | cim         |            | Fœlicitas   | felicita    |
|           | Oculus        | ain         | Octodecim   | tementasc  | Miseria     | miseria aks |
|           | Auris         | veden       | Novende-    | tiffaatafc | Divitiæ     | gana        |
|           | Nasus         | nicher      | cim         |            | Paupertas   | fakar       |
|           | Os, Oris      | hale        | Viginti     | ascerin    | Lux         | pau         |
|           | Lingua        | lisien      | Triginta    | telatin    | Tenebræ     | delam       |
|           | Dens          | finien      | Quadraginta | erbain     | Umbræ       | del         |
|           | Collum        | eunk        | Quinquagin- | chamffin   | Pulchritudo | sbiacha     |
|           | Tergum        | dahar       | ta          |            | Deformitas  | kruia       |
|           | Pectus        | feder       | Sexaginta   | stettin    | Albus       | abiad       |
|           | Humerus       | spalla      | Septuaginta | scabain    | Niger       | esued       |
|           | Mamma         | bizulla     | Octoginta   | tmenin     | Ruber       | achmar      |
|           | Costa         | dualla      | Nonaginta   | tiffain    | Viridis     | achuar      |
|           | Venter        | zak         | Centum      | mio        | Sonus       | dak         |
|           | Brachium      | drieh       | Recta       | drit       | Silentium   | skiet       |
|           | Manus         | id          | Curva       | maugia     | Vox         | aiat        |
|           | Digitus       | faba        | Acuta       | tberen     | Dulcis      | helu        |
|           | Femur         | cinta       | Obtusa      | tiffahak   | Amarus      | mor         |
|           | Tibia         | verk        | Agger       | kares      | Salfus      | mielah      |
|           | Pes           | rigil       | Fossa       | thausora   | Calor       | lara        |
|           | Digitus Pedis | fabat regil | Dies        | nahar      | Frigus      | bard        |
|           | Genu          | rekobt      | Nox         | leil       | Humiditas   | nied        |
|           | Calx          | tiehrigilek | Mane        | fioda      | Siccitas    | ffot        |
|           | Cor           | kalb        | Meridies    | nous nahar | Gravitas    | kobria      |
|           | Pulmo         | pilmun      | Vesper      | affar      | Levitas     | chafif      |
|           | Hepar         | fuiot       | Æstas       | fait       | Durities    | kaua        |
|           | Viscera       | misfaren    | Hiems       | fcitua     | Mollities   | merchi      |
|           | Vir           | iragel      | Ver         | chariffa   | Lævis       | chafif      |
|           | Mulier        | mara        | Autumnus    | rebiaa     | Asper       | achrafce    |
|           | Mons          | gebel       | Infans      | fgir       | Tenax       | stinat      |
|           | Vallis        | bosk        | Senex       | fiech      | Benedictio  | barka       |
|           | Mare          | bahar       | Memoria     | teskir     | Maledictio  | fachta      |
|           | Fluvius       | fu viet     | Oblivio     | nessa      | Preservatio | tarfa       |
|           | Longus        | tuil        | Visus       | tara       | Destruccio  | chassak     |
|           | Brevis        | kafir       | Cœcitas     | ama        | Credere     | temen       |

Dubitare



| LATIN.      | MALTESE.   | LATIN.      | MALTESE.  | LATIN.      | MALTESE.   |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Dubitare    | tudubita   | Secare      | tefferra  | Fassum      | falc       |
| Cogitare    | tachsep    | Frangere    | tekfer    | Neceffarium | neceffaris |
| Inquirere   | tefeteft   | Aperire     | eftah     | Licitum     | fcirak     |
| Invenire    | fib        | Claudere    | taglak    | Facile      | facile     |
| Defiderium  | fciouka    | Colligere   | gimieh    | Difficile   | difficile  |
| Placere     | togjob     | Spargere    | derri     | Utile       | feida      |
| Displicere  | matagjob   | Pater       | miſſier   | Noxium      | deni       |
| Compaſſio   | chaniena   | Avus        | nanno     | Tutum       | figur      |
| Pudor       | teftehi    | Filius      | leben     | Periculoſum | perikulus  |
| Amor        | chaba      | Filia       | el bent   | Proſperum   | proſpero   |
| Odium       | lagad      | Frater      | ach       | Adverſum    | contrario  |
| Gaudium     | ferh       | Soror       | ocht      | Addere      | zid        |
| Triftitia   | kalbifeuda | Patruelis   | barba     | Auſerre     | tenachi    |
| Spes        | fpranza    | Maritus     | zeugi     | Medium      | noſs       |
| Metus       | beza       | Uxor        | el mara   | Extremum    | ftrema     |
| Ira         | kolera     | Vidua       | armella   | Apex        | nathal     |
| Rifus       | dahek      | Virgo       | beneita   | Fundus      | tieh       |
| Fletus      | beka       | Herus       | feid      | Dextra      | dritta     |
| Fames       | giueh      | Servus      | fervitur  | Siniſtra    | ſceluk     |
| Edere       | ekel       | Discipulus  | telamid   | Surſum      | fuk        |
| Bibere      | iſcirob    | Amicus      | chabib    | Deorſum     | efſel      |
| Somnus      | erkad      | Hoſtis      | adu       | Anterius    | kodiem     |
| Somnium     | hol        | Pratum      | galka     | Posterius   | lura       |
| Loqui       | hadet      | Docere      | talem     | Interior    | gava       |
| Canere      | tegani     | Laus        | teſcher   | Exterior    | barra      |
| Parturire   | uliada     | Minæ        | tedet     | Magnum      | kbir       |
| Stare       | kaiem      | Rex         | fultan    | Parvum      | fgir       |
| Sedere      | okod       | Subditus    | fudditto  | Æquale      | fava       |
| Surgere     | kum        | Lex         | ligi      | Plenum      | mimli      |
| Cadere      | aka        | Tributum    | charag    | Vacuum      | ſirah      |
| Ambulare    | emſſi      | Emerere     | tiſetri   | Otium       | otio       |
| Currere     | igiri      | Vendere     | tebieh    | Negotium    | negotio    |
| Volare      | ithir      | Mutuari     | teſſef    | Simile      | halu       |
| Claudicare  | tezzopin   | Accommodare | teſſani   | Diſſimile   | muſcbahalu |
| Natare      | taub       | Promittere  | tuiald    | Habere      | andu       |
| Saltare     | akbes      | Medicus     | tabib     | Carere      | maandufc   |
| Titubare    | biza       | Judex       | chalef    | Jungere     | ezid       |
| Ducere      | gibn       | Innocens    | innocent  | Separare    | taazel     |
| Sequi       | feguitani  | Nocens      | chati     | Dare        | taati      |
| Tuffis      | tiſſaul    | Condemnare  | condemna  | Accipere    | tiechu     |
| Singultio   | terfauak   | Abſolvere   | tachfer   | Recuſare    | matrig     |
| Sternutatio | iſcaol     | Homicidium  | katil     | Incipere    | tebda      |
| Morſus      | gediem     | Factum      | mamul     | Concludere  | taglak     |
| Salivare    | lahab      | Pœna        | torment   | Mittere     | tebaat     |
| Vomere      | tetbava    | Præmium     | rigal     | Prehendere  | tiechu     |
| Mingere     | tibul      | Pax         | pace      | Quæſtio     | geliada    |
| Cacare      | tachara    | Bellum      | guerra    | Reſponſio   | joab       |
| Sudare      | tiarek     | Pugnare     | tekumbati | Rogare      | ſali       |
| Pedere      | tifta      | Victoria    | vittoria  | Concedere   | vide dare  |
| Ruſtare     | neſſi      | Arma        | armi      | Negare      | nekar      |
| Pellere     | keci       | Sacerdos    | kaffis    | Ferrum      | chadid     |
| Premere     | zum        | Votum       | vada      | Ego         | anna       |
| Trahere     | tegibet    | Precatio    | tlib      | Tu          | ent        |
| Fodere      | tazak      | Ens         | ſeif      | Ille        | hue        |
| Plantare    | tizira     | Nihil       | iſſei     | Nos         | nehen      |
| Serere      | taglak     | Nomen       | eſſem     | Vos         | entu       |
| Metere      | tahſat     | Bonum       | taieb     | Illi        | hom        |
| Lavare      | chaffil    | Malum       | hazin     | Pecunia     | fluſ       |
| Percutere   | tahbat     | Verum       | tabelhak  |             |            |



SKIPRON. May 19. We entered our felucca, and saw many thynny nets all the way to Catania, where we arrived early in the afternoon.

This city is indifferently built, but more peopled in proportion than *Syracuse*, the streets are narrow and crooked; strong fortifications towards the sea-side, but towards the land but slightly walled.

An university here of no great note.

The *Benedictines* cloister, called *St. Nicholas*, is a handsome square pile of building, having a neat court and fountain in the middle of it. There is a fair dormitorium, having a double walk. About fifty monks live here in abundance, being provided with plenty of wine, &c. their gardens are large and well stored with oranges, &c.

At the town-house we saw some antiquities, viz. an *Egyptian* obelisk with old characters upon it; on the top is one or two figures, and this writing, *Arcens ex Gymnasio*. Ancient heads, viz. *Ætna*, *Galatæa*, *Osiris*, *Jul. Cæsar*, &c. And these two inscriptions I transcribed.

D. M. S.  
DECIMA GENIA  
T. DECIMIVS AGA  
POMENVS PIIS  
SIMAE COLLIBER.

COCIACAATH  
TATKYTATH

See *Gualtheri inscriptiones Sicil.*

*S. Agatha* is the cathedral, an indifferent building; the story of that saint is carved in the seats of the choir, and round about are the pictures of several saints, and among them one *S. Euplius*. On the sides of the choir are two monuments with these epitaphs:

1. *Federicus II. Siciliæ Rex, Ioannes ejus Filius Ludovici Federici III. Frater et hæres Maria ejusdem Federici conjux, Federicus quoq; infans Martini primi et Mariæ Reginæ filius hoc uno conduntur tumulo.*

2. *Constantia Petri III. Regis Aragonum Filia ac Federici III. Uxor. Cataniæ obiit Anno Salutis, MCCCXLIII.*

*S. Agatha's* body is enshrined within a chapel, and under the custody of four doors. In the same chapel is a monument of *Ferrandus Cuneusius*, viceroy of Sicily.

We walk'd up the steeple, and took a full prospect of the city, country and sea; and on the steeple a sentinel keeps watch,

who was the first person we observ'd to use the pith of *Ferula Galbanifera*, that catch'd fire as well as tinder.

All provisions are very cheap here. Good store of *Tartufuli* or *Tubera Terræ* are found hereabouts, well tasted and whiter than those we ate in *Lombardy*.

May 20. We took a guide and horses for eight *Tari*, and rode a stony and sometimes pav'd way, being a constant ascent, and pass'd by an aqueduct that brings water four miles (and in the way drives three or four mills) to the *Benedictine* convent at Catania. We went through these villages, *Lucano*, *Tremostiare* and *Lavatiade*; and afterwards pass'd through a very rocky and burnt place, *M. Ætna*, where we saw the ruins of some houses and trees overturn'd by an eruption of *Ætna*, now called *M. Gibello*. Ten miles from Catania we came up to a casal or village called *Lapidara*, observing in some places a well cultivated country, and in other places nothing but rocks. After we had refreshed ourselves a little, we took a foot guide, and another horseman that was arm'd, to guard us from the banditi, and then rode up six miles the mountain of *Ætna*, and came to a great deal of snow, and saw great pits where they keep snow all the year long, covering the pits with boughs. Up to this place the land was sown with corn. And here grew oaks and other trees, but many of them had not yet put forth their leaves. The snow they carry to *Malta*, &c. We ventured no further up the mountain, it being at least four miles more to the top, and the snow lay thick the greatest part of the way, but on the top there was none. Some distance from the highest part is a tower they call *Torre del Filosofo* from *Empedocles*, who, they say, used it for to make observations of *Ætna*, &c.

*Anno Domini 1537*. There was a great eruption, and we took notice of a vast quantity of matter which ran down in a broad stream, consisting of matter like the cinders of iron; some of the streams ran down to the sea-side. They call that stony matter *Sari*, which in some places (within some space of time) turns to a powder or dust which enriches the soil. Saffron and rhubarb grow here. This mountain begins at Catania on this side of Sicily, and is counted 70 miles in circuit.

May 21. We went in our felucca to *Taormina*, half way from Catania to *Messina*; it is a place of no note, only there is a fair cloister of *Dominicans*. Here they did formerly make sugar of the *Can-na Mele* or sugar-cane which grew in this place;



Sugar-work at Taormina.

place: but these four last years they have not employ'd their sugar-works. We saw the working-house, and were told, that first the cane is cut in pieces, then ground under a great stone, as cyder, &c. in England; after that it is pressed in a screw, and the liquor put over a furnace, where it boils twelve hours, and afterwards it is boil'd again over a refining furnace twelve hours more; and at last the sugar is put into conical pots of earth, which shapes them into sugar loaves, mixing nothing with the sugar.

On a steep rock near Taormina is a village; and on another a castle call'd *Mola*.

About three hours of the night we reach'd Messina, where officers and sbirri nigh the bulwark commanded our felucca to shore, and search'd for *Banditi*, and we were forced to lie all night in our boat, the officers of the *Sanità* being gone home, and so we could have no pratique till next morning, when we deliver'd our *Malta* patent of health.

We paid forty scudi for the felucca to Malta and back again, and gave the boatmen two scudi at several times to drink.

June 6. We took our patents of health for Naples after this form.

Under the arms of the city and picture of the *Madonna della Lettera* was written,

*Senatus Nobilis et Exemplaris Urbis Messanæ, almi Collegii Studiorum Urbis ejusdem magnus Cancellarius Regiusq; Consiliarius Universis et singulis testatur, qualiter si parte da questa Città Filippo Skippon Inglese d'anni 22 d'alta statura, Sbarbata capelli Castagni con li suoi robbi usuali per essere à Dio piacendo nella Città di Napoli per ni doue capitera se li potrà dare libera, e sicura prattica, stante che in questa Città per gratia del Signore, e protezione della sua gran Madre sempre Vergine Maria della Sacra Lettera nostra Avocata, e particolar Protettrice, & intercessione de Santi nostri Concittadini, non vi è sospetto alcuno di male contagioso. In cujus fidem has patentes Nostras testimoniales litteras fieri jussimus. Nostro solito Urbis Sigillo in pede munitas. Ex prædicta Nobili, & Exemplari Urbe Messanæ die 16 Junii 1664.*

Joannes Jacobus Hofes.

Round the seal was written, *S. P. Q. R. Decreto Messana nobilis et regni Caput.* They cost us three tari. We gave the

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searchers four tari for being civil to us, and then embark'd in a felucca which carried us to Salerno for six scudi a-piece.

Twelve miles from Messina we came to the Pharos, and then engolfed forty miles to C. Baticano (leaving on our right hand Scylla, Bagnare, Nicoterra, &c.) and eight miles further lodged at Tropic, a little poor city built on a high cliff, where there is a bishoprick worth six thousand ducats per annum, which belongs immediately to the king of Spain.

Here we observ'd a strange custom (used by the ancients) at a burial of a woman; many women (like the *præfice*) howling in a lamentable manner, and with their hair dishevell'd about their shoulders; and in that posture return'd to their houses.

We bought our provisions here, which our boatmen dress'd for us. Good red wine at this place.

June 7. A guard-boat came and searched what goods we had in our felucca, then we cross'd sixty miles the gulf of S. Euphemia, passing at a good distance in sight of Nocera, and came to Mantia, a city upon a cliff; afterwards went by Belmonte and Fredo, small places, and twelve miles from Mantia (near it a mountain called Monte Cucutz, from its figure like a melon) came to St. Lucido, where we lodged in a cloister of Franciscans, but bought our own provisions dress'd by our boatmen. St. Lucido is a little wall'd place belonging to a marquis, who hath his castle here.

June 8. At break of day we entred our felucca, and at four miles distance from St. Lucido pass'd in sight of Paula, a little city built on a cliff, and belonging to a marquis, where are relicks of St. Francis di Paula, and a red earth that they make fine pots of. Afterwards we came in sight of Guardia, and pass'd a promontory at Citraro, where we bought variety of good fruits. Then we were in sight of Belvedere and Diamante, belonging to Don Fra. Caraffa a prince; a little further pass'd by Cerelle (where is a good sort of white wine) and a little island called Isola di Cerelle, where vessels anchor that load with the raisins of Belvedere, which are in much esteem. Having made about sixty miles this day, we lodged at night in a strong tower on a rock (which cannot be climb'd without a ladder) called Torre del Arco, where the sentinel set up a light for ships, and so did many other towers on this shore. This fort guards a port called S. Nicolo, where gallies may safely anchor. Our boatmen slept in their felucca some distance from the shore, for fear of *Banditi*.



SKIPPON.

Many thynny fishings along the coast of Calabria.

June 9. We cross'd two large gulphs, *Policastro* and . . . . . having a very favourable wind. We pass'd by *Cenzola* and *Polinaro*, and having sailed and rowed eighty miles this day, we came to our *reposato* or lodging at *Cbiupa*; hereabouts we first met with *Cicadæ* and *Mantes*, and other insects among the olive-trees. In the same house with us lodged some *Banditi*, who were well armed with guns, pistols, and short swords like daggers, their hair braided and tied behind their heads, after the same manner the *sbirri* go in these parts of *Italy*.

They were going for *Salerno* and *Naples*, by felucca; but upon some intelligence they should meet with severe entertainment, they returned the next day.

The coast of *Calabria* is but meanly inhabited, and very poor, the people being much oppress'd by their lords, who impose great burdens upon them.

June 10. We went by *C. del Abbate*, and a castle on a cape call'd *Lazarello*, then pass'd by a little rock near the shore, having a cross on it, where they say *St. Paul* preach'd; afterwards we came to a little town on a cliff, call'd *Europola*, where the *Padrone* of our felucca delivered a bill of health, which every felucca that goes from *Messina* to *Naples* is bound to do; hence we cross'd the gulph of *Salerno* with a favourable wind to a fort some distance from *Vetari*, where we hired a little boat, and pass'd by *Vetari*, a pretty place, where they make glass, and where there is a fair *Hofteria*, or inn; then we reach'd *Salerno*, having travell'd this day by sea above seventy miles.

Salerno.

Concerning the Franciscans min. obf.

In the same felucca came with us from *Messina* a *Maltese Franciscan*, whom we afterwards met with at *Rome*; he was of the *Min. observantia*; his habit was of coarse grey hair cloth, having a round *Cucullus*, or hood, that cover'd his head, which was all shaven, except a ring or border of hair cut short; they wear also a long *Cucullus* that usually hangs down their backs; they wear no shirts, stockings nor shoes, but only sandals; they may eat flesh, and live upon charity, and have an *officium* proper to their order; when they go abroad they put on a cloak, or rather a cope, of the same coarse stuff with the rest of their habit; the cord about the waist is bigger than that the *Franciscans* of *Assisum* wear, but less than the *Capuchins*.

This friar ask'd us, How we could live without whores?

In the same boat came with us part of

the way a priest who liv'd about *Cosenza* in *Calabria*. He gave us some account of manna, which is gather'd there in the hot months; See *Mr. Ray's Catal. Plant. Angliæ* in *Fraxinus*.

This priest said there are two sorts, 1. *Manna*. *Manna di Corpo*. 2. *Manna* is called *Forzatella*, which is bitterer, and not so good and fine as the other; that *di Corpo* he said was made by the *Cicadas* perforating the leaf of the ash-tree, and then the liquid matter comes out. The *Forzatella* is out of the branch.

At *Salerno* we stay'd till June 12, and observ'd the situation to be very pleasant under the hills and near the sea-side. The houses are but indifferent, and the streets narrow. Many fountains here. Good wine also and cheap, and plenty of excellent fruit. *Salerno* rice is in esteem. A great fair kept here.

*S. Matthias* is the cathedral, an indifferent building, where there is an altar dedicated to pope *Gregory VII.* with his effigies upon it, and upon the wall is his epitaph.

*Gregorio VII. Soamen. Pont. Opt. Max. Greg. Ecc. libert. Vindici Acerrimo Assertori VII's monument. Constantiff. qui dum Rom. Pont. auctoritatem adversus Henrici perfidiam strenuè tuetur Salerni sanctè decubuit A. D. H. IV. CIOXXCI. VIII. Kal. jun. M. Ant. Columna Marfil. Bononien. Archiep. Salernit. Cum illius Corpus post quingent. circiter ann. sacris amictum et ferè integrum reperisset, ne tanti Pont. sepulchrum memoria diutius careret. Gregorio XIII. Bononien. Sedente. M. P. Prid. Kal. Quint. A. D.*

CICICLXXVIII.

Under this is another inscription,

*Ego Lucius Sanseverinus Archiep. Salernitanus Altare hoc in honorem B. Gregorii Papæ septimi consecravi, ejusq; sacrum corpus in eo inclusi, presentibus . . . . . anniversaria deinceps consecrationis die ipsum pie Visitantibus, quadraginta dies verè indulgentiæ de ecclesiæ more concessi, Anno Domini MDCXIV. die IV. mensis Maii.*

Nigh this church is a square cloister, where are many old *Roman* tomb-stones, and in the church are several curiously carved with figures of men, horses, &c. two of the most legible inscriptions are these following,



D. M.  
JVL. AVR  
FESTO JVN  
VIX AN. VI  
MXI DXXI.  
FESTVS PAT  
ET MAIRON  
MATER.

D. M.  
M VAL PVNICIS  
AEMILIANI QUI  
VIX ANN. IX. MEN  
IIII DIEB. XIIX VAL  
DRACONTIANVS  
ET ANIA ZENONIS  
PARENTES INFE-  
LICES FILIO  
DVLCISSIMO

An old inscription dated mcc, with odd characters scarce legible, which signified the making of *Salerno* haven by a king of *Sicily*.

At the *Benedictins* church is a picture and writing concerning one *Petrus Barliarius*, who was counted a necromancer.

At *S. Nicholas*, the *Franciscan* cloister, we visited a monk, who is chymist and apothecary to the convent; here we observed a *Balneum Vaporosum*, which was thus made, *a* is the mouth of the furnace, o o o o are holes wherein pots are placed with their mouths above the superficies of the furnace, which have receivers fastened to them.



Here is no university now, but we were shewed in a valley the ruins of the old *Schola Salernitana*.

Good plants grow hereabouts, and at *Monte S. Angelo*, some distance off.

An aqueduct here. Beyond *Salerno* is a fair plain country, where there is a town called *Roma Vecchia*.

June 12. We hired places in one of the coaches which pass frequent every day between *Salerno* and *Naples*, paying seven *Carolini* a man. We had the company of a friar of the order of *S. Hieronymo*, who was habited in murrey, with a round *Cuculus* or hood hanging behind him. They wear shoes and stockings, and have a leather girdle. Their heads are not shaved like other monks, but only a round spot like the secular priests; they have a long cloak of a murrey colour when they are abroad, and have a black hat. This friar was very kind to a woman we believed to be his wench.

We observ'd many sbirri guarding in every village and place we pass'd through, this road being sometimes much molested with *Banditi*, who are in the kingdom of *Naples* about four hundred.

We rode a plain way on the side of a mountain, nigh cardinal *Sabellicus's* palace, who was formerly archbishop of *Salerno*: we pass'd through a pretty village called . . . and by an aqueduct, then went thorrow *Cave* (a bishoprick), being a handsome long street cloistered, or with *Portici* on each side; afterwards we came to *Nocera*, another bishoprick, where some of the streets have *Portici*. At *Nocera*, under the *V. Mary's* picture, is written, *Ne tibi sit grave, dicere semper Ave*. About half way to *Naples* we baited at *Torre del Annunciata*, and then travell'd through *Torre del Greco*, a fair village (where is a gallows, and a long inscription by it) situated under *M. Suma*, or *Vesuvius*, and pass'd through another village, where is an inscription relating to the eruption of *Vesuvius*; and over *Ponte di S. Magdalena*; and in the afternoon arrived at *Naples*.

Naples.

From *Cave* the country is plain, and was fairly cultivated with vines, corn, and trees set in ranks, as in *Lombardy*; and between *Salerno* and *Cave* we rode in a narrow valley, having mountains on each side covered thick with trees.

June 30. In the afternoon we went by *felucca*, in company with Mr. *Chambers* an *English* merchant, and one *Sig. Gioseppe*, consul for the *English* at *Castello à Mare*, twenty miles from *Naples*, first giving our names at the *Dogana* or custom-house, and then rowed by a palace where the new vice-roy now resided, beyond *M. Pausilippus*, while the old vice-roy was removing; and pass'd by a very large and handsome palace (not yet finish'd) of the duke of *Medina*. We went then by *Schola di Virgilio*, and six miles from *Naples* lay under a tent (the boatmen carried with them) on the shore of the island *Niseta*.

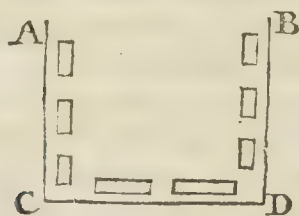
July 1. We row'd by *Pozzuoli*, and in sight of *Baia*, and went near the promontory *Misenus*, which was formerly perforated for boats to pass through. We had a fair prospect of the island *Prochita*, seated between *Iscchia* (an island) and the continent; it is very fruitful, and not mountainous, and towards the south hath a fair castle; we engolfed some distance from the shore, where are *Cuma*, *Patria*, and *Dragone*, to *Gaeta*, a walled place of the *Spaniards* upon a promontory, the wall compassing in a large and void space of ground. Between *Patria* and *Dragone* the river *Vulturno* runs into a bay. Ten miles from *Gaeta* we arriv'd and lay at *Sperlonga*,



SKIPPON, a poor walled place belonging to a prince called . . . . . who is now a prisoner in Portugal.

This day we came sixty miles, and went in sight of these islands, *Ischia*, *Ventotiene*, *Santa Maria*, *Palmarola* and *Ponza*.

July 2. We went ten miles, and pass'd by *Terracina*, which is under the pope; hereabouts is a low shore or *Spiaggio*, belonging to the duke of *Sarmonetti*, who is at difference with the pope about building some watch towers, there being none from *M. Circello* to *Astura*, and a promontory, at the further point whereof is *M. Circello*, wherein is *S. Felicità*, where we observed about our felucca a fly called a *Grouge*, like a *Cicada*, but lesser. Forty-five miles from *Sperlonga* we lodged in the castle of *Astura*, which is guarded only by a *Castellano* and two soldiers under the pope's command. Here, and very nigh the shore, are the ruins of some antiquities, viz. grotto's or artificial caves under ground, and at the seaside, in the water, are the remains of old buildings, which some guess were baths; we saw three several squares of them, which are thus; *A B C D* is the foundation



remaining of the outward wall, and the long squares within are the foundations of the supposed baths.

Our *Padrone* of the felucca took here a bolletin, which he paid five julii for.

July 3. We embark'd and passed by *Capo d'Antio*, *Nettuno*, *S. Lorenzo* and *Paternò*, and having gone fifty miles came to the *Spiaggio* or shore nigh the river *Tyber*, and lay under our tent upon the sand, nigh a tower call'd *S. Michael*. The air here is counted bad, by reason of a waterish or moorish country near, and great ferenes or dews that fall here in the summer.

July 4. We pass'd the *Fiumaria*, or the mouth of *Tyber*, and with a favourable wind went this day ninety miles, and were in sight of *S. Giorgio*, *Palo*, *S. Severa*, *S. Marinella*, *P. di Cività Vecchia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, which we could discern was well walled, belonging to the pope, who hath five gallies there. Hence our *English* ships fetch allum. The air there is counted bad. Then we still kept *largo*, or at distance from the shore, and went by *Corneto*, *M.*

*Alto*, *Capalbio*, and *Aufedonia*, and were in sight of *Porto Hercole*, a wall'd town on a high cliff, and belonging to the *Spaniards*. *Isola d'Hercole* is a little distance from it. Afterwards for fourteen miles we fetch'd a compass about *Monte Argentaro*, and lodg'd this night at *S. Stefano*, under a fair tower defended by fourteen *Spanish* soldiers. Five miles from hence is *Orbittello*, a city of the *Spaniards* seated in the water, on the narrow of a promontory. We saw at a distance this day the islands of *Gianuti*, *Zanara* and *Gigio*, and a little one nigh *S. Stefano*.

July 5. We staid all the morning (by reason of storms with terrible thunder and lightening) and in the afternoon engorged in sight of *Telamone* (which is under the *Spaniards*) and at twenty-five miles distance arrived at a small port under a tower called *Calo di Furno*, belonging to the duke of *Florence*. Here we found shells which are commonly called *Guinea money*.

July 6. We went but eighteen miles this day to a tower called *Lo Molino*, being in the duke of *Florence's* country; but the king of *Spain's* country mingles with it. There are four towns together of which every other belongs to the duke. We had here great tempests, or *Burako's*. The country hereabouts is pleasant and woody, but desolate. We found *Cicadæ* here, and the *Opercula Conchanim*, called by the *Italians* *Occhie di S. Lucia*. *Troia* is a small island with a tower, a cannon shot from *Lo Molino*. The wind in these seas is observed commonly to blow from the shore in the morning, and from the sea in the afternoon.

July 7. With a favourable wind we came to *Piombino*, a walled town of a prince of that name, who is of the family of the *Ludovisi*. Here our boatmen paid about half a pezzo or scudo toll. Then we went by *Populonia*, *P. Barata*, *S. Vincenti*, *Castagneto* and *Vada*, (about four miles into the sea from *Vada*, they say, ruins are seen sometimes of an old city). At night we lodged on the shore under *Castaglione*, a tower in the duke of *Florence's* state. This day we pass'd in sight of *Elba*. Every night, except at *Astura* and *Sperlonga*, we lay under our tent.

The prince of *Piombino* coins money, and has a share in the island of *Elba*.

The duke of *Tuscany* hath only *Porto Ferraio*, and the king of *Spain* *Porto Longone*.

July 8. Early in the morning we rowed in a tumbling sea, and doubled the cape of *M. Nero*, where our boatmen saluted the *V. Mary* in their superstitious way.

Then



Ligorn

Then pass'd in sight of *Li Greci*, a large building where troopers quarter, and then we enter'd the mole of *Ligorn*, delivering our bills of health on the side of the mole. Then a soldier out of one of the forts, called to us, and asked whence we came, &c.

All along this shore of *Italy* we observ'd the fishing-boats always under sail, with their net-lines fastened to them.

We travell'd by felucca 1233 Italian miles, viz.

|                          |      |
|--------------------------|------|
| From Genoa to Lerici,    | 65   |
| The journey to Malta,    | 460  |
| From Messina to Salerno, | 342  |
| From Naples to Ligorn,   | 366  |
|                          | 1233 |

July 12. We took our places in the boat or *Navicelle*, and in five hours went from *Ligorn* to *Pisa*, where a searcher inquir'd into our portmanteaus. At night we gave our names to the inn-keeper.

July 13. In the afternoon, paying two pieces of eight, and one fourth of a piece, for our two places, we took coach for *Florence*. At the gates of *Pisa* the searchers stop'd us a little: most part of the way we travell'd this day was a plain road. We rode 10 miles from *Pisa* through *Cascina*, a small walled place, then went in sight of *Santa Cruce* on the left side of the river *Arnus* and *M. Opoli* on the right, and hereabouts pass'd close by a monastery of the *Soccolanti*, which is a rich place, and pleasantly seated; the woods we travelled through belonging to them. Ten miles from *Cascina* we stay'd at an inn called *Scala*; and about midnight took coach again, and cross'd the *Arnus* twice. At break of day, July 14, we made a long ascent through *M. Lupo*, a walled place, and for three or four miles travelled among hills; after that we had eight miles in a plain country, and arrived at eight in the morning at *Florence*, where the searchers stop'd us; then we went to the *Dogana*, and so to our lodging.

While we stay'd here, these following particulars were observed by us.

At *Porta Romana* are these two inscriptions.

Leo X. primus in Flor. gente ex nobilissima Medicear. familia Pont. Max. Bononiam Proficiscens Flor. patriam suam primum in eo honore intravit, diruta hujus muri parte magnificentissimoq; rer. omnium apparatu et letissimo totius civitatis plausu exceptus  
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die xxx Novembris MDXV. Pont. sui an-Skippon. no III.

Carolus V. Cæsar Aug. cum insigni omnium Christianorum beneficio immanem Archipiratam regno Tunetano pepulisset fugassetq; Siculo Neapolitanoq; suis regnis constitulis Roma profectus Florentiam hac porta cum magna pompa ingressus, populo cuncto præbetitia gestiente ab Alexandro Medice Civitates Duce, cui Margaritam filiam desponderat illustri apparatu regaliq; hospitio Mediceas in ædes acceptus est Anno MDXXXVI. id. Maii Titulum P. Cosmus Medices Magnus Dux Hetururiæ Anno MDLXIX.

July 15. Being the feast of S. James, we saw the grand duke and his son in a coach, attended by Switzers, whose captain was on horseback; and in the river *Arnus* we saw three little boats with two men in each, make a race upon the water.

At the palace of *Valore*, we observ'd in the front several figures of mens heads, and under some these inscriptions.

Accursius Legum gloss. Florentinus, floruit an. CIOCCXL.

T. Monacus Galeni plusquam interpres Flor. floruit Anno CIOCCXC.

M. Ficinus Sophiæ Pater Florent. flor. An. CIOCCCCCLXX.

D. Accaiolus Philosoph. Moralis. Florentinus, floruit An. CIOCCCCCLXX.

P. Victorius Philosoph. Civilis Florentinus, floruit An. CIOCLXX.

B. Zenobius puerum sibi à Matre Gallica Romam eunte creditum atq; interea mortuum dum sibi urbem lustranti eadem reversa hoc loco conquerens occurrit signo Crucis ad vitam revocat. An. Sal. cccc.

*Poggio Imperiale* is a little palace of the grand duke's about a mile from *Porta Romana*, a pleasant walk of cypress trees, leading up a constant and easy ascent to the house. The court-yard is made into the figure of a theater, having a low wall whereon are statues.

Within some of the rooms of the palace we saw several excellent pictures drawn by the most eminent masters, Titian, Rubens, &c. St. Matthew done by Alb. Durer deserves the rich silver frame about it, a copy of the Adam and Eve, which we saw the original of at Nuremburg.



*SKIPPON. burg.* Pictures of the duke's relations and of most of the princes in christendom. The story of *S. Francis* neatly painted on a looking-glass. Many heads and fruits drawn by a woman, viz. *Giovanna Garzone*, now at *Rome*. A picture (being inlaid work) representing antick maskings. The figure of a snake twisting herself together, represented very natural in marble. A small chapel here, the walls whereof within richly made with marble *Mosaic* work describing pots of flowers, and the floor of the chapel was of the same work. A fountain in the yard, where is a statue in a cumbent posture, made by *Mich. Angelo*, and highly esteemed.

*S. Michael's* church is a tall square building, having on the outside many fair statues both of brass and marble. Here we heard good vocal and instrumental musick on *St. Anne's* day, and there was a trumpeter that sounded his notes very sweetly.

While we were at *Florence* these *Englishmen* we met with, *Mr. Henry Massingberd*, *Mr. Smith* and *Mr. Comarr*, two of the king of *England's* musicians, *Mr. Cannam* and *Mr. Ley*, merchants, *Sir John Williams*, *Mr. Clutterbuck*. *Dr. Kirton* a physician was very civil to us. *Mr. Jo. Cook*, of the *Inner Temple*, was here, and going for *Constantinople*. *Sir Bernard Gascoigne* was now at *Florence* his own country, who belongs to the *English* court.

*S. Maria delle Fiore.*

*S. Maria delle Fiore*, or the domo, is the cathedral church, which hath its outside neatly crufted over with marble; the front is not yet finished. Within, the church is supported by eight pillars set at such distance, that they do very little hinder the sight of the isles, the arches from pillar to pillar being almost as wide as the nave of the church. The cupola is large. On the walls are many inscriptions, some we transcribed, viz.

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

*Generali Concilio Florentiæ celebrato post longas disputationes Unio Græcorum facta est in hac ipsa Ecclesia die vi Julii MCCCCXXXVIII. presidente eid. Concilio Eugenio Papa IIII. cum latinis Episcopis et Prælatiis et Imperatore Constantinopolitano cum Episcopis et Prælatiis et Proceribus Græcorum in copioso numero sublatiſq; erroribus in unam eandemq; rectam fidem, quam Romana tenet Ecclesia conſenſerunt.*

Several good pictures made by these painters, viz.

*S. Jacobus Magnus* by *Sanſovinus*, *S. Andrew* by *Andr. Ferruzzi*, *Adam and Eve*, *S. Peter*, *Christ* and the blasphemer, picture of God the Father, by *Cavaliero Bandinello*. *S. John Evang.* by *Rouezzo*. *S. Jacobus min.* and *S. Philip* by *Giovanni del' Opera*. *S. Matthew* by *Vincent de Rossi*.

On the north wall is pictured one *John Sharp* an *Englishman*, who was a taylor in *England*, but here was preferred to a command in the army; he took the city of *Pisa*, and it is storied of him that immediately before he stormed it, he receiv'd a letter from *Florence*, giving him order not to storm it, but deferred the reading of it till after he had gain'd the place; he is painted on horseback, and under him is an inscription much defaced, but some words we made shift to read, viz.

*Ioannes Acutus Eques Britannicus Dux ætatis suæ . . . . . habitus est.*

His coat of arms is painted also, the field argent three scallops of the same on a cheveron sable. Under all is written, *Pauli Uccelli Opus*, being the painter's name. The picture of this horse is faulted by *Borghini* for being painted ambling, which he says is not natural to horses; but, by his leave, some horses pace naturally.

This *Sir John Sharp* called in Latin *Acutus* is indeed *Sir John Hawkwood*, but by omitting the *H.* and the *W.*, the name is turned into *Acutus*. *Verſtegan*, p. 302.

Another inscription under *Nic. Tolentinus*.

*Hic quem sublimem in Equo pictum cernis Nicolaus Tolentinus est insignis Dux Florent. Exercitus.*

The picture of *Dante* the poet, with the tower of *Babel*, purgatory, &c. and these verses underwritten,

*Qui cælum cecinit mediumq; imumq; tribunal*

*Lustravitq; animo cuncta poeta suo Doctus adest Dantes sua quem Florentia sæpe*

*Sensit consiliis ac pietate patrem Nil potuit tanto Mors sæva nocere poetæ Quem vivum virtus carmen imago facit.*

Here are the monuments of *Marsilius Ficinus* the philosopher, and *Lud. de Marsiliis* an orator, *Jottus* (*Giotto*) a painter and architect, that designed the *Campanile*.

*Joanne VIII.*



*Campanile.* He was a poor boy first, that kept sheep, but delighting to make figures in sand, &c. he arrived at a great skill in painting, being taught by *Cimabue*, the first restorer of that art in *Florence*. *Andr. Ferruzzi* carved the head of *Marsil. Ficinus*.

One *Philippus* an architect, that built the roof of this church, and *Antonio Squarcia Lupo*, an organist, buried here.

The cupola is painted with the description of the day of judgment, by *Feder. Zuccherro*, who is found fault with by *Borghini* in his *Reposo*, for representing luxury tormented in her privities by the devils. Upon the top of the cupola is a brass globe which can hold 32 men, that may stand in it. The cupola was contrived by *Philippus Brunellesco*.

There are two altars at the west end, and none else within the body of the church, and in the cupola is the high altar, and one behind it. Two large chapels here.

Marble statues of apostles, and the *Florentine* bishops and saints, adorn the body of the church; about the choir is very good basso relievo work in marble.

The *Campanile* or steeple is tall, square, and rarely well crufted over on the outside, as the domo, with marble; it stands at one corner disjoined from the church; statues adorn the lower part of it; it is 416 steps to the top, whence we had a fair prospect; but this steeple is not so high as the brass globe on the cupola. On the lower part of the *Campanile* are small carvings, representing the arts and sciences.

The *Baptisterium*, dedicated to S. *John Bapt.* is a large octagon; on each side of the entrance is a porphyry pillar, and within are 12 pillars, which have shafts that seem to be ancient. The roof is painted after the *Greek* manner, and the pavement is remarkable, being variegated with small pieces of marble, like the tessellated work. Some say it was formerly a temple of *Mars*. About the *Baptisterium* are curious brass statues, and there is a pair of fair brass gates wrought with stones, as those at the domo in *Pisa*. The two porphyry pillars are chain'd, and it is said they were brought from *Pisa*.

On a handsome tomb in the *Baptisterium* lies the figure of a pope, and this underwritten.

*Ioannes quondam Papa xxiii. obiit Florentie Anno Dni. mccccxv. iiii. Kalendas Januarii.*

The cupola of the *Baptisterium* is covered with lead. SKIPPON.

The piazza before the *Annunciata* is handsome, having a pretty building and *Portico* on each side; and in the middle is a fair brass statue on horseback, upon the pedestal whereof is inscrib'd.

*Ferdinando I. Magno Hetruriæ Duci Ferdinandus II. Nepos MDCXL.*

*Majestate tantum.*

Towards each side of the piazza is a little brass fountain, and in the front is the *Annunciata*, a church belonging to the *Servites*, who have almost every day an evening that lasts three hours; before you enter the church is a cloister, where are figures of men in armour, and in the church many figures of emperors, kings, popes, &c. Behind the choir is a little chapel, where are curious brass carv'd works made by *John Bologna*, who made the chief statues in *Florence*, and whose monument here is thus inscribed,

*I. C. R.*

*Johannes Bologna Belga Mediceor. PPr. nobilis Alumnus Eques Militiæ I. Christi Sculptura et Architectura clarus, virtute notus, moribus et pietate insignis Sacellum Deo, Sep. sibi cunctisq; Belgis earundem artium cultoribus P. An. Dom. CIOICIC.*

The great duke endeavours to divert the people with many sports, and chiefly with races, which we saw several times in a street called *Il Corso*, which is narrow, but about a mile long. One evening we saw the duke pass there in his coach, follow'd by many noblemen on horseback, two and two together; after that were brought about eight race-horses, which the grooms in their several stalls set together at one end of the street; on every horse's back are plaisters fastened, and to them tied strings, which have sharp rowels at the ends, that are clap'd under their belly just before they start; a fellow called the owners of the horses names over, and cross the street is a rope drawn, and let loose at the sound of a trumpet when every horse is switch'd, and without any one on their backs, they all run the length of the *Corso*, where at the other end is the *Pallio*, a large piece of velvet, or cloth of gold, &c. that they run for; at one race a boy was set on one of the horses, and at first got the start, but was soon overtaken by other horses, and so lost the race.

We



SKIPDON.

We saw a scaffold one day erected under the grand duke's palace, where several fellows fought two and two together at fifty cuffs, who were parted by the duke's command, and rewarded with money.

A race run by asses, and by carts and waggons, the great duke usually present.

A pole set up that was greas'd, and the boy that could climb up to the top was to have a couple of hens, that hung by on a rope.

July 23. Was a festival for the taking of Sienna; a cavalcade of *Cavallieri*, races, and a few fireworks on the cupola of the domo, *Campanile*, and near the palace of the duke at night; the people seeming to rejoice little on this occasion.

Between the goldsmith's bridge and *S. Felicità*, is the statue of two wrestling together.

This church was contrived by Philipppus Brunellesco.

*S. Lorenzo* is a neat church, so contriv'd within, by reason of neat slender pillars, that you enjoy a sight of the whole church at once. On the wall is painted the story of *S. Laurence's* martyrdom, which *Raph. Borghini* finds fault with, for making the emperor's courtiers (present) too naked, and for placing the virtues amongst the croud. Here are two brass monuments well carv'd with the story of our Saviour, and each supported by four marble pillars. At one corner of the church is a little square chapel contriv'd by *Mich. Angelo*, who made here three monuments for three great dukes; the figures of men and women in leaning postures are very lively, but made too naked and immodest, and some figures are not finished; two statues of dukes of *Tuscany* are excellently well done, being in a majestick sitting posture. Many of the duke's family are buried here in marble and wooden coffins, as several inscriptions do exprefs.

1. *Cosmus II. Magnus Dux Etruriæ.*
2. *Ferdinandus Magnus Dux Etruriæ III.*
3. *Maria Magdalena Austriaca Ferdinandi II. imperatoris soror, Ferdinandi II. Magni Ducis Mater.* On the coffin is an imperial crown.
4. *Maria Christiana Virgo primogenita obiit vi. D. Augusti MDCXXXII.*
5. *Madama Christina Magna Etruriæ Dux ob. MDCXXXV.*
6. *Princeps Cosmus Ferdinandi II. et Victoræ Magg. Ducum Etruriæ primogeni-*

*tus, hic populos quos regere debuit, nunc precibus apud Deum protecturus, natus xiii. Kal. Janu. A. MDCXXXIX. vixit H. xxxx.*

7. *Princeps Ferdinandi II. et Victoræ magg. DD. Etruriæ filia secundo genita, fuit quasi non esset de Utero translata ad Cælum prid. Kelend. Junii A. S. MDCXXXI. quæ tamdiu vixit, ut æternam vivat, diu vixit.*

8. *Serenif. Prin. Card. Joan. Carolus ab Etruria pro Catholico Rege summus maris præfectus MDCLXII.* A cardinal's cap on the coffin. And about a galley, within an escutcheon, was written,

*Arandum Vastum prius æquor.*

In a street near *S. Spirito* is the statue of *Hercules* killing the *Centaur*, carv'd admirably to the life out of one stone.

*S. Croce* is a church belonging to the *Franciscans*, which hath a pretty square piazza before it, and a fair ascent to it; the pillars that support the church are contrived as in the domo. At the first entrance is a curious marble monument erected to *Mich. Angelo's* memory; his effigies is on the top, and under the tombstone are three statues of women (being excellent pieces) with engraver's tools, &c. in their hands. They say the tomb was made by *Mich. Angelo* himself. This inscription here.

*Michaeli Angelo Bonarotio è vetusta Simoniadum familia Sculptori Pictori et Architecto, fama omnibus notissimo. Leonardus Patruo Amantissimo et de se optime merito translatis Roma ejus ossibus atq; in hoc Templi Major. fuor. Sepulchro conditis Cohortante Sereniff. Cosmo Med. Magno Hetruriæ Duce. P. C. Ann. Sal. CIOIOLXX. vixit ann. LXXXVIII. M. XI. D. XV.*

Just by is a little monument in memory of *Franciscus Bonarotius Lenordi F.* a knight of *Malta*, and secretary to *Ant. de Paula M. Mag.* who died at *Malta* 163 . .

The three statues at *Mich. Angelo's* tomb are mentioned and explained by *Borgkini*. 1. made by *Joh. dell'Opera*, for *Architettura*. 2. Or that in the middle, by *Valerius Cioli* for *Sculptura*. 3. By *Bap. del Cavaliere*, for *Pittura*.

The pulpit here is of marble curiously carv'd with the story of *S. Francis*.

Under *Aretin's* effigies,

*Post-*



*Postquam Leonardus e Vita migravit  
Historia luget, eloquentia muta est  
Ferturq; musas tum Græcas tum Latinas  
Lachrymas tenere non potuisse.*

Under a fair marble effigies of *Carolus* a poet.

*Siste, vides magnum quæ servant marmora  
vatem*

*Ingenio cujus non satis orbis erat  
Quæ natura, polus, quæ mos ferat omnia  
novit*

*Karolus ætatis gloria magna suæ  
Ausonia gratiæ crines nunc solvite Musæ  
Occidit heu vestri fama decusq; chori.*

*Laurentius Salviatus Marchio Juliani*, is written on a trunk in a little chapel.

Aug. 4. Was a festival for the great prince's birth-day; in the evening were masquerades on horseback, a tour of coaches, and a triumphant chariot with musicians playing in it.

Aug. 6. Being the feast of *S. Rocco*, whose intercession, they believe, freed the city once from the plague; there was much devotion in his small chapel, and at night wine was distributed among the people.

*Cascina.* We walked to the pleasant woods of *Cascina*, where are little conservatories of ice and snow in islands moated about; here is one walk about a mile long, and another of tall pines two miles long. Many green lawns within the wood, which is not above one fourth of a mile broad; hares, pheasants, ficedulæ (beccafici) &c. are frequent here; none under penalty of the gallies, being suffered to shoot or kill any without licence. About the middle of the long walk of pines is the milk-house called *Cascina*. Coming back to the city, we cross'd over a little cut for water, which was design'd to be made navigable to *Pisa*, but the charge of sluices was too great. This wood did belong to the prince cardinal now dead, and now prince *Matthias* is heir to it. On the other side the *Arnus* is another narrow wood.

We observed the manner of taking beccafici; a large net is hung upon long poles set a pretty distance asunder, and two or three fellows beat the bushes, and fright out the birds, which lighting on the net (that is just by) are catch'd and knock'd off with sticks. These birds are about *August* in great request.

The citadel is a well fortified place, <sup>SKIPPON.</sup> where there are arms ready for 40000 men.

The grand duke's gallery is a stately building, consisting of three sides, and is of a parallelogram figure; it is between the old palace and the river *Arnus*; underneath are the duke's stables, and over most part of it a neat cloister or portico, where are many rooms for officers belonging to the gabels, &c. In the second story are fair rooms where the best artists live, who work for the great duke; and in the third and highest story, is that which is properly the gallery, and goes the three sides of the building; it is of a handsome breadth; the floor is pav'd with brick, but the roof painted with the famous men of *Florence*, noted for learning or arts. On each side are placed on pedestals, many antient and modern heads and statues in marble, and some in brass. There are several large pictures of princes, and in small frames, some pictures of famous men in the world; those we took notice of were *Jo. Acutus Anglus*, king *James*, *O. Cromwell*; and among the statues we observ'd these, an old stone relievo work, being a man leading a horse, a curious brass head of *Mich. Angelo*, and this underwritten,

*Sat magnum tua sola loco decus addit imago.*

A Cupid in black marble lying on his back. A *Roman* orator in brass, *Paris* in marble, sitting and holding an apple in his left hand. A marble statue on a pedestal rarely wrought with basso relievo work in brass, on which is this verse,

*Ut potui huc veni Delphis et Fratre relievo.*

Many other antient *Greek* and *Roman* heads. On an old stone is inscrib'd,

Q. GARGENNIUS  
L. F. SCA  
CELER  
FLORENTIA MIL  
COH XI PR  
VIX. A. XXIV.  
MIL. A. VI.  
H. S. E.

On a hollow stone (probably a sepulchre) is old relievo work, and this written,



SKIPPON.



ALEDIAE MARCIAE FILIAE DULCISSIMAE  
 . . . . . III. DIEB. XIII. ALEDIVS TROFIMICENVS  
 ET AELIA MARINA PARENTES BENEMERENT.  
 FECERVNT.

Two old square pillars wrought with armour, &c.

There are several closets in the gallery, and we saw four or five of them, which had many rarities in them; some we took notice of, viz. the picture of *Cupid* whispering in the ear of a naked *Venus*, drawn by *Titian*, and was now copying by Mr. *Comar*. The skin of a *cervus rangiferus*, whose body was as tall as most men, and his horns very broad and branched. The skin of a *morsus* or sea-horse, which was bare, his body very big and long, his legs short and feet divided into four claws; a shortish tail, a vast head, small ears, broad nose; in the upper jaw, two short but great teeth standing outwards, and two lesser within; two rows of teeth ran along the middle of this jaw and the lower, in which are also two long furrow'd teeth standing outwards, and two a little shorter in the middle of them. The walls of one closet well painted with the great duke's territory and the adjacent countries; a vast terrestrial globe; a sphere of wood; a cabinet adorn'd with brass heads; two or three porphyry heads of dukes of *Florence*; a table of *Mosaic* stone-work, representing a *Landskip*; another *Mosaic* table of wood with flowers, and one of alabaster; a picture of a man, and looking under it, represents a woman; a *Mosaic* stone table, representing *Ligorne*, where *lapis lazuli* is laid for the sea; a large ebony cabinet adorn'd with curious little

pictures; within it is a square that is turn'd upon an axis; the first side hath our Saviour's passion curiously made in ivory, by *Mich. Angelo*; the second side, the twelve apostles in amber; the third side, a crucifix, &c. like the first side, of white amber; the fourth side, . . . . . a long table of oriental alabaster; *Adam* and *Eve's* picture, said to be *Alb. Durer's* original; an octagonal table, most richly inlaid with pearls, rubies, and other precious stones, which represents flowers very exactly: this table is valued at 10,000 crowns. A large cabinet set with precious stones, among which a vast ruby, and a great but rough pearl: this cabinet is worth 50,000 crowns. Many antient idols and lamps in brass; a little figure made of a turcois stone bigger than a hen's egg; a cup made of an horn, they pretend an unicorn's; the iron nail, half whereof was gold, turn'd into that metal by *Turnitius Basiliensis*, but it seem'd to us a cheat, and was foldred to the iron; a tenuifolius plant neatly figur'd in silver; over one closet was a cupola set with mother of pearl; another inlaid table with flowers and insects made of precious stones; a branched amber candlestick; several old idols; a crucifix of coral; a unicorn's horn so call'd; a press full of ivory work curiously turn'd; the figure of *S. George* on horseback neatly done; the picture of a cardinal well done in *Mosaic* work; a little *Roman* stone with this inscription,

APPIVS CLAVDIVS  
 C. F. CAECVS  
 CENSOR COS. BIS DICT. INTERREX III. PR. II. AED. CVR. II. Q.  
 TR. MIL. III. COMPLVRA OPPIDA DE SAMNITIBVS CEFIT  
 SABENORVM ET TVSCORVM EXERCITVM FVDIT PACEM  
 FIERI CVM PYRRHO REGE PROHIBVIT IN CENSURA VIAM  
 APPIAM STRAVIT ET AQVAM IN VRBEM ADDVXIT AEDEM  
 BELLONAE FECIT.

In an entry hung a large *landskip*, drawn only by a pen. In a little room we saw the altar that is making for the chapel of *S. Lorenzo*. The front and sides of the altar-table is rare *Mosaic* work: In the middle is the story of *Moses*; and on each side are flowers and birds, that seem, by reason of the excellent shadows, to be basso relievo. Red grapes are represented by amethysts. The pedestal is made of several rare stones. Under

the tabernacle is the last supper and twelve apostles, all of inlaid work. Three furrow'd pillars of chrystal, each bigger than a man's arm, on each side of the nich where the pyxis is to stand. In the upper rooms of the old palace is the wardrobe, a rich treasury, where are 13 large presses full of plate, among which we observ'd silver wrought bed-posts; the furniture of horses set with precious stones; a press full of good plate; a

*Turkish*



*Turkish* scimitar set with rubies ; a crucifix with diamonds ; an altar of massy gold, with this inscription, the letters whereof are rubies.

*Cosmus II. Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriae ex Voto.*

This was vow'd to S. Carlo of Millan. The duke's picture is kneeling to an altar made in basso rilievo of precious stones, and adorn'd with jewels. Great topazes on this altar, which is valued at 100,000 crowns. The outsidcs of these presses are painted with maps of most countries in the world. A great number of pictures in this room, among which the king of England's. The picture of a woman well made in Turkey-work. In a piece of tapestry are three or four figures of full proportion, done most lively. In one room, the prospects of the *Piazza Vecchia*; the duke's palace and *Annunciata* are drawn in *fresco*. In the portico, at the end of the gallery, is the statue of *Judith* with *Holofernes* his head in her hand, all of brass; the story of *Perseus* in marble; and a *Roman* carrying a *Sabine* away by force, with an old man, in one piece of marble, rarely made by *J. Bologna*.

The armory.

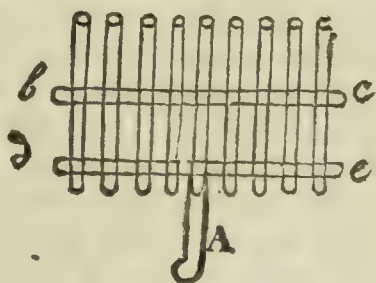
The armory is in the gallery, where these particulars were shewn us: *Persian* arms for horse and man; a loadstone that will draw up 65 pounds, a neat figure a horse made in brass, by *J. Bologna*; the head-piece said to be *Hannibal's*, made of *Corinthian* brass, and wrought with *Arabick* letters; the sword of *Carolus M.* the sword of *Carolus V.* and his scepter of oriental agat; five large swords that have had the pope's benediction; the imperial cap of a pope; the habit of *Janizzo*, a captain in the *Turks armata*; a great horn, used by the antients before the invention of trumpets; a long horn, with a hole in the middle, where the *Turks* make a hal- lowing noise when the people are call'd to their *moschi*; two iron hats, within the crowns having each four pistols; a *Persian* saddle; *Indian* weapons; *Indian* oars; an iron *frusta* of the antients, made thus; the hair of a horse's tail seven *braccia* long.



The king of *China's* armour made of fish-bones, and his wooden sword; *Persian* armour, made into great scales; *Italian* locks for women; a press full of guns inlaid curiously with ivory; a standard of the king of *Sweden*; *D. Bernard* duke of *Saxony's* standard, whereon was written, *Sine Numine frustra*; *Japonesc* swords, that were shap'd

thus; *Scanderbeg's* sword, given to the duke of *Urbino* by the republic of *Venice* when he was their general; the armour of *Charles V.* the face of his helmet shap'd like a dog's snout; *Hannibal's* armour; *Henry IV.* of *France* his armour; the armour of *Lorenzo Medici*.

Rich prizes taken from the *Turks*; the queen of *Tunis* her saddle, taken by the great duke's galleys; another saddle, scimitars, knives, and horse-harness set with precious stones; the helmet of *Moro Trais* a renegado *Genoese*; two old *Balistræ*; two guns, whereof the barrels and the greatest part of the locks were of gold, given to a duke of *Florence* by an emperor of *Germany*; a buffalo's hide cut into a thong 200 *braccia* long; nine pistols set together thus;



At *A* is the lock that strikes fire on gunpowder, that first fires a long pan *b c*, which makes nine shots together; after that, at *d e* the work is so contriv'd, that that long pan fires nine times more. [*Qu.* farther?] A large iron bow; a suit of armour, sword and furniture for a horse curiously wrought in steel, which the great duke intends for a present to the king of *Tunis*; another small brass figure of a horse, with one of the great dukes on his back: one of the same bigness, in massy gold, was sent by the great duke to the king of *Spain*: *Medusa's* head painted on a shield by *Mich. Angelo*.

In one room is the skin of a young elephant, which was alive about six years since; it cost the duke 100 pistoles: the body of it was bulky, the legs thick and short, no joints scarce appearing; five *ungulae* on each foot, and the least toe is innermost; the toes of the fore-feet are sharper than those behind; the eyes are small *pro ratione corporis*; large and broad flapping ears; the *proboscis* begins from the nose, and lessens by degrees, reaching to the ground, with which they say it could draw a sword. The skeleton we took notice of; the head of huge bigness; the lower *maxilla* ends in a sharp angle, the upper hath two rows of waved grinding teeth, (each about two inches broad, answering to those in the lower jaw)

The skeleton of an elephant.



SKIPPO jaw) which make an acute angle in the middle of the palate; thus: *a b.* is the



palate, the upper grinders compos'd so close of waved teeth, that they seem two solid bones *cc*; the passage into the mouth will hardly admit more than a man's fist: at the upper end of the palate is a great passage to the nostrils; the *nasus* is broad, and hangs over the end of the lower *maxilla*: at each corner of the nose grew a tooth about four inches long; but in males they will be great and long. Here the *proboscis* begins; the forehead bone has a sharp *processus* over the cavity of the *nares*; the *occiput* is divided into two high *eminentiæ*; a very deep and large *sinus* for the *musculus temporalis* to run in; the head stands almost perpendicular, with the nose downward; six *vertebræ colli*, the second and third joined together; one *vertebra claviculæ*; 22 *vertebræ dorsi*, the 18th and 19th join'd together in the *processus*. . . three *vertebræ ossis sacri*; 15 *vertebræ caudæ*, 19 ribs on a side: the fore-legs answer to the arms of a man; the knees seem to bend forward; a large *processus* sticks out (which hath a *sinus* to receive and support the *brachium*) hinders it from bending far backwards, so that 'tis impossible an elephant should kneel: the *metacarpus* bones are five, which answer to digits, but are only five *ungulæ*; the bones of the *carpus* are eight; the *radius* thwarts the *cubitus* on the fore-side, and is articulated with the exterior process of the *brachium*, and interior process of the *carpus*; the *scapulæ* are much like those in other animals: the first pair of ribs are join'd *per harmoniam*, they are broad before, and serve instead of *claviculæ*; no *fibula* in the legs, only *femur* and *tibia*; a large *patella*, having a *sinus* excavated for it in the joint of the knee, which bends forward, and is made for kneeling: to the *talus* is articulated the *calcaneum*, like a man's heel, and before to a long bone, to which are joined these three, *viz.* 1. The innermost *digitus*. 2. The 2d *digitus*. 3. The 3d *digitus*. To the 4th bone of the *tarsus* the 4th and 5th toe is join'd: the cavity of the *cerebellum* seem'd like that of a man's.

Against *S. Felicita* is a pillar whereon the statue of *P. Martyr*, with a hatchet sticking on the top of his head, he being be-headed in this place.

Under the statue of *Judiab* in the piazza is written,

*Exemplum Sal. publicæ Cives posuere*  
MCCCXCV.

Under the statue of *Jupiter*,

*Te Fili si quis læserit Ultor ero.*

Under *Cassiopeia* and *Perseus*, (a little boy in her hand)

*Tuta Jove ac tanto pignore leta fugor.*

Under *Diana*;

*Quo Vincas Clypeum do tibi Casta Soror.*

Nigh *S. Trinita* is a pillar with justice on the top, which was erected at the taking of *Siena*; and on the pedestal is inscrib'd,

*Cosm. Med. Magn. Dux Etruriæ.* MDLXX.

We saw the great duke's rich coach, A rich which they say cost at least 60,000 *scudi*; coach. the coach-box, and behind, and wheels plated with silver and richly gilt; a thick embroidery of gold mix'd with some silver was the curtains, lining within, seats, coachman's cushion, and the furniture for six horses: in the roof of the coach are the duke's arms set within a flourish of massy gold; the field was *lapis lazuli*, and the pellets rubies; twelve bars of steel neatly wrought (which cost each 350 *scudi*, as we were told) fasten the coach, axle-tree, &c. together: on each corner of the coach stood a curious flourish, each having four figures of massy silver, and gilt.

Nigh *S. Mark's* church is the *vivarium*, The *Vivarium*. where many wild beasts are kept in several square courts wall'd about; and on the walls are galleries, whence the duke and others are spectators when some of the beasts are brought to fight together. We saw three lions, a tiger and a leopard, which differ but little in colour and bigness; two bears; a grisly wild boar with black short ears, a long snout, black feet and tail.

*S. Mark's* church belongs to the *Dominicans*; it is a little place, where *Picus* church. *Mirandula* and *Politianus* are bury'd. A little chapel here, handsomely crufted with marbles, at the charges of the *Salviati*, a noble family. Another chapel, where a saint of late date, *viz.* *S. Anthony*, once archbishop of *Florence* his body is enshrin'd. His story is describ'd in brass relievo work by *John Bologna*. The first miracle

N.B. The fore-legs were not set right.



miracle he did, was the setting of a broken pipkin together, and making it whole. Good pictures, and marble statues (among which *Edward the Confessor*) in this chapel.

The chapel at S. Lorenzo.

We saw the famous chapel at S. Lorenzo, which is an octogonal cupola of a good height, where the great dukes are to be buried: part of the inside is finished, the wall being crufted over with jasper, porphyry, &c. which are made into large octogons, and look very rich and magnificent. A green and yellow jasper from Sicily make the pedestals of the pilasters. A green jasper from Corfica, and a red jasper from Cyprus made use of here. Towards the bottom of the walls, in Mosaic work, are the arms of all the cities under the duke, viz.

1. Montepulciano. 2. Borgo S. Sepolchro. 3. Cortona. 4. Volterra. 5. Arezzo. 6. Pistoia. 7. Pisa. 8. Florence. 9. Fiesola. 10. Siena. 11. Grassetto. 12. Massa. 13. Monte Alce. 14. Suana. 15. Cusium. 16. Pientia.

On every side is designed a monument for a great duke, and their statues are to be placed over their tombs. These inscriptions are already here, viz.

1. *Cosmus magn. Dux Etr. I. vix. ann. LV. ob. XI. Kal. Maii CIOIOLXXIIIV.*
2. *Franciscus mag. Dux. Etr. II. vix. ann. XLVI. ob. XIX. Octob. CIOIOLXXXVII.*
3. *Ferdinandus magn. Dux. Etr. III. vix. ann. LX. ob. VII. id. Febr. CIOIOLCIX.*
4. *Cosmus magn. Dux Etr. IV. vix. ann. XXX. ob. XXVIII. Febr. CIOIOLCXX.*

On the canons houses of . . . . . are two or three Roman tomb-stones, with basso relievo figures.

The statue of Cosmus I.

In the Piazza Vecchia is a stately figure of duke Cosmus I. on horseback in brass, with this inscription on one side of the pedestal.

*Cosmo Medici magno Etruriæ Duci primo, felici, invicto, justo, clementi, sacrae militiae pacisq; in Etruria Autori, Patri & Principi Optimo Ferdinandus F. Mag. Dux III. erexit ann. CIOIOLXXXIII.*

On another side of the pedestal is rarely carved in brass the manner of his coronation by the pope, and over it written,

*Ob Zelum Rel. præcipuumque justitiæ studium.*

At one end is described the Florentines owning him for their prince; and over that written,

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*Plenis liberis sen. Fl. suffragiis Dux patriæ renunciat.* SKIPPON.

On another side, he is riding in a triumphant chariot into Siena, and some of the Sieneſe humbly submitting themselves; and this written,

*Profligatis hostib. in Deditionem acceptis Senensibus.*

The duke's palace is a noble building, three stories high, with a stately front, and is situated on a rising ground; within is a large court, the three sides built and cloistered; the out-side is after a rough manner; the pillars of the portici and the windows are handsomely contrived: a little pond (in the court) within a grotto, railed about with iron, and adorned with statues; one of them a Moses much esteemed: Here is store of fish, which have a supply of fresh water from a plentiful stream that rises in the middle, a great height, almost to the top of the grotto, which is above four mens length. We then saw a large green spot of ground built about with seats of stone, like a theatre. Thence we went up to a fair pond, railed about, and set round with figures. Above this is the *fortezza*, which is a pentagon citadel well guarded; it has a great command of the city: and here they say the duke lays up money every year. Hereabouts is erected a great statue of *Cornucopia* in marble, with this inscription;

The great duke's palace and gardens.

*Pario è marmore Signum Copia hic posita sum A. D. MDCXXXVI. memoria æternum ut vigeat quod omnis ferè Europa dum funestissimo arderet bello, & Italia caritate annonæ laboraret Etruria sub Ferdinando II. Numinis benevolentia, Pace rerumq; optima atq; ubertate fruebatur. Viator abi, optimum principis sospitem exoptula. Tuscæ felicitatem gratulare.*

Nigh this is a subterraneous pond, furnished with water dropping from the top of a cave. We walked thence to a long walk, with a pleasant arbour on one side made of lemon-trees: at the upper end is the representation of Adam and Eve, and the serpent with the face of a handsome woman; all cut out of one piece of marble very curiously. Another walk between a row of bay and ilex trees; at the end of which are antick statues. We descended a broad and long green walk, having a long arbour on each side, and is adorned with statues; an oval garden moated about, where



SKIPPON. there are *giochi d'acqua*, i. e. water-sports, and in the midst a tall fountain with some figures, and a vast cistern cut out of one stone; a pleasant walk of cypress-trees: a pretty fountain of a marble figure, pouring water into a large tub made of white marble, and a boy that thrusts against it, is of the same piece of marble: many gardens for herbs and flowers. This garden is about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  mile in compass, and is uneven, being up-hill and down-hill. A soldier of the guard went along with us, whom we rewarded with a *testone*. Nigh the court of guards lies a rude loadstone as big as two horses can well draw.

Christning  
of Turks.

At the *Baptisterium* nigh the *Domo*, on 28 Aug. were 18 *Turks* christened; and some of the ceremonies we observed, viz. a long scaffold was built from the chief door to the altar; in the middle, two or three priests stood about a large silver font, and the *Turks* being asked, Whether they would be baptized? and answering, Yes; a priest then took a silver cup with water, and poured it on the middle of the *Turk's* head; another priest all the time reading the form of baptism: after that, the baptized person had a crucifix and a candle delivered to him, and then was seated under the altar. Oil was sprinkled into the mens cod-pieces. The women-*Turks* after baptism had a white veil put over their heads, and on that a fine wrought coronet; and both men and women were habited in white. When they had sat some time, the musick played; a banner then went first; after that, an old baptized *Turk*, and young fellow; boys next, and girls and women, every one having a godmother on each hand. When they came to the middle of the scaffold, every baptized *Turk* kneeled down to a crucifix, and crossed themselves, &c. and at last all went in procession to the *Annunciata*; spittle, oil, &c. were used in the baptism.

August 29. was a great holiday for the birth of the virgin *Mary*.

A legend.

The family of count *De Montecuto* had, as they say, by *S. Fra. of Assignius*, this favour procured, that before any of that family dies, a lighted torch should appear on the top of his house.

Customs.

At *Florence* and *Siena*, every wife goes abroad in the company of her husband, mother or aunt. All widows are known by their black habit, with wide sleeves.

None dare shoot pigeons in the duke's state, under penalty of the galleys.

The nobility have every one some profession, either merchandizing, selling

of silk, &c. They are only despisers of the physicians; yet every family hath its physician and lawyer, with whom they are agreed at an annual rate. The ordinary fee for a lawyer is about half a crown, but some *English* merchants have brought in the bad custom of giving more, as a pistole at a time, &c. Every nobleman and gentleman sells wine out by the flask; which is signified by hanging over the door a wicker-bottle or flask; and there is a little port-hole in the gate or wall, where they take in and give out bottles. No person of quality will drink in a tavern or inn; and indeed they have little invitation, those houses being worse than our ale-houses.

The shopkeepers and the vulgar sort are a little churlish to strangers, but those of better fashion are more courteous. There is a saying,

*Fiorentini Ciechi, Pisani traditori,  
Sanesi pazzi, Lucchesi signori.*

The gentlemens daughters are boarded in nunneries for about 10*l.* per annum sterling; and there they are taught to work, sing, &c. till they marry. *French* modes are followed here; and it is the custom (used in few places besides in *Italy*) to salute the ladies by pulling off hats when the men pass by them. A stranger may hire a coach for 5*s.* per day; and any of the *Florentine* gentry will lend their coaches.

They use generally flask-bottles for their wine; of which the chief are *Verdea*, a whitish sweet wine, and red wine like claret: they stop those bottles only with a little straw, and put a little oil in the neck of the glass. They cool their wine by putting ice or snow about the bottle, or else put the bottle in a basin of well-water, which is cool in this city.

Here, at *Naples* and *Sicily*, &c. they pour water into the glass while they are drinking.

*Pane di Bocca* they call their best bread, which is white and well made, without yeast.

The common sort of people will refresh themselves in hot weather, by eating two or three pieces of a green pom-pion, kept cool in wells; they call it *Cucumere*; the meat is red within, and the seeds black; the taste is very waterish and unpleasing to those that are not used to it. The ladies will eat of it, and drink usually after it *Vino Greco*.

They have also a melon with a white pulp; and the best melon they call *Melone di Mele*, having a very red pulp and rough coat. It tastes pleasantly.

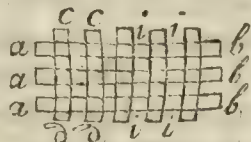
The



The air of this city is counted good in the summer, and bad in the winter; by reason of the benumbing cold, which causes apoplexies, &c. In two or three places, some make and sell beer.

Gelding of hens frequently used about Florence.

All the houses are tiled with rows of tiles, thus,



Upon the spars are laid tiles, *a b* longways, close together, and thwart them *c d*, and over the commissures of them, is laid a gutter-tile at *i i*, with the convex side up.

Every night all strangers names are carried by the innkeepers, &c. to the *Piazza Vecchia*. None are suffered to walk after the bell rings at three hours of the night, with sword, dagger, or knife.

A guard every night watches the goldsmith's bridge, another the silk shops, which are together; and *sbirri* walk up and down the city.

The silk trade is much decayed here; the greatest quantity they send to *London*.

Boys and young fellows play at bowls in the middle of the streets. In the city-ditch gentlemen play with wooden battle-dores and a wooden ball, which they serve with their hands on a pent-house.

There have been these dukes of *Florence*,

1. *Alexander Florentiæ Dux I.*
2. *Cosmus I.* { *Florentiæ Dux II.*  
*Flor. et Senarum. D.*  
*Etruriæ Magnus D. I.*
3. *Franciscus Etruriæ Mag. Dux II.*
4. *Ferdinandus I. Magnus Dux III.*
5. *Cosmus II. Magnus Dux IV.*
6. *Ferdinandus II. Mag. Dux V.*

Since we travelled,

7. *Cosmus III. Ætruriæ Mag. D. VI.*

*Ferdinand II.* was the fifth duke of *Tuscany* at our being in *Florence*; he hath reigned 44 years, and he married *Vittoria di Rouera* (now living) of the house of *Urbino*; she brought the duke a large revenue, and hath these children. 1. *Cosmus*, the great prince. 2. Another born four or five years since. The prince married *Margarita*, second daughter of the duke of *Orleans*. She is now in great discontent, and displeased with her husband, and the court of *Florence*, because her *French* servants were sent away for

their great insolencies. She never appears in publick without her mask on, and has scarce seen her husband this half year, who is also displeased at her nurse lying with her. When the duke of *Crequi* (the *French* ambassador lately at *Rome*) was here, she desired a divorce, and repayment of her portion, which was 40,000 pistoles.

*Job. Medicis* the cardinal is the great duke's uncle, who hath a fair palace nigh *S. Mark's*; the duke hath two brothers, *Matthias*, governor of *Siena*, and *Leopold*. There were two more, viz. *Johannes*, a cardinal, and *Franciscus*.

The present great duke is very studious, and trades much in merchandise. He hath always two favourites, an old man and a young man. In the summer time he drinks nothing but small beer, and after dinner goes to bed and sleeps till the heat of the day is over, and then the street before his palace is chained up, that no carts nor coaches may disturb him. Every night the keys of the city are brought to him, and he has good information of all affairs. Justice is well executed here against criminals who are fetched out of churches. The pope and the great duke have agreed, that any offender may be pursued that hath done mischief in one, and flees into the other's country.

Almost every summer evening there is a tour of coaches in the chief streets, and on festivals the great duke, duchess, &c. are present, the duke always rides in a coach drawn but by four horses, with a postilion; the duchess was always masked, and rides in a coach with six horses.

The duke allows his resident at *London* 300*l.* *sterl.* *per annum*, and the king of *England* gives him his wine, which, they say, he makes advantage of, by selling it to the vintners for 100*l.* *per annum*.

At this time (the plague being in *England*) all letters from *England* were opened and aired at the *Lazaretto* over brimstone.

The great duke is not well beloved by his subjects, who are oppressed with a multitude of gabels. No gentleman can marry his daughter, but pays 8 *per Cent.* of the portion. No cow can enter the gates of *Florence* but must pay three crowns to the customers. Eggs, fruit, and all manner of small commodities pay taxes. A *Camera locanda*, or lodgings, give yearly a considerable sum.

Oranges were formerly here very plentiful and cheap, but since a gabel was raised on them, and the monopoly bought,



SKIPPON. bought, the *Genoese* (from whom the oranges came) have brought few hither, and therefore they are now very scarce, and the monopolist like to lose by his bargain.

No person without licence can keep a gun or pistol in his house.

The duke's guard are not *Switzers*, but *Germans* from *Austria* and those parts; they are 100 in number, and so appointed by *Charles V.* He hath a horse-guard of *Germans*, who ride in the city with their swords drawn. Marquess *Vitello* is captain of the duke's guard.

Marquess *Salviati* was lately sent into *England* to congratulate the king's return.

The duke hath one or two parks which are looked after by an *English* park-keeper. The duke is at a set rate with his cook to serve his table, and he allows his servants board wages. He is also agreed with his baker at a yearly rate, who pays him 1000 ducats *per annum*, for the monopoly of baking.

There are three dukes subjects. 1. The duke of *Northumberland*, called by the vulgar people *Duca di Berlick*. 2. The duke of *Salviati*. 3. Duke *Strozzi*. Marquess *Riccardo* is the richest nobleman.

The duke of *Northumberland* is not very rich; his daughter is married to a second husband the marquess *Paleotti* of *Bologna*; she was one of the duchesses of *Savoy's* ladies, and had her portion given her by that duchess. This duke of *Northumberland* hath a writing wherein one of his ancestors, a knight, was in *Henry VIIIth's* time authorized to undertake the king's affairs in *Italy*. This duke hath one son a page to the duke of *Bavaria*, and another in the college at *Douay*, who is like to be preferred by an uncle, a bishop in *France*, to an abbot's place.

One *Paolo Bocconi*, a botanist, is now employed by the duke in *Sicily*.

The *Italian* red wines are deeper coloured than the *French*, because the liquor stands longer together with the pressed grape; *Hyoscyamus albus* steeped in *Vino Greco* is used by the country people, to make them sleep.

*Pruneole* (*Fungi Species*) much in request, and eaten as a dainty.

Dr. *Kirton* gave us these informations.

The country people about *Florence* when they sweat for the *French Pox*, are put into an oven, keeping their heads out.

About *Florence* the people are troubled with worms in their blood, and other

parts; and a kind of cancrous humour corrodes their flesh away.

### M E D I C I N E S.

Dr. *Kirton* told us, he has one *Arcanum* (which he will leave to his heir) to cure the *French* pox in a short space, and perfectly; he purges them seven or eight days. The chief ingredient is *Sena*. In twenty days the cure is perfected, and he never fails.

That *Fonseca* the pope's physician lately cured a nun of a leprosy, by giving only vipers to eat for 15 days.

He knew by his own experience at *Padua*, that hens, &c. would eat vipers very greedily, and that the fowls will taste rarely well.

*Riverius's* prescription of *Crocus metall.* in a clyster for the *Angina*, has been successfully experimented by him. He has also given *Aqua Benedicta Rulandi*.

The hemorrhoids are cured by bathing the fundament with heated urine. And a glister of one's urine is good for the inner hemorrhoids.

The spleen cured by opium in a plaister at *Padua*.

For the *Hydrophobia*, Take of box, pennyroyal and primrose (leaf and root) and boil a competent quantity of each in milk, and give to man, dog, &c. bitten, the sooner the better.

Sir *Theod. Mayern's* *Decoctum nostrum Cordiale*, was nothing but the decoction of *C. C.*

Two or three spoonfuls of juice of camomile, with a few drops of spirit of vitriol given in a pottinger of broth to one in a fever, is a good medicine, and seldom fails, if given before the cold fit of an ague.

Drawing of blisters is good for any ach in the joints.

A man's own urine gargled, cures a sore throat and the tooth-ach.

Vipers have first their heads and tails cut off, before they are used in medicines.

Vomiting is seldom prescribed by *Italian* physicians.

The root of *Bardana major* in powder, to the quantity of a dram given in broth, is a certain remedy for a pleurisy.

*Mercurius dulcis*, with *Jalap Diagridium*, &c. is a good medicine for a cough, spitting of blood, &c.

Dr. *Kirton* saw a fellow presently recovered from a paroxysm of the falling sickness, by cutting off some of his hair, and putting it into his hand.



To make new wine taste like old.

Take the ashes and salt of wine, and make them up into a paste with the spirit of wine; tie this up in a cloth, and hang it within the bung-hole of the vessel of new wine, in the space left empty for the bag to hang in, which will drop now and then, and in two or three days will precipitate all the fæces, and the wine will drink pleasantly.

The city of *Florence*, reputed the fairest in *Italy*, is divided into two parts by the river *Arno*, a shallow stream, over which are four bridges; one is built with goldsmiths shops; this and another (which at each corner hath a fair marble statue) are remarkable for their arches, which are made flatter than ordinary arches are. In this river are barbles in great plenty, and almost every house near the river hath a great net at the end of a pole.

The buildings about the old palace are very mean, but the streets about the *Annunciata*, *Santa Trinità*, and the duke's palace (which formerly belonged to the family of *Pitbi*) are fairly adorned with houses of the nobility, amongst which that of *Strozzi* is taken notice of by Sir *H. Wotton*. Some have the stones of the outside rough hewn, which they call *Maniera rustica*. Iron rings fix'd in the walls of their palaces, which are to tie mules, &c. to.

The streets are pav'd (as at *Luca*) with broad free stone, which are made rugged for horses to go on without slipping; the kennels run under the pavement.

When any horse, &c. dungs, there are men and boys, with asses, that gather it up presently, and carry it away in wooden panniers out of the streets and the highways.

Jews. The *Jews* have their gheto here, and are much favoured by the great duke; they have bought the monopoly of making all sorts of buttons, which is the chief trade they imploy themselves in.

Here are many hospitals; but the fairest is that of *Sancta Maria Novella*, having a handsome portico in the front, built by the *opera*, i. e. revenues of the hospital: (This word *opera* is frequently written on grave-stones in *Florence*.) 70,000 *scudi per ann.* is the revenue.

Some of the country people are pretty rich, and are worth 1000 pistoles a man, which they get by looking after gentlemen's estates and villa's; for which they have the vintage, &c. They bring wood

and wine, &c. for the most part on mules and asses. SKIPPON.

*Acqua di Nocera* (a city in the pope's territory) is sold by apothecaries for above a testone a bottle, and is prescrib'd in fevers. The apothecaries here abate much of what they set down in their bills. A testone is the usual Fee for bleeding.

When Sir *John Finch* and Dr. *Baines* were last here, they presented the great duke with *English* horses, *Irish* dogs, the *London* polyglotta bible; and the duke bestowed two cabinets on Sir *John Finch*, and a gold chain on the doctor.

In the middle of the fountain at the *Piazza Vecchia*, is a marble *Neptune* very big, made by *Barthol. Ammanati*; under *Neptune* are two sea-monsters which throw out water. *Neptune* rides in his chariot drawn by four brass horses excellently made. They seem to be swimming in the sea. A very large octagonal basin of marble, on which are placed four sea-nymphs in brass, and at each corner is the figure of a fawn or satyr holding a fish spouting out water under their arms. The fountain of Neptune.

The old palace is a large and high pile of building, with a tall *Campanile*; the great hall is about the bigness of that at *Augsburg* stadthouse, but not so pleasant and lightsome; in this the walls are well painted, and the roof pictured. The labours of *Hercules* are here in distinct statues. By the entrance into this palace is a *Hercules* killing *Cacus*, made by *Bandinello*, 1534. The old palace.

*S. Spirito* is a pretty convent of *Au-S. Spirito*. *gustines*, who have a large and neat church; in the choir is a stately marble altar under a canopy, supported by four marble pillars; the monks sit about it in an octagon of marble.

The *Carmelita Calceati* have a good cloister.

We informed ourselves of some stones they find not far from *Florence*, at *Rimaggio* three miles and a half off, and at *Ponte Arrignano* twelve miles off, where they dig stones with the signatures of herbs, trees and representations of land skips. In the *Arno* is a yellow stone they polish well. *Pietro* im-Black slate is brought from *Genoa*. *Bro-* boscate.  
*chotello* is a kind of fine agat or marble from *Spain*. They polish stones with *Lustro*, *Gesso*, &c. and saw them asunder with a little bow, having a brass wire string, wetting the stone often with . . .

A handsome stone table of *Mosaic* work will cost here about 800 crowns.

The *Florentine* language is the most pure *Italian*; but a great imperfection in the pronunciation may easily be observed 8 D served



SKIPPON. served in the inhabitants of *Tuscany*, especially about *Florence*; for they speak their words in their throats with a strong aspiration; therefore this saying, *La lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*; the *Romans* speaking most distinctly.

Two millions of scudi the duke's revenue, but he spends not above one million *per annum*.

There are two hundred horse that guard the shore every summer night, but there goes out only thirty at a time, and are allowed four scudi *per mensem* a man.

Forty thousand footmen enrolled, and one thousand horse divided into twelve companies, and ruled by strangers.

The *Florentines* are prohibited to keep arms in their houses.

Sept. 1. We hired two horses for 20 *julii*, and travelled this day to *Siena*. We went out of *Florence* at *Porta Romana*, and rode a stone causeway most part of the day; we first pass'd between some hills, and had a pleasant prospect of the country which is very hilly, and after four miles went by a fair *Carthusian* monastery, and four miles further came thro' *S. Casciano*, a walled place on the top of a hill, and when we descended, had some level ground in a narrow valley; here we left the usual road by *Poggi-bonzi*, (where is made the best perfumed tobacco-snuff) and saved four miles riding, then came to a small village *S. Bocco*, and eight miles from *Casciano* baited at *S. Donato*, a small walled place; thence we had stony and mountainous way, five miles to *Castellina*, another little walled place, and two miles further had rocky steep way; but the last five miles we had very level and good way to *Siena*.

*Siena*.

*Domo*.

The *domo* hath an ascent by several steps at the west end, which is beautified with carvings, statues, &c. and at the entrance is a stone of the pavement thus inscrib'd, *Castissimum virginis templum castè memento ingredi*. The church is of a good length, crufted all over both within and without with marble. The walls and pillars within are of black and white marble. Round the body of the church and choir are the heads of all the popes (except two or three of the last) in stone. The present pope hath his statue in a sitting posture, and this underwritten, *Alexander Septimus Pontifex Maximus, Anno MDCLV*.

Under the popes heads are the emperors, and against the pillars stand marble figures of the apostles. Here is a rich gilt organ given by the present pope, and an altar building nigh his statue. The pavement before the high altar, and half the

church pavement is of *Mosaic* work, made by *Michellino Sanese*, wherein are describ'd some bible stories; that of *Abraham* with his son at sacrifice, and *Moses* striking the rock, is curiously and exactly done. About the choir is good painting in *fresco*, drawn by *Sodoma*. Two great silver candlesticks stood before the altar, and at the altar are fourteen brass angels, each holding a lighted candle. In a little room called the *Libreria*, the story of *Æneas Sylvius* the pope, is admirably well painted on the wall, one said to be done by *Petro Perugino*, and the other by *Raphael Urbin*; under all are inscriptions, one was transcribed, *viz.*

*Æneas Sylvius à Basiliensi Concilio in ulteriorem Britanniam Orator ac Scotiam ad Regem Calerium missus, à tempestate in Norvegiam pulsus et per Britanniam Reges speculatores eludens Basileam revertitur.*

The pulpit is of stone well carv'd. The cupola is covered with lead.

*La Modonna* is a pretty church, hung round with pictures of miraculous cures, &c.

The *Dominicans* church in *Campo Regio* is very broad and without pillars; here many *Germans* are buried.

The *Augustines* is like it, but lesser; they have two neat courts cloister'd about.

The bishop's palace is built of white marble.

We saw the hospital and the prince's palace, where prince *Matthias* the governor lives, who is guarded by *Switzers*.

The palace of pope *Æneas Sylvius* (*Pius II.*)

A strong citadel commands the city.

The *Carmelites* is a pretty convent.

The piazza is large and very handsome, resembling a cockle shell, and is well built about with tradesmens houses, &c. a square fountain called *Fonte Brande*, three sides whereof compassed with a stone wall whereon figures of marble in basso relievo.

*La Sapienza* is the schools, an indifferent building, where are some students, and about forty professors.

Most of the houses in *Siena* are built of brick; they are tall, and generally handsome, only they have paper windows instead of glass.

This city is situated on hills, and is very pleasant, the streets cleanly and neatly paved with bricks set edgeways.

Wine here sold for one *julio* a flask, which is somewhat a smaller measure than that at *Florence*. It seem'd to have a taste of vitriol.

In



In several piazza's the arms of the city (*Romulus* and *Remus* sucking the wolf) are erected upon pillars.

Palazzo di Signori. At the *Palazzo di Signori* is *Torre di Mangio*, a tall square tower, whence we took a full prospect. The *Capitano*, who is a *Sanese*, lives here. The roof of one room we saw most excellently painted by *Michelino*.

A void space of ground between the inner and outward gates.

There is a saying, *Siena si vanta di quattro Cose, di Torre & di Campane; di Bardasse e di Putane*.

*Siena* almonds are counted the best, and of them are made excellent march-panes.

Sept. 3. We agreed with a vitturine, or messenger, to provide us horses and diet, till we came to *Rome*; and going out of the gates of *Siena*, the searchers stopped us, because our *vallisia* or portmanteaus were not sealed at the dogana, (which costs two *julii* a portmanteau). But the vitturine telling them we were *Germans*, (who have great privileges here) they let us pass. At some miles distance we past by *Cuna*, a small walled place, on our right-hand; afterwards we came through *Bonconvento*, a walled town, where *Henry* the VI. emperor, died. To this place we had good way, and observed a corn country; here began a hilly road; we dined at *Tornieri*, seventeen miles from *Siena*; three miles from hence we rode through *S. Quirico*, a walled town, on the top of a hill, whither the duke of *Crecqui* retired when he received the affront at *Rome*; fourteen miles more we travelled a mountainous country, and rode up a high ascent to *Rodicofani*, which hath a castle on the very top of the hill, and lodged this night at the posthouse, a fair inn. This day we observed a kind of sledge to carry dung in.

The rivers *Arbia* and *Ombro*ne we passed over near *Bonconvento*, and had *Monte Alcino* on our right hand.

Sept. 4. Two hours before sun-rising we took horse, and rode six miles descent on the mountains, and three miles further left the great duke's country, and went over *Ponte Argentino*, a fair bridge, built by *Gregory XIII.* over the river . . . . Three miles more brought us up to the top of a hill, where we pass'd thro' *Aquapendente*, (a long street in it) walled about. Four miles thence we rode a plain way, on a high ground, and came down a craggy hill to *S. Lorenzo*, a small walled place; then we travelled a fenny country, by the side of *Lago di Volsena*, which is about thirty miles in circuit, compassed with hills

full of wood, and stored with coots and other fowls; and four miles from *S. Lorenzo* dined at *Volsena*, a small and poor walled place, with a castle. Hereabouts we observed the burning of chaff, and met many asses laden with flax; and many pilgrims were in this road, who begged of us. From *Volsena* we went through a wood on a craggy hill, and after eight miles came to *Montefiascone*, a walled town on the top of a hill, where we had a fair prospect of *Viterbo* and the circumjacent country; here we drank of a whitish sweet wine, called *Moschatella*. From *M. Fiascone* we made a steep descent at first, and then rode an easy descent in a champion country, till we came to the city of *Viterbo*; a mile or two before we arrived, the smell of a sulphur well, a mile from the town, was very offensive to us.

The domo is but a mean structure, where *Alexander VI.* *Adrian V.* and *Clement IV.* are buried; we saw a tombstone with the effigies of pope *Job. Lusitana XXI.* The domo.

This city is large and pleasantly situated on the rising of a hill; the houses are indifferently built; many tall square towers in the city. An old castle and a piazza before it, where is a handsome fountain, and in the chief street another large fountain.

After we had viewed *Viterbo*, we took horse Sept. 5. and came up a woody hill, and descended by *Il Lago di Vico*, formerly called *Lacus Cyminus*, about five miles in circuit. In that wood we observed tall and large oaks. Then we had good way six miles to *Ronciglione*, a walled place, on the top of a hill, and here began a champion country, where we travelled five miles, and pass'd by a small lake, just before we ascended to *Monte Rofi*. Thence we went seven miles to *Baccano*, and lodged this night in a fair new inn, built near a little lake, compassed round with hills. The air here is counted bad.

In this journey we observed our horses to stand still when we chirped them, which in other countries would encourage them to go faster.

Sept. 6. We went through a wood called *Il Bosco di Baccano*, formerly *Mesia*, which was some years since noted for robbers, and gave occasion to this proverb, *Par che Siana nel Bosco di Baccano*, used by those that are in a suspicious place. We travelled a good but hilly way, and observed this morning very thick mists in the *Campagna* about *Rome*, which seemed to stand in the midst of a lake. Two or three miles before we reached *Rome*, we saw *Nero's* tomb, and then rode between the



SKIPPOV. the villa's and large gardens; over the gate of one was this rhyme, *Pura, pudica, pia, miseris miserere Maria*. Then we pass'd over *Ponte Molle*, antiently *Pons Milvius*, over the *Tyber*, and rode a mile in the *Via Flaminia*, a broad and streight way, well paved, and on each side were gardens and villa's; this way brought us to Rome, where we entred at *Porta Flaminia*, now called *del Popolo*, where we gave one of our names, and a fellow with a paper in his hand went with us to the dogana where our portmanteaus were searched; but no printed books prohibited being found, we were dismiss'd, and gave a julio to the fellow, and another to the searchers. As soon as we entred *P. del Popolo*, which is a stately gate, on the left hand is a church dedicated to *Santa Maria del Popolo*, with a handsome piazza, having in the middle an obelisk and a fountain, and fronting to the gate is *Santa Maria di Monte Santo*; and *S. Maria delli Miracoli*, fair buildings.

At this piazza de *P. del Popolo*, three strait streets begin; 1. *Strada Paulina*, that leads to the piazza di *Spagna*. 2. *Strada del Corso*, above a mile long which brings to the capitol. And 3. A street that leads to *Palazzo Borgese*.

The particulars observed during our stay at Rome, were these:

*Porta del Popolo* was contrived by *Mich. Angelo*, on the outside of it stand the statues of *Peter* and *Paul*.

The Pantheon.

The *Pantheon* is now called the *Rotunda*, dedicated to *All Saints*, which hath a large portico in the front, supported on the outside by eight great pillars, and six remaining of eight within the portico; every pillar being one piece of stone. It hath no light within but what comes in at a round hole on the top of a cupola, which is divided into five rows of squares, and in every row are twenty-eight lesser squares, under them are fourteen windows or arches filled up with brick, which this temple is built of; where the cupola begins to arch, there is a wrought ledge. There were six niches that are now six chapels, besides the high altar, and each hath two striated pillars before it, and between each chapel is an altar: The architrave, and each side of the entrance into the *Pantheon* is one piece of stone; here are two inscriptions signifying the repair of the portico by *Urban VIII.* who took away the brass and lead from hence; and therefore this pasquil was made then, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari; fecerunt Barbarini*.

See the inscription in *Roma Moderna*, page 324.

The *Pantheon* is 144 foot high, and as many wide. The pavement is figured into squares and rounds interchangeably; the squares are grey marble compassed with a border of porphyry, and the rounds are porphyry of one stone. Most of the white stones on the pavement contain exactly three *Roman* feet, and the lesser in porphyry, one foot and a half.

*Agrippa* built the *Pantheon*.

On *All Saints* day the pope and cardinals use to visit this church, and printed papers are pasted on pillars, &c. signifying every time a mass is said at the high altar here, a soul is freed out of purgatory, which is an indulgence first granted by *Gregory XIII.*

The gate or entrance into the *Pantheon* is all of one intire marble stone, and is between the jambs or sides 19 feet  $\frac{6 \cdot 2}{1000}$ . Greaves on the *Roman* foot, page 127.

An old porphyry tomb before the *Rotondo*.

The *Pantheon* is intirely composed of the *Corinthian* order. Freart. page 3.

Sept. 8. At *S. Augustin's* church was kept the festival of *Thomas di Villa nova*, a saint of a new stamp.

The *Piazza Naona*, anciently *Circus Agonalis*, is a large and long place, in the midst whereof stands an *Egyptian* obelisk, called *Obelisco Pamfilio*, because erected by *Innocent X.* whose arms, the dove, is upon the top of it. It stands upon an artificial rock, out of which gush great streams of water, which are received in a huge basin, where is a fish, among several others, figured, that the superfluous water runs away in. At each corner of the rock is a large marble figure representing four great rivers. The hieroglyphicks on this obelisk are described by *Obelisk. Kircher* the jesuit. This is the stateliest fountain in *Europe*. In the evenings of summer holydays, the water of this fountain is let run about it, and coaches make their tour about it, striving to get into the file or rank.

There are also in *Piazza Naona* three other fair fountains.

Prince *Pamfilio's* palace is in the *Piazza Naona*; he was formerly a cardinal, but had a dispensation to marry. Prince Pamfilio's palace.

*S. Agnese* is a handsome new church building at the charges of prince *Pamfilio*. *S. Agnese*.

*Pasquin's* statue is at a corner of the booksellers street; it is only the *Bustum* of an ancient statue much broken, and is called *Pasquin*, from a taylor who had formerly a shop here, where there used to be a resort for news, &c. *Pasquin*.



Obelisk.

The obelisk in the piazza of *S. Peter's* was brought from *Nero's Circus*, behind the church; and *Sixtus V.* employed *Dominicus Frontana*, an architect, to erect it here. It is without hieroglyphick figures, and is 72 foot high; besides the pedestal, which is 36 foot high. On the top *Julius Cæsar's* ashes were preserved, but now there is a cross on the top, with a piece of our Saviour's cross, and indulgencies granted of 10 years, and as many quarantains, at the saying to it three *Pater Noster's* and three *Ave Mary's* for the exaltation of holy church. This obelisk was formerly erected to *Augustus* and *Tiberius*.

Obelisks are called *Giulie* by the vulgar.

In the piazza of *S. Peter's* is one fair fountain, with plenty of water, on one side of the obelisk, and another is designed on the other side.

Round the piazza, this pope *Alexander VII.* is building a most stately portico, (*Cavaliero Bernino* being architect) having four rows of great pillars; in the middle a coach may drive, and on each side people may walk; a balcony round the top. From hence a double row of pillars lead up to the entrance of the *Vatican* palace, whence there is a long gallery to the castle *S. Angelo*.

The portico of Alexander VII.

S. Peter's church.

*S. Peter's* church is a most magnificent structure, having a noble ascent by steps to a portico, in the front, as large as many fair churches. There are seven gates to this church, and the *Porta Sancta* is in the portico, which was now walled up, but in the year of jubilee the pope breaks it down, with great solemnity; over the portico are huge statues of apostles, &c. The *Porta Sancta* is  $11\frac{9}{16}$  foot wide between the jambs or sides. The great gate, in the middle, covered with brass, is  $11\frac{9}{16}$  foot wide between the jambs. Eight vast pillars support the body of the church, which are crufted over with marble, and are adorned with fainted popes heads; angels and doves are carved over each arch of the pillars. *Mich. Angelo* was the architect employ'd by *Julius II.* Two large statues, one of which is remarkable for treading on a brass terrestrial globe. Every altar is adorned with stately marble pillars. Behind the high altar were four vast statues gilding, of the evangelists, made by *Cavaliero Bernino* which are to support *S. Peter's* (an old gilt) chair, which now stands on the top of an altar on the north side. In a chapel on the south side is kept a wreathed pillar that (they say) belonged to *Solomon's* temple; and more of

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those pillars are preserved in the altars of *SKIPPON*. the cupola.

*S. Peter's* chair was exposed to view *January 8*, and the people had their beads touched at it.

The high altar enshrines the bodies of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, in a descent railed about; over the altar is a brass canopy, with several brass figures, supported by four wreathed pillars of the same metal, brought by *Urb. VIII.* from the pantheon, *Cavaliero Bernino* contriving it. They weigh 151794 lb.

We took a bolletin or little paper sealed, which we left at a door on the north side of the church, and there went up an easy spiral ascent to the top of the church, where we had a pleasant view of the several cupola's, and walked upon a flat, which seemed like a piazza. At the entrance into the great cupola is this inscription, on a stone,

*Decreto ill<sup>mo</sup>. et R<sup>mo</sup>. Card. Fabricæ Custos omnes ad videndum gratis admittito nihil Poposcito, nec sponte dantibus recipito.*

We had then another easy winding ascent, and went up some stone stairs to the convexity of the cupola; and read another inscription, viz.

Declaratio

*Schommunicato chi cacara et piscera su, et chi fara altre sporcitie.*

We had a prospect down into the church, where the high altar appeared a small thing, and men and women like black spots in the pavement.

We came then into a room under the brass ball, where some use to bring wine and refresh themselves after the pains of getting up so high. We went into the brass ball, which will hold 32 men; the sun shining made it very hot being there. From this church we had a large prospect of the city, country, and sea.

In this church the head of *Thomas Becket* is kept for a relique.

In four chapels of the cupola are preserved these four reliques, viz. 1. The *Sudarium* or handkerchief of *Veronica*, (whose statue is erected here, made by *Fran. Mochi*) which is called also *Il Volto Santo*, because they say our Saviour left the impression of his face on it, when he went up to mount *Calvary*.

*Salvatoris imaginem Veronica sudario exceptam, ut loci Majestas decenter custodiret, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. conditorium*

8 E



SHIPPON. *torium extruxit et ornavit. Anno jubilei.*  
MDCXXV.

2. In the chapel dedicated to S. *Longinus*, (whose statue *Bernino* made) is kept the iron spear head, that was thrust into our Saviour's body.

3. A piece of the cross which belong'd to the empress *Helena* (whose statue is made by *Boggi*).

4. S. *Andrew's* head, whose statue was made by *Francesco Fiammingo*.

A marble balcony over each of those figures; where on certain festivals those reliques are shewed to the people.

Behind the high altar is a handsome monument to *Paulus III. Farnesus Pont. Max.* where are two rare marble statues, one a lean shriveled woman, the other a handsome wench, which was formerly naked, but now covered with lead, because (they say) a *Spaniard* was in love with it.

Another fair tomb to *Urbanus VIII, Ubertinus Pontifex Maximus*, a death being figured writing his name on a black marble.

The cupola's of the ten chapels are richly gilt and painted within, and their walls crufted with marble. The great cupola within hath this inscription,

*Tu es Petrus, et supra hanc petram ædificabo  
Ecclesiam meam, et dabo tibi claves regni  
cælorum.*

Above that, in *Mosaic* work, are pictured the four evangelists, and over them 16 pictures of apostles, &c. and nigh the top are angels. And on the very top of the lanthorn,

*S. Petri Gloriæ Sixtus P. P. A. MDXXC.  
Pontif. V.*

On the south side of the church is a brass statue of S. *Peter*, (which some think was an antient statue of *Saturn*, or of *Jupiter Capitolinus*) in a sitting posture holding out his right foot, which some put their heads under, after they have made their prayers to this saint's figure.

The figure of *Innocent VIII.* in brass, lies on a monument. Another figure sitting in a chair holding in his hand the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side, which was sent to him by *Bajazet* the great Turk.

*Innocent* the tenth's tomb.

Dec. 29. In the great chapel on the north side of S. *Peter's*, a cardinal per-

formed mass, many other cardinals being present. Just before the chapel door stood the memorial of *Innocent X.*, hung about with escutcheons and candles placed round, this being the anniversary of that pope.

A curious monument of *Leo XI.* who was pope but 37 days; basso relievo work adorns the tombstone; at each end sits a fair figure, and a pope sits in a nich being a marble statue. The monument of *Gregory XI.* The relievo on *Leo XI.* his tomb, is the story of *Henry IV.* king of *France*, his fidelity paid to the church of *Rome*, and his subscription before this pope, when he was cardinal legate in *France*.

A curious monument to *Matbilda*, who gave to the popedom the country called S. *Peter's* patrimony; in basso relievo is represented the emperor *Henry IV.* kissing the popes's toe; a boy holding the imperial crown, and the countess *Matbilda* standing by. Her figure of marble stands up in a nich, with the tripple crown in her hands. This inscription underneath.

*Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Comitissæ Matbil-  
di Virilis animi Fœminæ sedis Apostolicæ  
propugnatrici, pietate insigni, liberalitate  
Celeberrimæ huc ex Mantuano Sancti Bene-  
dicti Cœnobio translatis ossibus, gratus æter-  
næ laudis promeritum mon. pos. An. D.  
MDCXXXV.*

Several confessing seats in this church, which are for several nations, as is intimated by their titles, viz. *Pœnitentia pro lingua Anglic. Hisp. Hungar. Flandr. German. Illyrica, &c.*

The priests, while they sit in these confessing seats, have long wands in their hands, with which they touch the heads of people who desire it, and pass along, bowing their heads to the priest, who by that touch, with the wand, signifies pardon of all venial sins.

The roof of the north wing of the church is richly gilt, and in the middle of it is written *Paulus V. Pont. Max. A. MDXXV.*

These pictures we took notice of. S. *Paul*, and S. *Antony* the first eremite, drawn by *Mutiano*. *Ananias* and *Sapphira* by *Christopher Pomaranci*. The crucifying of S. *Peter*, by *Dominico Passignano*. The falling down of *Simon Magus*, by *Giovanni Senese*. S. *Peter* curing the lame man nigh the temple-gate, by *Fran. Civali*, a *Florentine*. S. *Peter* raising up a dead woman, by *Cavaliero Giovanni Baglioni*. S. *Peter* walking on the sea, by *Bernardo Castello*. The offering up of our Saviour to the high



high priest, by . . . . . A priest at an altar, shewing a bloody handkerchief, by . . . . . A woman beheaded, holding her head in her hand, by . . . S. Thomas putting his finger into our Saviour's side, by . . . . . The picture of S. Peter in Mosaic work. An angel striking a man on the ground with his spear, of Mosaic work. Attila turning back when he came near Rome . . . . . pope meeting him and pointing up to S. Peter and S. Paul, with swords in their hands, is a most excellent piece of basso relievo . . . . . having his guts twisted out, drawn by Fusi a Frenchman. The picture of S. Peter baptizing the centurion, drawn in fresco, by Andr. Camasseus ex Mevania, 1635. Our Saviour giving Peter the keys, and washing his disciples feet, are two pictures in fresco.

Under a stone fix'd one a pillar is this inscription,

*Super isto lapide porphyretico fuerunt divisa ossa Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et ponderata per Beatum Sylvestrum Papam S. F. R. Anno Dom. cccix.*  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
*Q. Fca fu i Eccla.*

We went down into the vaults under S. Peter's having a lighted torch to shew us many monuments of popes, cardinals, &c. among them we saw the porphyry tomb of Adrian IV. an Englishman. A very large porphyry stone over the emperor Otto II. The tomb of Aloisius Wignacourt, great master of Malta. Several chapels, altars, pictures, old stones, &c. in this subterraneous place.

Palazzo di S. Officio is near S. Peter's and nigh it is the Campo Santo, which they say consumes dead bodies in 24 hours.

Englishmen in Rome, when we were there; Mr. James Oxinden, Mr. James Palmer, Mr. Hudson a Roman catholick, Mr. Edward Altham a Roman catholick, Mr. Broome an English merchant, kept house here. Mr. Compton since bishop of Oxford, and bishop of London. Mr. Waters, Mr. Paschal, Mr. Laur. Threele, Mr. Golding, Mr. Lowther, Mr. Farewell, Dr. Jeanes once scholar of the house at Trinity college in Cambridge, and lately fellow of Magdalen college in Oxford, Dr. Paman fellow of S. John's in Cambridge, Mr. Soames. Earl of Sundarland; lord Castlemaine; lord Hinchinbrooke the earl of Sandwich's son; Sir Edward Stradling; Mr. Henry Savil, Mr. Wormly; Mr. Slingsby Bethel; Mr. Steele, once recorder of London; Mr. Townly; Dr. Gibbs, who formerly practised phy-

sick, but now devotes himself to poetry, SKIPRON. and is lately made professor of humanity in the Sapienza. He told us he had equal skill in making Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English verses. He also writes exactly like printing, and makes coats of arms, fregi, &c. with his pen, very curiously. Thomas Normington, who calls himself father Leander, a Benedictine fryar; Mr. Brown, Dr. Brown of Norwich's son; Mr. Trumball, fellow of All-Souls in Oxford. Sir Edward Widrington came a pilgrim hither. Somerset is one of the oratorians at Rome. Mr. Noel, lord Camden's eldest son; Mr. Skippwith. The rector of the English jesuits college his name is Anderton. One Anderton waited on cardinal Carlo Barberino. One Sands in the duke of Brunswick's retinue.

I also procured a list of what English nobility and gentry had been at Rome, since the year 1651, including the above, to the number of 349. As also a list of the cardinals, anno 1665. [Both which, at this distance of time (1732) we think too immaterial to insert. The reigning pope then was Alexander Chifius.]

At Palazzo di Chisi in Transtevere we saw two roofs of rooms curiously painted; one done by Raphael Urbin, the other by several of his scholars. A head drawn in charcoal, by Michael Angelo. A cupid desiring a wife of Jupiter. A feast of the gods. A goddess drawn in a chariot by two oxen. Hercules killing a lion and the hydra. Jupiter and Ganymede. Three cupids shooting at . . . . . in the sea. Many Roman inscriptions. An old stone with several fasces, in relievo.

The amphitheatre, commonly called Il Coliseo, is much larger, but more ruin'd, than that at Verona, only more of the outward high wall is here remaining. It was large enough to contain 85000 men.

Meta Sudans is built of brick, between Constantine's arch and the amphitheatre.

The arch of Titus Vespasianus having curious basso relievo work, representing his story of subduing Judea, by the candlestick, table of Moses's law, and vessels of Solomon's temple being carved on it. This arch is of the composuit order. Freart. p. 5.

Templum Pacis hath three arches remaining.

Templum Jovis Statoris hath three pillars left.

An old portico before a church, (dedicated to . . . . .) whereon is written an ancient inscription to Antoninus and Faustina.

The arch of Septimius Severus is stately, having curious basso relievo work, representing a triumph, and hath a long inscription.



SKIPPON. inscription. This stands a good way in the ground.

*Templum Concordiæ* hath eight pillars of its portico remaining; the four middle pillars are each of them intire stones; the *capitella* of most of them are fastned on.

The capitol.

The capitol, vulgarly call'd, the *campidoglio*, is upon a hill, being built on three sides with fair buildings, and porticoes on the two sides, but nothing remaining of the antient capitol. In the middle of the square is an excellent brass statue of an horse, with the figure of the emperor *M. Aur. Anton.* on his back of the same metal; the horse's foretop is turn'd up into the shape of an owl, which signifies that it was a *Grecian* piece.

On one side of the *Conservatorio* is the figure of a lion killing a horse, whose head is modern, put on by *Mich. Angelo*. The statue of *Minerva*. The ravishing of the *Sabins*, in curious basso relievo under the figure of *Severus* and *Mammæa*. The statue of *Const. M.* The head and hand, &c. of a *Colossus*, that represented *Apollo*. A monument, with an inscription beginning thus; *Ossa Agrippinæ*, &c. The statues of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*. The statues of *Urania* and *Hadrian*. Four square stones with curious basso relievo, describing a sacrifice and triumph of *M. Aurelius*. A brass head and hand of *Commodus*. A fair ascent by steps lead up to the *campidoglio*; on each side at the bottom is a lion, having water running out of their mouths; and on each side, upon the top of the ascent is a marble horse led by a slave, and the trophies of *Marius*.

The head of *Scipio* fix'd in the wall of the capitol. In the hall are the statutes of *Greg. XIII.* *Paul. III.* *Charles* king of *Sicily*.

The statue of *Marforius* in a cumbent posture, much decay'd. A *columna rostrata*, with an inscription written in old *Latin*. The *Roman* measures and the *Greek* foot are mark'd out in marble. Over the figure of a sturgeon fish is written,

*Capita piscium hoc marmoreo schemate longitudine majorum usq; ad primas pinnas inclusive Conservatorib. danto. Fraudem ne committito, ignorantia excusari ne credito. Aug. Clavario. Fran. Calvio. Curtio Segardio Coss. instauratum ac erectum.*

The *columna miliaris* stands in the front of the capitol piazza.

In the hall of the *Conservatorio* are the figures of *Urb. VIII.* *Leo. X.* and *Sixtus V.*

The fresco painting of fighting is the work of *Cavaliero Gioseppino*.

There were upon the capitol hill 60 temples built by the *Romans*.

*Curia Calabra*, behind the capitol, hath only the architrave and capitals of a porch remaining.

Half way in the ground stands three pillars, with . . . *ESTITVER* . . . inscrib'd.

On the pedestal of a small pyramid in an obscure place not far from *Palazzo di Farnese*, is this inscription in memory of the affront the *Corfican* soldiers offer'd to the duke of *Crecqui* his lady, who was assaulted by them in her coach, and one of her pages kill'd; there having been a quarrel between the embassador (*Crecqui*) his servants and those soldiers.

*In execrationem damnati facinoris  
Contra E. D. Ducem Crequium Oratorem  
Christianissimi Regis  
A militibus Corsis XIII. Kal. Septembris  
Anni MDCLXI. patrati  
Corsica Natio ex decreto jussuq;  
SSmi D. N. Alexandri VII Pont. Max.  
Inhabilis et incapax ad sedi Aplice inserviendum  
In executionem Concordiæ Pisis innitæ  
Ad perpetuam rei memoriam declarata est  
Anno MDCLXIV.*

At *Monte Cavallo* stand the stately and curious statues of two men holding two horses, the workmanship of *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*.

*Quattro Fontane* is near *M. Cavallo* where four streets meet, and at each corner is a fountain.

The pope's palace at *M. Cavallo* is a long building; within is a fair large court. One day we saw the pope *Alex. VII.* coming out from a chapel where he had said mass: before him went several gentlemen; a priest in a blue habit with a gold cross: and when he came out into a presence-chamber, many kiss'd his toe; and one *German* priest, after he had saluted the shoe, begged, aloud, an indulgence for himself and 20 of his friends. The pope gave his benediction, by lifting up two of his fingers. He went into his sedan, and was follow'd by some cardinals in coaches, and bishops on mules; next came his light horsemen, about 20; every one with a lance and a banner on it; then three trumpets and a kettle-drum before a troop of cuirassiers all in armour; round about the sedan went a guard of *Switzers* in their red and yellow liveries; a company of musketeers stood nigh the palace, who all were in a ready posture, and kneeled as the pope went by. He had a red habit over a surplice, and



and a gold tippet; his hat was red, and plaited. In this equipage he went to *S. Augostino* on 11 Septemb. and visited the altar of *S. Ibo. di Villa Nova*.

The great chapel in this palace is one arch, well wrought and gilt. All the rooms were hung with red, and above the hanging is fresco-painting. We saw neat models of this, and the *Vatican* palace, with their gardens; and the roofs of them might be lifted up, and all the rooms discover'd a model of the *Pantheon*, and one of the domo at *Siena*; a death's head in marble, rarely done by *Bernini*; a neat clock, made by *Campani*, wherein a death walks with a flaming sword at the striking of every hour. The gardens are pleasant and large, with fine water-works. No stranger can see this palace but when the pope is abroad, as he was at this time in the country at *Castello*.

An obelisk, with hieroglyphick figures on it, stands in the piazza of *Porta del Popolo*; on the pedestal is an inscription concerning *Augustus*, &c. viz.

*Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pontif. maximus. Imp. XII. Cos. XI. Trib. Pot. XIV. Ægypto in potestatem populi Romani redutta Soli donum dedit.*

Another inscription of *Sixtus V.* his erecting to the honour of the cross.

It stood in the *Circus Maximus*, and was when intire eighty-eight feet long.

The *Villa Ludovisia* is within the walls, where we observ'd these remarkables: About twenty large urns, wherein, they say, the old *Romans* used to keep oil. In the *Anticamera* roof is painted *Aurora* in her chariot drawn by two horses, esteem'd highly; a marble statue of *Venus*, made by *Joh. Bologna*; a rich bedsted, valued at eighty thousand crowns; on the bed's head is a prospect of a town made in jasper; the ground of it is *Lapis Lazuli*; a goddess in a chariot of chalcedony, &c. two very large topazes, nine great pearls are ornaments of the bed's head; silver and gilt figures; the bed-posts are of amethyst and *Lapis Lazuli*; rubies set about the bed's tester, garnats, jaspers and agats towards the bottom: a cabinet, having in the front of it a picture of *Gregory XV.* his face of chalcedony, and his robes of one ruby: many curious land skips of *Mosaic* work: the nativity, and a *Madonna* pictur'd by *Raphael Urbin*; *Francis I.* king of *France* and his physician, by *Vincio*; a *Madonna* in *Mosaic* work, with pieces of sattin laid on for her garment; a model of the bull in *Palazza Farnese*; a model of *Laocoon*; a lion killing a horse, in a model; and another of *Antoninus* on the capi-

tol; the heads of *M. Antony*, *Jupiter*, *Seneca*, *Pompey*; the statue of the gladiator who got *Commodus* on *Faustina*; the pictures of *Susanna* and the elders; *Lot* and his daughters, and *Lucretia*; *Judith* killing *Holofernes*, by *Garcino*; a German clock, where the pope and cardinals go in procession every time it strikes; a curious statue of a dying gladiator; the statue of *Hercules*; a great brass head of *M. Aurelius*; an old woman painted rarely well by *Titian*; a crucifix, with a ladder and ten figures cut out of one piece of alabaster; an hermaphrodite sleeping; the head, thigh-bones, &c. of a man petrified together; the head of a sea-horse; several pictures of stone basso relievo; the head of the oracle of *Apollo*, a large porphyry stone, bunches of grapes wreathed about his head; two statues, resembling *Amicitia*, counted one of the best antiquities in *Rome*; *Sextius Marius* killing his daughter, and then himself, is a rare piece; *Pluto* carrying away *Proserpine*, and his dog *Cerberus*, made by *Cavaliere Bernino*; the dolphin with the dead boy on his back; the head of *Scipio Africanus*, made of green *Ægyptian* marble, which cost twelve thousand crowns; a large *Ægyptian* idol; the trunk or *Bussum* of an old statue, an excellent piece of work; the head of *Olympia* in basso relievo; *Cupid* with his hand through the mouth of a mask; *Cicero* and *Caligula's* heads, much esteem'd. The gardens about this villa are large, and full of long walks and pretty groves, and round void, square and oval places, are old statues and heads set thick. Fair vineyards and fountains. An inscription beginning thus; *D. O. M. M. Aur. Mucianus*, &c. In a little garden, when we step'd on one stone step it turn'd up, and forced water up that wet the standers-by and those that tread on it.

We gave the gardener one *julio*, and him that shew'd us the rarities four *julii*.

The fountain of *Moses* in *Strada Pia*, whose story is in basso relievo, is a stately fountain, where a great plenty of water gushes out of an aqueduct built by *Sixtus V.* who brought the water twenty miles. *Aqua Crabra* nigh this aqueduct.

The ruins of *Dioclesian's* baths are nigh the *Carthusians*, who are making part of the old building a portico to their cloister, and a cross building, with one broad arch, is their church, at the entrance whereof is a round arch'd place; eight pillars, with curious capitals, support part of the structure. Cardinal *Alciat* and *Pius IV.* have their monuments here.

Many great ruins about this convent.

*S. Pietro Montorio*, anciently *Mons Jani* - *S. Pietro* culus, is in *Transevere*, belonging to the Montorio.



SKIPPON. *Franciscans*, who have a fountain built by the king of *Spain*. In a chapel here are two monuments, and an altar-piece of basso-relievo. From this convent we had a large prospect of the city. We saw at this church the famous picture of the transfiguration of our Saviour, drawn by *Raphael Urbin*. In the middle of the cloister-court is a pretty round chapel, with a portico of pillars about it, and underneath is another chapel. This was anciently *Sacellum Tyburtinæ Sybillæ*.

An aqueduct.

Nigh *S. Pietro Montorio* a stream of water, like a little river, empties itself out of an aqueduct that runs thirty-five miles from *Lacus Braccianus*; it was built by *Augustus*, and repair'd by *Paulus V.* and is supported by thick square pilasters.

Villa Panphilia.

*Villa Panphilia* is without *S. Pancrace* gate, and is four or five miles in compass, where we saw the statue of *Seneca*; *Martius* tied by the hands and feet to the stump of a tree, an old piece, and taken notice of for the neat feet; a curious picture in black and white of the *Bacchanalia*; two designs of *Michael Angelo*; a laughing *Pan*, a *Bacchus*; several night pieces, one the picture of a man's head, which cannot well be discern'd without a candle; the heads of emperors, &c. round a hall; a curious statue, with his hands under his garment; a *Pan* with a lovely face: the picture of a countess of *Bedford*; a large porphyry vessel; a sleeping *Cupid*; another *Cupid* mask'd like *Hercules*; a *Venus* drawn by the life, after the shape of a *Courtesana*; two *Cupids* and two doves, with a cart full of flowers, &c. by her; a modern *Bacchus*, his statue in porphyry; the picture of a storm at sea; a rare picture of *Sir Thomas More* in small; the storming of a castle, by *Tempesta*; a wench looking lice and fleas in her smock by the light of a lamp.

Villa di Medici.

*Villa di Medici*, belonging to the duke of *Tuscany*, is on *Monte Pincio* near *Piazza di Spagna*, where we observ'd the statue of *Apollo*; the famous Greek statue of *Venus*, under which is written, ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ; the statue of a country fellow, (who was of *Cataline's* conspiracy) in a bending posture, with a knife in his hand; a statue of *Martius*, larger than that at *Villa Panphilia*: this figure, they say, is imitated, for some of the postures, by those that represent our Saviour on the cross. The two wrestlers are admirably well done. In the garden is a small Egyptian obelisk; a neat brass *Mercury* on a fountain; and on each a figure of the same metal, one a *Silenus*, looking on a child in his arms.

This distich here;

*Bella manu pacemq; gero, mox præscius ævi.  
Ex luce ventura fatorum arcana recludam.*

Two marble lions; on one is written, *Opus Flaminii Vaccæ Romani*. Two vast oblong marble basons; a marble *Cleopatra*, her head, arms and legs modern; *Niobe*, with thirteen small figures in different postures; an old man and an horse, excellently well done; an artificial mount, shaded with tall cypresses; the statue of a huntsman.

Here we gave a *testone* or three *julii*.

*Columna Trajani* is an hundred twenty-eight feet high, erected upon a pedestal (carved with armour, &c.) each side whereof is twenty feet; the pillar on the outside is curiously wrought with the story of *Trajan's* wars in *Dacia*; it consists of twenty-three vast marble stones; the pedestal of eight; the laurel crown over it of one; the *capitulum* of one, and the top of one, upon which the ashes of the emperor were kept in a gold ball; but now, instead of it is the statue of *St. Peter*. We went up to the top (as we told) by an hundred seventy-three steps; but *Ciaconus*, in his description of this pillar, says there are an hundred eighty-four, and forty-three little windows.

An obelisk stands before *Sancta Maria Anobelisk Maggiore*; and there is a curious furrow'd pillar brought from the *Templum Pacis*, whereon is erected by *Paulus V.* a brass figure of the virgin *Mary*.

*S. Maria Maggiore* is a long and large *S. Maria* church, where we saw two curious chapels: *Maggiore*. in that on the south side are two stately monuments; one with the statue of *Pius V.* and stories in curious stone basso-relievo, representing his making *M. Ant. Columna* general against the *Turks*, &c. and his assisting *Charles IX.* of *France* against the protestants. The other monument hath the statue of *Sixtus V.* and the story of his building an hospital, canonizing a saint, erecting of obelisks, building of the aqueduct, &c. all curiously done in stone basso-relievo. In the chapel on the north side, which was built by *Paulus V.* is his tomb, and the monument of *Clemens VIII.* both adorn'd with basso-relievo work. This is call'd *Capella Paulina*, having the better painting; and that *Capella Sistina*, having the best sculpture.

In the portico of this church is an old stone fix'd in the wall, describing by carv'd figures the manner of our Saviour's lying in the manger, &c. over it is this inscription:

*Card.*



*Card. Antonio Barberino Archipresb. aram marmoream Christianorum pietas exsculpsit, laborante sub Tyrannis Ecclesia, ut esset loci Sanctitate Venerabilior Franciscus Gualdus Arimin. miles S. Stephani e suo museo hic transtulit MDCXXX.*

This church is on *Mons Esquilinus*.

S. John  
Lateran.

*S. John Lateran* (built on *M. Celi*) is a very handsome church, with a richly gilt roof, having double isles with great square pilastres. Twelve stately marble niches for the apostles about the body of the church. Before the high altar is pope *Martin V.* his brass figure lying on a tomb. Stories in basso relievo in the wall. Pope *Sylvester's* monument here. This pope *Alexander VII.* hath erected one to *Alexander III.* with this inscription.

*Alexandro III. Pont. Max.  
Nobili Bandinella gente Senis nat.  
Qui difficillimis temporibus  
Eximia pietate  
Summa prudentia ac doctrina  
Ecclesiæ præfuit annis XXII.  
Invicta fortitudine atq; Constantia  
Apostolicæ sedis jura  
Auctoritatem dignitatemq; retinuit  
Et post immensos labores  
Ac solitudines pace parta  
Oecumenicum Lateranense Concilium  
Celebravit*

*Sanctissimas de eligendo summo Pontifice  
Deq; vi et ambitu coercendo  
Leges tulit*

*Thomam Cantuariensem Antistitem  
Bernardum clara vallis Abbatem  
Quos viventes amicissimos habuit  
Edvardum Angliæ, Canutum Daniæ Reges  
Sanctorum numero  
adscript*

*Plurimisq; aliis maximis rebus gestis  
Vitæ demum et gloriæ cursum confecit  
Ann. Sal. MCLXXXI. Kal. Sept.*

*Alexander VII. Pont. Max.  
Nominis et muneris in Ecclesia Successor  
Pontifici tanto Civi suo  
Pios Cineres veneratus posuit.*

At the high altar are kept the heads of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.

A stately palace is adjoining to this church.

The ruins of *Claudius's* aqueduct nigh this place, and *S. Stefano Rotunda*.

Two chapels on the side of the *Baptisterium*, which you must descend to by steps; there are two tall and large porphyry pillars, and four great stones, which seem to have been gates.

The *Baptisterium* here is a distinct building, where *Constantinus M.* was baptised, and his story is painted there in fresco on the cupola, by *Tempesta*; *Constantine's* battle at *Pons Milvius*, where he overthrew *Maxentius*, is pictured on the walls. It is an octagonal building, supported by eight very fair porphyry pillars.

The font *Constantine* was christen'd in is kept here.

Behind the choir of *S. John Lateran* is this inscription on a stone,

*Pius V. Pont. Max. Signa de Caroli IX. Christianissimi Gallie Regis perduellibus iisdem Ecclesiæ hostibus à Sfortia Comitæ Stæ. Floræ Pontificii auxiliarii exercitus Duce capta relataq; in principe Ecclesiarum Basilica suspendit et omnipotenti Deo tantæ Victoriæ Auctori dicavit, Anno MDLXX.* But no colours hang up now.

The altar in the north wing is curiously adorned with stone basso relievo, and four large pillars of *Corinthian* brass which are gilt.

The portico at the west end is part of the old church, where among many monuments is one supposed to be the empress *Helena's*, having figures of horsemen, &c. in relievo. A great pair of brass gates here railed about. On the outside of the portico are rhyming verses, which see in *Roma moderna*.

*Nicolaus Angeli fecit hoc opus* is written on this portico.

*Villa Borghesiana* hath noble and large gardens, with curious shady walks and *Borghesiana* pleasant groves. A park here with several animals. In the palace we were shewn a *Turkish* cavalcade at *Constantinople*, and that of *Pius V.* when he was made pope, both drawn by the hand of *Tempesta*. The head of *Julius Cæsar*; a marble figure of *Silenus* holding a child in his arms; the statue of *Agrippina*; the statues of priests with their white habits tied about them, more *Gabino*. The gladiator in marble in a fighting posture (the copy whereof is in brass at *St. James's Park* in *London*), under him is written, *Αγασίας δωρι Θεου Εφεσιος εποικη*. The statue of *Faustina* and the gladiator she was in love with. An *Ægyptian* woman fortune-teller's statue. The figures of *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Diana* in her smock, of alabaster. *Venus* with *Cupid* holding the helmet of *Mars*, when she disarm'd him. An alabaster head of *Paulus V.* Two curious alabaster urns. Two long porphyry tables. The figure of a boy pulling a thorn out of his foot. Three ancient statues of the *Gratiæ*. A satyr plucking a thorn

Since re-  
moved to  
Hampton-  
Court.



**SKIPPON.** thorn out of a clown's foot. A chair which catches and holds fast one that sits down in it, there being a contrivance of springs, which upon sitting down make irons clasp about the thighs, &c. The picture of *Lucretia* drawn by *Titian*. The head of *Alexander M.* in basso relievo. A *Cupid* and two urns of *Lapis Lydius*, which they call *Parragen di Fiandra*. A *Diana* made by *Lorenzo* of *Bologna*. Our Saviour dead, drawn by *Alexander* of *Verona*. A marble figure of *Cupid* riding and beating the *Centaur*. The statues of *Bacchus* and *Silenus*. An hermaphrodite sleeping on a bed of marble. The statue of *Bellisarius*. *Ganymedes* carried away by *Jove* in the shape of an eagle. The head of a sea-horse. *Æneas* carrying *Anchises*, made by *Bernino*. The head of *Jupiter*. *Narcissus* looking into a fountain. A picture drawn by *Sophonisma*, where are her father's, her brother's, and her own pictures. The figure of *David* with his sling, made by *Bernino*. The statue of *Darius's* wife, with a habit made of porphyry. The marble figures of *Daphne* and *Apollo* made by *Bernino*. The figure of *Curtius* leaping into the *Vorago*.

Castle St.  
Angelo.

At *Ca. S. Angelo* are some ancient inscriptions, and one new one I transcribed, viz. (on the east side,)

*Oriens.*

*Memnonis alma parens roseis hac parte quadrigis*

*Infert purpureum mane reveſta diem  
Hunc citat humanos veniente luce labores  
Et circumſuſas ſpargit amica comas.*

The caſtle of *S. Angelo* hath written upon the outside of it, *Alex. VI. Pont. Max. inſtauravit MCCCCLXXXXV.*

We left our ſwords with the guard, and walked up the inner works, which conſiſt of a very ſtrong and high wall, with four towers or baſtions well furniſhed with cannon and ſhot; round each baſtion is an iron rail for the ſentinels to walk ſecurely; the body of the caſtle is the ancient *Moles Adriani*, or *Adrian's* ſepulchre; here are ſeveral large rooms, (two of them halls) painted in *frefco* by *Guido Reni*, *Perino di Vega*, &c. On the top we had a proſpect of *Rome*, the *Tyber*, &c. An angel of ſtone ſtands here, which formerly ſtood on a tall maſt erected here, but was ſtruck down by thunder; hence we obſerved the out-works of the caſtle, which are five bulwarks, incompaſſed (except towards the river) with a ditch, and a counterſcarp without it. Between the four towers and the five bulwarks is a good ſpace of ground, where are the ſoldiers lodgings, magazines of powder, corn, &c. We ſaw here our

Saviour's head in marble made by *Sanſovinus*; the old heads of *Roma*, *Hadrianus*, and *Antoninus Pius*; a piece of cannon left by the duke of *Bourbon*, having the porcupine, his arms, upon it. Another gun with the *Barberini's* arms, ſaid to be made in *England*. In a yard below, under cover, are fifty large cannon, one of which is thus inſcribed, *Ex clavis trabalibus Porticus Agrippæ*. It weighs eight hundred pounds, and was made only of the braſs nails in the portico of the *Rotunda*. About three hundred ſoldiers guard this place.

On one of the inner baſtions ſome great perſons that are condemned have the favour to be beheaded privately.

Here were now priſoners, the prince of *Matrici*, who was committed ſeventeen years ago; a biſhop that has been priſoner three years; and about a year . . . *Bove*, a nobleman of *Bologna*, for killing another. Five hundred thouſand crowns are treaſured up here, that were laid in by *Siſtus V.*

Nigh the bridge of *S. Angelo* is a ſtone erected with a mark how high the river *Tyber* once flowed, intimated by this inſcription,

*Huc Tiber acceſſit, ſed turbidus hinc cito ceſſit, Anno Domini MCCLXXVI. Sede vacante.*

The ruins of *Pons Triumphalis* not far from hence, over which went all the triumphs from the *Vatican* to the *Capitol*.

*Via Angelica* is three miles long, and was made by *Pius V.*

About a mile without *Porta del Popolo*, this pope *Alexander VII.* hath raiſed a pretty building over a medicinal water, which taſtes like that at *Swolback*, &c. in *Germany*; and here are theſe two inſcriptions,

*Alexander VII. Pont. Max. ut Acidule Salubritatem nitidius hauriendi aquam loci Amanitas commendaret, repurgato fonte additis ampliore ædificatione ſalientibus, Umbraq; arborum inducſta publicæ utilitati conſuluit. A. S. MDCLXI.*

*Paulus V. Pont. Max. Anno Sal. MDXIII. Renibus et ſtomacho ſpleni jecoriq; medetur Mille malis prodeſt iſta Salubris Aqua.*

The *Tyber* runs juſt by.

*La Sapienza*, or *Studio*, is a ſtately building, having a double portico within, and a round church with a ſpiral ſteeple



steeple at the further end. Here the professors in all faculties read lectures. This inscrib'd on the *Sapienza*.

*Alexandro VII. Pont. Max. ob ædem Sapientie toto ambitu perfectam; et Bibliotheca, hortiq; medico instructam sacri Consistorii Advocati poss. MDCLX.*

We heard part of a divinity and law lecture here.

**S. Spirito.** *S. Spirito* is a fair and large hospital, where one morning we saw a physician making his visits. In one long and large room are the ordinary sort of people; another room for women, but at this time none of that sex were sick here; and gentlemen of decay'd fortunes, &c. have their apartment. In the wall towards the street, is an iron grate big enough to receive thro' it a little infant, therefore many women that have bastards, or are not able to maintain their children, in the night will put them in at this grate, and lay them in a hollow cylinder (like those in nunneries) and knocking against the board, an officer within presently attends and takes out the child, which is taken care of by the hospital; the revenue of this place is very great. They say there are some times 800 children at nurse, &c. An organ plays in the long room, while the sick are at dinner and supper. The priest and all the servants belonging to the hospital, wear on their left shoulder a  white cross of this figure.

**S. Onuphrio.** *S. Onuphrio* is on the *M. Janiculus*; whence we had a prospect of the city, *Tyber*, *S. Peters*, &c.

**S. Andrea della Valle.** *S. Andrea della Valle* is a church belonging to a *French* convent, where *Pius II.* is buried; the cupola, and over the altar is curiously painted. In a chapel are brass copies of the virgin *Mary's* and our Saviour's statues in *S. Peter's* church, made by *Michael Angelo*.

This church, and many others, was hung very thick in the front with escutcheons of death's heads, &c.

**Campo di Fiore.** *Campo di Fiore* is a large market-place.

**Corvino's museum.** At *Cavaliero Franc. Corvino's* museum, we were civilly entertained by him, and shewed these rarities. A medal of *Attila*; the head of an *Indian* bird, called *Machoy*, with two teeth before in the upper jaw, and four grinders on each side. *Unguis Alcis Ind.* lachrymal urns; particles of gold within the body of crystal; *Cornu avis piscatorii ex India*; *Cucurbita quadrangularis Ind. nigra*; *Rostrum Avis Serræ*; the black and white matrices of diamonds, with diamonds in them; *Locusta Cornuta terrestris*; *Gryllotalpa aquat. Serpentis species*

*Vulg. Luciula*; a book of insects painted by his own hand; another book of plants and flowers curiously done by him; exotick fruits, viz. *Gazobea Brasil. Pomum Ind.* which feels like a fungus, and rebounds like a ball; *Buchala Ind. Pickualla Brasil. Mat-tas Ind. Phaseolus Brasil. cum maculis nigris*; *malum Æthiopicum*; *Zidchealas Ind. vel Phaseolus Indicus minimus*; *Balsamum Americ. Phraziodbirrich. Phaseolus coralloid. minor. Capcapha Arabum*; *Caphas*; *Phaseolus Brasil. maximus purp. variegatus*; *Guaivo* from *Goa*; an *Ægyptian* idol of wood; a *Syren's* rib; *manus hominis marini*; a child five months old preserved in a glass full of white liquor; scorpions and a *Lacerta stellaris* preserved so in another glass; *minera purp. Argenti ex Polonia*; a crucifix made of red, yellow, white and black amber; another amber crucifix of red amber, given him by the king of *Poland*; a skeleton in wax made by *Mich. Angelo*; *Cocus Maldavicus*; *Radix Contrayervæ cum foliis*; *Aurum potabile*; *Essentia Lapid. Bezoar*; a cup made of a *Bezoar*; *Balsamum Arab.*; the leg of a mummy, which he said was part of an *Ægyptian* queen; a sparrow preserved with balsam, &c. *Piscis Ichneumon*; several pictures done in miniature by his sister *Magdalena Cervino*. *Tarantula Apula*, which he kept some time alive; and the poison of it, he said, broke two glasses; the nut, he said, the *Balsamum* grew in. He called his embalming matter *Gabaros*. He hath a pretty garden of rare plants.

At cardinal *Rondine's* palace is the arms of the king of *England*, and the arms of an *English* cardinal, viz. the field sable, a cross argent with four heads of the first, a lion gules, a rose gules between two birds in a chief.

*Templum Saturni*, or the *Ærarium*, is now a church dedicated to *S. Adrian*. Templum Saturni.

The temple of *Romulus* and *Remus* is now *S. Cosmus* and *S. Damianus's* church. Temple of Romulus and Remus. The first entrance is a round place like the *Rotunda*, having a cupola in the middle. On the walls are painted an obelisk, and a triumphant pillar, with inscriptions to these two saints; the body of the church is square, and the relics of the old temple may be easily perceived in the semicircular place the high altar now stands in, the walls whereof are pictured with *Mosaic* work, representing our Saviour, sheep, &c.

*S. Theodore*, some say, was formerly a temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, who were exposed here when the *Tyber* ran in a channel fill'd up by *Tarquinius Superbus*, and made the *Via Nova*; to this temple the *Roman* dames used to carry their children



SKIPPON. when they were ill. Four niches within this church. On *Constantine's* arch we observed (as others have done) the lower figures of the basso relievo to be of meaner work than those above, which are suppos'd to have been remov'd from *Trajan's* arch.

Velia. *Velia* is a place between *Constantine's* and *Titus's* arch, called so from *Vellere*, because the ancients here did pull off the wool (*vellere pecus*) before the art of shearing.

Santa Chiara. Sept. 24. Was a great festival at *Santa Chiara*, belonging to *Franciscan* nuns, where we heard one *Vittoria* a nun's voice, which is highly esteemed; and we saw here the prince's *Massimi*, reputed the handsomest lady in *Rome*; she was formerly called prince's *Conti*. Prince's *Rosana*, and the present *Spanish* ambassador's lady (who was the wife of *Don Lewis de Haro*) were also at this musick.

Sept. 25. We hired a coach for a pistole, with some other *English* gentlemen, and rode out at *Porta S. Johannis*, where we observed the stately ruins of an old aqueduct, which was called *Aqua Claudia*, and at *Porta Major* it divides itself one part towards *M. Palatinus*.

Frescati. We went a champion country, and made a constant ascent, till we arrived at *Frescati*, anciently *Tusculana Civitas*, now a little town. Here we saw these noble and pleasant *Villa's*.

Mondragone. *Mondragone*, a large building in the *Villa Borgese*, where there is a gallery hung with pictures of birds, beasts, &c. the picture of *Orpheus*; two large marble heads; a little wooden crucifix (they said) was made by a blind man. A hall full of popes, cardinals, emperors, monks, &c. pictures. In a garden, water-sports, and upon the running of a great stream of water, artificial thunder and rain. Fine shady walks and pine woods, also large vineyards, where are two villages or *Castelli*. Besides *Mondragone* are two other *Villa's*, viz. *Villa Borgese*, and *Villa Tusculana*.

Belvedere. *Belvedere*, or *Villa Aldobrandina*, now belonging to prince *Panfilio*, where we saw

pleasant cascades or falls of water, and heard artificial thunder, and air forced by the water, which made the figure of a *Centaur* blow a horn very loud. *Pan* played loud also on his pipes. A pair of organs played, and several figures seemed to sound their instruments all by air forced. We observed a little how these noises were contriv'd; a wheel like our chiming ones in steeples was turn'd about by another moved by water, and the chiming wheel had cogs which struck up the keys of the organ. In the middle of a room, a stream of air came out of a hole in the floor, and did bear up a hollow brass ball that danc'd upon the air-stream. On each side of a door were two cold streams of air. Pictures in fresco drawn by *Dominickini*. Water ran down two tall pillars wreath'd about. Curious shady hills and gardens here.

*Villa Ludovisia* hath a very high stream of water forced up, which is scattered, and falls like rain, with the noise of thunder. A handsome cascade of water, and above that a fountain and pond, with pleasant shades and walks. Below the garden is a piece of ancient building with about 18 arches of brick. From these gardens we had fair and delightful prospects of *Rome* and the country, and clearly discerned the sea and coast.

Prince *Ludovisia* is now viceroy for the king of *Spain* at *Sardinia*.

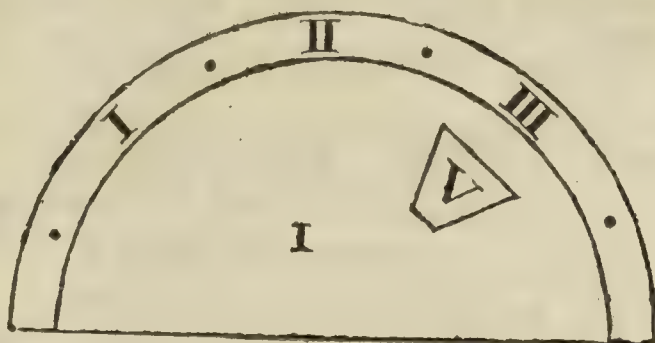
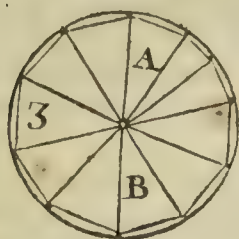
We ate this day of a fruit called *Lazarole* (*Mespilus Aronia*) which is as big as a cherry, of a yellow colour, and tastes pleasantly sharp. *Styrax Arbor* grows plentifully about *Frescati*; half way from *Rome* are the ruins of *Gordianus's* palace.

At night we returned to *Rome*.

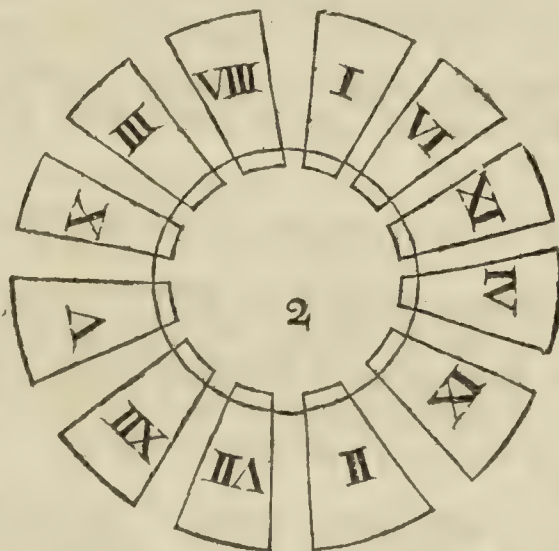
We visited Signior *Gioseppe Campani*, Sig. Campani, who makes excellent good glasses for telescopes, &c. which are finely wrought, the convexity of them being scarce discernable. He hath printed *Ragguali di due Osservazioni*; wherein is a discourse of the limbus about *Saturn*, and two dark spots in the broadest fascia of *Jupiter*, which *Cassinus* shewed him, and called them *Jovis Satellites*.



We saw a clock of his making to shew the hour in the night, which hath a dial SKIPPON.  
contrived after this manner.



A lamp is placed within, and the light thereof shines thro' the figures; (scheme I.) which are of pellucid glass in the semicircle divided into four parts, for the four quarters of an hour. In that first scheme, where the *fig. V* is, there is a hole, the hour appears at; *e. g.* The basis of the angle *A*, in the third scheme, fastens to the bottom of the hour *V*, marked on a brass *Lamina*, in the second scheme, and brings it to the horizon of the semicircle in the first scheme, and when that descends, at the other side, the figure or hour *VI*. is brought up, &c.



*Note*, That the twelve hours are made of glass, and fixed in brass *Laminae*, in the second scheme, and hang loose upon a wire, and in the third scheme, four *Laminae* are skipped every hour. *Campani* told us, that the *Laminae*, in the third scheme, were made not of equal numbers with those in the second, because if otherwise, the motion would not be so regular.

Scala  
Sancta.

The *Scala Sancta* consists of 28 white marble steps, which belonged to *Pilate's* palace, which they say our Saviour ascended and descended. The papists believe there are three years and as many quarantanes of indulgence with a third part of their sins remitted to every one that goes up these steps kneeling and saying *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias*; on each side are two fair ascents by stone steps, which any may walk up without kneeling, and by these the superstitious people come down, after their devotions on the holy stairs. Every day, in all weathers, there are some going up these steps. At the top there is a chapel and an altar, where there is a picture, they say, drawn by *S. Luke*.

sermon to  
the Jews.

One *Saturday* we heard (about four in the afternoon) a *Dominican* fryar preach to the Jews, at *S. Trinità de Pellegrini*; a Jew out of every family being obliged to be present every *Saturday*, and when any of them sleep, a sbirro or officer, with a wand, wakens them. The Jews are divided into six classes, and we were informed

by some, that a certain number out of these classes, whose turn it is, must come, and every one, that is present, have their names written by officers; if any are absent that are expected, they are punished with a pecuniary mulct, and the class, whose turn it is, must pay for those that are poor and unable to pay. A hundred men and 50 women must be present. The preacher hath his stipend out of the *Camera Apostolica*.

*Columna Antonini* stands in a *Piazza* Columna  
*Colonna*, and was erected by *M. Aurelius* to *Antonini*.  
*Antoninus Pius*. It is 175 foot high, hath 56 little windows and 216 steps; upon the top was the figure of *Antoninus Pius*, but now there is in his room the statue of *S. Paul*. From the top we had a fair sight of the city. Sculpture round the outside of this pillar.

*Don Mario* the present pope's brother was now repairing a palace, in the same piazza; and next to it is a palace of *Cavaliero Rospi*, where are several old statues.

Removing



SKIPPO.

Removing our lodgings, 6 Oct. our new landlord sent our names to the magistrates of the city.

S. Apollinare.

*S. Apollinare* is a church belonging to German Jesuits; it was formerly a temple of *Apollo*.

S. Maria Sopra Minerva.

*S. Maria Sopra Minerva* is a church full

*Dissipant hic nexus quos nectunt Tartara nodos  
Junxit Ductores, agmina jungat amor.  
Jungat amor mente, ut brachia jungimus ambo  
Tartareos nexus dissipat iste globos.*

The picture of a *Dominican* friar holding a man's skin and a knife in his hand, and this under-written,

*B. Johannes Hung. ex inquisitore Ep' ab  
Hereticis pelle detracta crudeli morte occubuit.*

In the *Piazza Giudea* near the Jews *Ghetto*, is this inscription, on an old building.

VRBE ROMA IN PRISTINAM FORMAM RENASCENTE  
L. AVR. MANLIVS CHARITATE ERGA PATRIAM . . . . .  
AEDES SVO NOMINE MANLIANAS PRO FORTVNARVM  
MEDIOCRITATE AD FORIV . . . . . SIBI POSTERISQ.  
SVIS A FVNDAMENTIS P.

In a little street, leading to the fish-market, we observed green marble stones in the pavement. Nigh *S. Angelo* in *Pescaria* we viewed the ruins of *Septimius Severus's* portico.

Ponte S. Maria.

*Ponte S. Maria*, called *Ponte Rotto*, because half ruined and broken down, was formerly *Pons Palatinus* or *Senatorius*. Near it is a house, they say, was *Pontius Pilate's*

S. Maria Aegyptiaca.

*S. Maria Aegyptiaca* was anciently *Templum Lunæ*; where the *Armenians* have their service. Several grave-stones in the church-yard, with *Armenian* characters inscribed.

La Madonna del Sola.

*La Madonna del Sola* is a round church, formerly *Templum Solis*, having a portico of about 20 stone pillars; by reason of the many ruins, the ground is so high about it, that you descend into this church, which hath a stone wall round it, where we observed the stones were rough hewn for to make the mortar stick the better; formerly no light came in but at the top, at a round hole, which is now covered.

S. Maria in Cosmedin. Schola Græca.

*S. Maria in Cosmedin*, formerly *Schola Græca*, because here was taught the Greek language; it is also called *La Bocca della Verità*, from the visage of a man with his mouth open, made of white marble, and fixed in the portico, where they say the ancients used formerly to swear by putting their hands into this mouth; and if they swore falsely their hands were bit

of cardinals, &c. monuments. It belongs to the *Dominicans*, and was antiently the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, having still an old brick front. In the cloister are painted in *fresco*, *S. Francis* and *S. Dominicus*, embracing one another, and these verses by.

We heard a *Dominican* preach up the rosary with great zeal, and he reproved the people for not bestowing a julio towards masses to free souls out of purgatory.

off. But some, more probably, guess it was only an ornament for water to pass thro'. At *Schola Græca* it is said *S. Augustin* read, and this place was dedicated to *Veritas*.

*Forum Boiarum*, where there is a stone cistern, that receives the *Aqua Crabra*, that runs under ground here, after its passage by *Porta S. Johannis* and the *Circus Maximus*.

*Templum Jani quadrifrontis*.

A small arch the goldsmiths built to the honour of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, whereon are described in basso relievo sacrifices and the several instruments used at them, and a captive with his hands chained.

*S. George's* church hath old pillars in it, and was formerly a temple dedicated to one of *Scipio Africanus's* captains.

Near the *Tyber*, and under *M. Aventinus*, are ruins of the *Roman Saline* and granaries. On a corner of the *Aventine*, towards *Porta S. Pauli*, is a bulwark raised by *Paul V*.

The ruins of *Pons Sublicius*: which was first built of wood, and called *Pons Sacer*.

*Mons Testaceus* is about half a mile in compass, and is as high as a man can throw a stone; it clearly appears the whole bulk of this hill consists of nothing else but broken pieces of earthen pots.

Ruinous arches of *Aquæ Appiæ*.

*Cestius's*



*Cestius's* pyramidical sepulchre is near *Porta S. Pauli* (antiently *Ostiensis* & *Trigemina*) and stands part without the wall, but the greatest part within. In 1663 it was repaired; two white marble pillars erected before it, and in the middle is an entrance into it.

The Circus Maximus. The *Circus Maximus* was between the *Palatine* mount and the *Aventine*; now arable ground.

Under *Mons Palatinus* are vaults, which some think were antient shops; on the hill are the ruins of *Augustus's* palace and *Cicero's* house.

Antonini Thermæ. The stately and vast ruins of *Antoninus's* baths.

The *Septizonium* of *Severus* is quite ruined and taken down.

In the gardens, under *Mons Palat.* are the ruins of *Claudius's* aqueduct.

Maria Nova. At *S. Maria Nova*, belonging to the *Olivetari*, are the ruins of *Templum Solis* & *Lunæ*, and of *Isidis* and *Serapidis*. Here is a very neat marble shrine for the statue of *S. Francisca Romana*. *Gregory XI.* hath a fair monument adorned with basso relievo work; he removed the apostolic seat from *Avignon* to *Rome*. Over two stones with hollows in them, is written,

*In questo pietre pose le Ginocchie S. Pietro, quando i Demonii porta vano Simon Mago per Aria.*

In the middle of the church is a finely tessellated pavement.

Maria Libera-ice. *Santa Maria Liberatrice* in the *Forum Romanum*, was the temple of *Vesta*.

*Templum Martis* and *Templum Saturni*, stood near one another.

At the bottom of *Mons Palatinus* nigh *T. Jovis Statoris* are the ruins of an old *Curia*, (*Calabra* ?) and between the capitol and *Mons Palatinus* was *Curtius's* vorago.

a Conso- tione. *La Consolazione* is a church built where the *Clivus Antiquissimus* was.

emplum Minervæ. Nigh the *Campo Vaccino* is an old portico, by some called *Porticus Nervæ*; by others *Templum Fortunæ*, but more properly guessed to have been *Templum Minervæ*, because at the entrance is the figure of *Minerva* in basso relievo; the architrave was well carved, but it is now much defaced.

In *Campo Vaccino* the 25 Oct. was a fair kept, where we bought *Mures Avellanei Moschatelle*, or dormice, which we kept tame; they would seem almost dead when numb'd with cold, but the warmth of fire would presently revive them.

annunci- ella. *Annunciatella* is a nunnery, where are three pillars of a portico, a piece of

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stone wall and an arch which belonged to *SKIPPON.* the *Forum Transitorium*.

*Santa Maria* in *Campo Carleo* is part of *S. Maria.* *Paulus Æmilius's* baths, which were built at the foot of *Mons Viminalis*, in the shape of a theatre, and had a passage round it, and several rooms which are now converted into stables.

*Theatrum Marcelli* is now turned into several dwelling houses. The columns are of the *Doric* order, and without bases. Freart. p. 11.

On *St. Mark's* palace, where the *Venetian* ambassador dwells, is the figure of *Agri-cultura*, in basso relievo, somewhat defaced. On the same wall is another stone with *Diana* and her nymphs. At a back entrance into this palace is the body and head of a woman, being a large stone.

One evening stood a Jesuit, upon a stall A Jesuit in the *Piazza Naona*, and preached with much action and postures of his body; and at the conclusion, a crucifix was brought to him, which he kneeled to, and with great devotion prayed to it and embraced it; the congregation seemed greatly affected, by kneeling at the same time, and beating their breasts. The Jesuit having done, invited the people to another sermon; he kissed the feet of the crucifix, which was presently carried in procession, with two candles before, and the crowd following it; some priests singing, and the people answering.

*Gallienus's* arch is built plain, where two keys hang by a chain, said to be the keys of *Tivoli*.

A place with three niches of brick, wherein *Marius's* trophies stood. We walked thence a pleasant way to *Porta S. Laurentii*, antiently called *Tybertina*, *Taurina* and *Esquilina*, where we saw the entrance of *Sixtus V.* his aqueduct into the city, having run along the wall from *Porta Maggiore*, antiently *Labicana*, *Prænestina* and *Nevia*; whereon are old inscriptions. Here began the *Via Labicana* and *Prænestina*. Just within the gate is a tall brick pillar which formerly had a pipe of water, and therefore probably it was a *Meta Sudans*.

*Santa Croce* is a mean church for the *Santa* building, where are several relicks, viz. *Croce.* *St. Thomas's* finger which he put into our Saviour's side. Two spine of the crown of thorns, a piece of the cross, &c. Here is a garden inclosed by the city wall, and the ruins of *Amphitheatrum Castrense*. In the vineyard are the remains of the temple of *Venus* and *Cupid*. An old arch near it, made like a grotto. A large cloister'd court belongs to *Santa Croce*.



SKIPPON.  
Galluzzo.

*Galluzzo* is (nigh *S. Bibiana*) a large old round building, being the biggest (next to the *Pantheon*) of the Roman temples remaining in *Rome*; it was erected by *Augustus Cæsar*, to the memory of *Caius* and *Lucius*, his nephews, and therefore now called *Galluzzo* by the vulgar. It is not much inferior to the *Rotunda* in height and breadth; it hath 10 windows, but no hole on the top; below them are eight large niches, and two great entrances opposite to one another. In the middle is a fair marble fountain decagonal, as the figure of the temple is. An eremite lives at *S. Bibiana*.

Sancta  
Maria.

*Sancta Maria Transtevere* is a pretty church, the pillars whereof are antient, and each of one stone. Before the high altar is the place where they say a fountain of oil sprung up at our Saviour's birth. Over it is this distich, with false quantity:

*Nascitur hinc Oleum Deus & de Virgine utroq;  
Oleo sacrata est Roma Terrarum caput.*

In a pillar is fixed an old stone, and this inscription over it:

*Hoc lapide ad Collum alligato S. Calistus  
Papa hujus Basilicæ fundator, in puteo  
demergitur, martyrio coronatur.*

Nigh the west door are kept three round black stones, and this inscribed over them:

*Hos lapides Sævi Tyranni pedibus Marty-  
rum alligabant.*

These stones were the antients weights, as *Budæus* thinks.

The roof of the church is richly gilt, whereon directly over the place where the fountain of oil was, is written;

*Hac prima Dei matris æde, Taberna olim  
meritoria, olei fons, è solo erumpens  
Christi ortum ostendit.*

Several antient monuments here, among which that of *Innocent II*.

S. Honu-  
frio.

*S. Honufrio* is a small church belonging to the order of *S. Hierom*, where we saw *Tasso* the poet's epitaph; which we transcribed in our inn at *Brescia*.

S. Isidore.

*S. Isidore* is a neat church well furnished with good pictures; in a little chapel is a new monument with white marble heads, made by *Caval. Bernino*. A convent here of *Irish Franciscan* monks of the minor observ. We visited father *Francis Herald*, who shewed us their library, a large room well furnished with

books. This friar hath epitomized in two folio's the history of the whole order of *S. Francis*, written in many volumes, by *Luke Wadding* of *Limerick*, one of the same order, whose picture hung up here. He was in great esteem with five popes; and by his industry the foundation of this convent was begun for 50 monks; which number is now lessened to forty, by reason of the disturbances they lately met with in *Ireland*. We saw also the picture of one *Wise*, who was a knight of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, and was prior of *England* in queen *Mary's* time; after her death he was favoured in the king of *Spain's* court. They have a passage out of this monastery into prince *Ludoviso's* gardens, who is a great patron of theirs. This place is pleasantly and healthfully situated, and it commands a view of all the city and the *campania* about it.

Behind the duke of *Florence* his palace in *Piazza Madama* are the ruins of *Thermæ Alexandrinæ*, a large arch, and some old brick-walls remaining.

The ruins of *Thermæ Agrippinæ* are behind the *Rotunda*, and they are vulgarly called *Ciambellæ*.

A church near *Thermæ Agrippinæ*, which hath this inscription on the outside:

*Sacris Divi Francisci stigmatibus.*

In *S. Carlo Borromeo's* church, where his heart is kept, we saw (on his festival 25 Octob.) many cardinals in their red robes and caps, who sat on a raised bench in the middle of the church, with a guard of *Switzers* attending them.

The same day there was a great con-  
course of people at *S. Gregorio* on mount ry.  
*Celio*, where *S. Greg. Magnus* lived, and now it belongs to *Camaldoli* monks. For eight days, beginning on *All Saints*, the people pay much devotion here, and kiss a stone table, and the foot of an image. A statue of the virgin *Mary* is in high esteem for speaking to *S. Gregory*.

Octob. 29. *Flavius Cbifus* the pope's nephew, and cardinal *Padrone* (who was lately returned from *France*, where he had been sent legate) made this morning a publick entrance, after this manner; First came a *cavalcado* of *Roman* gentle-  
men; then 24 on horseback with maces;   
after them the cardinals on mules, and habited with their purple robes and hats, went before the cardinal *Padrone*, attended by a great number of footmen in rich liveries; then followed many bishops and *monsigneurs*, i. e. court-clergymen. The cardinals

Thermæ  
Alexan-  
drinæ &  
Agrip-  
pinæ.

A caval-  
cade.



cardinals had several waited on them, with painted staves like our constables. They began the cavalcade at *Porta del Popolo*, and rode to mount *Cavallo*, where the pope expected his nephew in the consistory; who, at his arrival, kiss'd his uncle's toe, and then his holiness kiss'd him on both cheeks; afterwards he went to all the cardinals present, and they gave him every one a kiss.

In the hall of the conservatorio, at the capitol, is this inscription, under a white marble head of *Christina* queen of Sweden.

The inscription at the capitol to queen Christina.

*Christina*  
*Sueorum Gothorum*  
*Et Vandalorum*  
*Regina*  
*Quod instinctu divinitatis*  
*Catholicam fidem regno avito preferens*  
*Post adorata S. S. Apostolorum limina*  
*Et submissam Venerationem Alexandro VII.*  
*Summo religionis Antistiti exhibitam*  
*De se ipsa triumphans in Capitolium ascenderit*  
*Majestatisq; Romanæ monumenta*  
*Vetustis in ruderibus admirata*  
*III Viros consulari potestate et Senatū*  
*Tecto capite confidentes*  
*Regio honore fuerit prosecuta*  
*VIII eid. Quintil. An. MDCLVI.*  
*S. P. Q. R.*  
*Stephano Petruccio*  
*Josepho de Annibaldensibus ex Dnis. Castri Zancati*  
*Fabritio de Maximis ex Dnis. Castri Arfuli*  
*Conservatoribus*  
*Jo. Carolo de Piccolominibus ex Dnis. Castri Balzerani*  
*Capitum Regionum Priore.*

In the *Conservatorio* we saw the statue of *Hercules* in brass; the statue of *Virgil* and *Cicero*, with the *Cicero* on his left cheek; the head of *L. Cornelius Præfectus*; the brass shepherd pulling a thorn out of his foot; *Mithridates* his head in relievo; *Fasti Consulares*; a brass figure of the wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*; the wolf's left hinder foot was struck with a thunderbolt in time of sacrifice, which wound is still to be seen on this figure; a brass head of *Jun. Brutus*; the statue of one of *Constant. M.* his servants; the statues of *Dea Cybele*, *Silentiū* and *Abundantia*; the statues of *Carolus Borromæus*; *Jo. Franc. Aldobrandinus*; *M. Ant. Columnia*, and of *Alex. Farnesius*; a room with *fresco* painting, done by *Job. Tomaso Loretto* of *Sicily*.

*Ara Cœli.* Upon the highest part of the capitol hill is the church of *S. Maria Ara Cœli*, so call'd from an altar erected here by *Augustus*, and inscrib'd, *Ara primogeniti Dei*, because he receiv'd answer from the oracle of *Delphos*, That *Christ*, whom he call'd a *Hebrew boy*, had silenc'd all the oracles.

Many steps led up to this church, where, on the second of *November* the feast of *St. Diego* was solemniz'd, the church being hung round with silk and rich tapestry, and good voices sung; a discalceate *Carmelite* made a long panegyrick in *Italian* to this *Spanish Saint*.

The *Vatican* palace hath many things worth one's sight: the *Sala Clementina* is painted in *fresco*, by *Paulo Brilla*, *Jo. Bapt. Cherubino*, and *Jo. Alberti*. In one corner we observ'd a hoop very exactly done. The consistory chamber, where the pope washes pilgrims feet, &c. on the holy week, the inquisition room. In a large room are great pictures, drawn by *P. Cortona*, which are copied after, to make the *Mosaic* in *S. Peter's* cupola's, and in hangings. A room where the pope dines and sups, and where *Urb. VIII.* dy'd. The private audience chamber for ambassadors. The *Sala Constantina*, with the large *fresco* painting of the battle at *Pons Milvius*, done by *Julio Romano*. In the next room, the angels beating the . . . out of the temple. On one side is a pope carry'd on mens shoulders; and *Raphael Urbin* (who painted it) his figure at full proportion. In another room the story of king *Pepin* in *fresco*; the crowning of *Carolomagnus*, by *Gaudenzio*; a chapel and its cupola, painted by *Marcello Venusti*, *Michael Angelo's* scholar; a copy of *Santa Maria Maggiore* on a pellucid white marble: the original of it they say was drawn by *St. Luke*, and is kept in *Capella Paulina* at *Santa Maria Maggiore*: the roof of one room painted with the ascension, pentecost and *M. Tabor*, by *Guido Reni*. In the *Sala Regia* kings ambassadors have audience; the walls pictured in *fresco*, where is describ'd the throwing of *Coligni* out of a window at the *Parisian* massacre: his death was approv'd of by the *French king* and cardinal . . . and applauded by pope *Sixtus V.* *Rex Colinii Necem probat*, written here.

In the *Sala Ducale* are dukes ambassadors receiv'd; several rooms for the pope's several guards; a stately gallery painted in *fresco*, with the maps of every country of *Italy*; *Malta* and *Avignon* are describ'd by *Ignatius Dantes* a *Dominican* friar; topographical maps of the chief cities, and an intimate of what famous battles, and in what place; the great chapel, where, at the upper end, is the famous *fresco* picture of the last judgment, drawn by *Michael Angelo*, who, at one corner, has painted the master of ceremonies to *Paulus III.* for affronting him: he is represented naked, and in hell, a serpent twisting about him, and biting

SKIPPON.

The Vatican palace.



**SKIPFON** biting him by the privities. This person complain'd to the pope, and desir'd it might be defac'd ; but the pope answer'd, If he had been in purgatory he could have freed him, but out of hell there was no redemption. This is call'd *Capella Paulina*, the little chapel, where the pope says mass every morning, (when he lodges at the *Vatican*) and hears a second mass said by his chaplain. On holy *Wednesday* noblemen, &c. receive the host from the pope's own hand at this place.

The apartment for stranger princes, where he gives them one dinner in a hall. In one chamber is the story of the countess *Matilda*, painted in *fresco*, by *Jo. Fra. Romanello*.

The gardens of the *Vatican* palace are very pleasant, with fair fountains and water-sports : one of the gardens is on the *Vatican* hill, and hath pretty shady walks ; and the other is planted thick with orange-trees : one fountain hath an iron ship spouting out water. We saw here the brass pine-apple, which stood on the top of *Moles Adriani* ; the famous *bustum* or trunk of the body of *Hercules's* statue, having this written under it ; Ἀπολλώνιος Νέσος Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησεν ; *Laocoon* with his two sons twisted about by snakes, made most lively out of one marble, by three famous sculptors of *Rhodes*, viz. *Agessander*, *Polydore* and *Artemidorus* : two *Veneres*, one made a little modest as she went to bathe herself. *Apollo*, is curiously shap'd. *Hercules* ; *Antinous* ; the famous rivers of the world represented by figures ; many old faces like vizards stand on the top of the wall, which were removed from the *Pantheon*. At the end of the *corridore* or gallery is a fountain, where is a noted statue of *Cleopatra* in a cumbent posture.

We gave two julii to one gardener, and three to another.

The Vatican library.

*November 4.* We saw the *Vatican* library, which consists of one very long room, and a large room or two besides ; the walls

whereof are curiously painted with stories of *Sixtus V.* &c. and the old famous libraries are painted in *fresco*, in a great room. All the books are lock'd up in presses, so that we saw only such as are usually shewn to travellers, viz. a manuscript with *quadrupeds*, birds, fishes, &c. rarely well pictur'd in small ; *Petrus Candidus* was the author. This book was brought from *Mantua*. Two antient parchment rolls, with painted stories of the bible, and a *Greek* explanation ; therein we observ'd the manner of the antients *furca*, being an instrument shap'd like a Y, the forked part being fix'd under the malefactor's throat. A manuscript of *Virgil*, reported to be 1000 years old. *Mutius* his history of *Federico* duke of *Urbino* ; a manuscript curiously adorn'd with miniature pictures ; another manuscript, being the history of *Franc. Maria* duke of *Urbino*, with excellent miniature, design'd by *Raphael Urbino*, as some think ; a *Hebrew* manuscript of a vast bulk, for which the *Jews* offer'd its weight in gold ; the gospels of *S. Luke* and *S. John* in *Latin*, written in golden characters ; the evangelists in *Greek*, written (they say) by *S. Chrysostom* ; the manuscripts of card. *Baronius* ; the acts of the apostles, very neatly written in letters of gold, given by a queen of *Cyprus* to *Innocent VIII.* The annals of *Mexico*, represented by pictures ; antient *pugillares* ; *Fragmenta Terentii*, the most antient of any book in this library ; *Thomas Aquinas* his *Sermones Dominicani*, a manuscript, wherein is his own hand-writing ; a *Greek martyrologia* manuscript with pictures ; a *missale*, with curious miniature painting ; *Petrarch's* verses, written by his own hand ; a manuscript of *Henry VIII.* king of *England*, against *Luther*, wherein is the king's own hand-writing ; many letters of *Anne Bollen*, in *English* ; the *septuaginta* bible, manuscript ; the gospels in *Greek*, which were formerly sung in their churches ; letters of *S. Carlo Borromeo*.

In the vineyard of *St. Pietro in Vinculis* are several stone pedestals, with these inscriptions.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΑΛΛΑΕΣΤΗΣ  
ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΣ ΑΠΤΩΤΟΣ

OB FORTITVDINIS MERITA ET VIRTVTIS CUM  
MVLM HOC QVOD EXCELLENS ARTIS RO  
BVR EXEGIT PRECEPTO INVICTISSIMORVM  
PRINCIPVM DDD NNN FFF III VALENTI  
NIANI THEODOSII ET ARCADII JOHAN  
NES MERVIT VT INTER OMNES POLLENS  
LOCATIONIS STATVAE VIDEATVR

FILVME.



## FILVMENVM

DDD ET PRINCIPES N VALENTINIAN (VS)  
 VALENS ET GRATIANVS SEMP AUGG  
 FILVMENVM IN OMNI ACHLETICO CER  
 TAMINE AB ORIENTE AD OCCIDENTEM VSQ  
 VICTOREM PAMMACHO LVCTA PANCRA TI  
 CESTIBVSQ; ID EST PYGME LOCATIONE STA  
 TVAE IN ACHLETARVM CVRIA AETERNITA  
 TIS GLORIA DIGNVM ESSE IVDICARVNT  
 QVOD OMNES XYSTICI GRATANTER  
 ACCEPERUNT SEN PARITER SIMVLQ  
 PR INGENTI FABORE PROSECVTVS EST

ΗΙΕΡΑ ΙΥΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ  
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΕ ΩΣ  
 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΙ ΡΩΜΗ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ  
 ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΝ ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΙΥΣΤΑΡ  
 ΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΙΥΣΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΟ  
 ΔΟΝ ΕΙΚΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΝ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ  
 ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΩ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΙ ΕΥ  
 ΣΤΩ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΝΤΟΣ Μ ΜΕΤΤΙΟΥ ΑΜΕΡΙΜΝΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ  
 Α ΟΥΕΝΝΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΜΕΤΤΙΟΥ ΑΜΕΡΙΜΝΟΥ.

## ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ

ΗΙΕΡΑ ΙΥΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕ  
 ΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΑΘΛΕΤΩΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΕ  
 ΣΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΙ ΡΩΜΗ ΠΝΗ  
 ΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΙΝ ΚΑ' ΡΟΥΦΟΝ ΤΟΝ Α  
 ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΕΙΣΑΙΟΝ ΔΙΣΠΕΡΙΟ  
 ΔΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΝ ΚΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ  
 ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΝ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΕΓΕΝΕ  
 ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟ  
 ΔΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΚΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΩΣΤΥΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΙΥΣΤΟΥ  
 ΟΥΤΟΣ ΔΕΜΕ  
 ΝΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΙΚΩΝ.

ΗΙΕΡΑ ΕΥΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ  
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΕ (ΩΣ)  
 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΙ ΡΟΜΗ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ  
 Μ ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΑΝ (ΤΑ)  
 ΕΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΑ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ  
 ΕΦΕΣΙΟΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΓΑΜΗΝΟΝ  
 ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ  
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ  
 ΕΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ  
 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝ ΕΙΚΗΝ ΔΙΣ  
 ΠΥΚΤΗΝ ΑΔΕΙΠΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΤΟΝ.



SKIPPON. Near these stones is an old building of a semicircular figure, which is part of *Titus's* baths, commonly called *Sette Sale*.

*Novemb. 7.* In the afternoon we went to *S. Peter's*, where we saw cardinal *Francis Barberino* archipresbyter of the church, attended with a double file of canons; some in a dark coloured habit, others with a white fur. In the north wing the cardinal made his private devotions, and then sat himself down in a chair, and the canons round about on benches. Many cringing ceremonies were made to him; and one brought a bason and ewer with water, which he held whilst the cardinal washed his hands; then they took off his upper robe, and habited him with several vestments and a rich cope; they laid aside his square cap, and first put on his head a rich mitre, and then another mitre. Thus drest, he fixed himself in his chair, and good vocal and instrumental musick entertained some time. When the *Gloria Patri* was sung, the canons took off their caps, but the cardinal only bowed his head.

The Volto Santo, &c. shewed to the people. *Novemb. 8.* We saw cardinal *Barberin* in the same place he was seated in the day before. Four organs played, and a very full choir of voices sung. After the high mass, in the *balco*, over the figure of *S. Veronica*, a piece of the cross and the holy lance, and the *volto santo* were shewn to the people on their knees, beating their breasts: we observed one priest among the crowd seemed a little unfatigued till he had put on his spectacles, and used the help of a perspective glass. The cardinal and canons were also upon their knees; two in surplices, with lighted tapers in their hands, and one holding a gilt crucifix, stood before the cardinal.

The oratorians cloister. At the *Orotorians* cloister, *Santa Maria* and *Santo Gregorio* in *Vallicella*, *Novemb. 13*, in the evening, we went into a chapel, where many people were seated on benches in expectation of what followed: First, musick began; then a father prayed at the altar, and the people sometimes answered; after that a little boy mounted a pulpit, then kneeled and crossed himself towards the altar, and

bowing to the company he put on his hat, and made a short exhortation to virtue in *Italian*; when he had done his speech, he concluded with the same ceremonies he began withal. Then there was a good vocal musick; and after that a father took the pulpit, and paid the same respect (as the boy did) to the altar and people before he sat down, and discoursed about half an hour on a divinity point in *Italian*. He finished just as a little bell gingled, which also rang at the beginning and ending of the boy's speech. Voices sung again, and the father concluded all with some prayers at the altar.

At *Santa Maria* and *Santo Gregorio* in *Santa Maria Vallicella* we heard part of an oratorian's discourse. Every day (that is not a festival) except *Saturday*, there are four discourses, each half an hour long, and it is concluded with a short vocal musick.

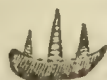
This church hath a stately front, and the inside will be very rich when the roof is finished; the cupola is painted by *P. di Cortona*. On the north side of the high altar is a curious chapel crufted with marble, where the body of *Filippo Nerio* is inshrined. The convent is a large and high building.

*Novemb. 14.* Nigh the bridge of *St. Execution* *Angelo* a gallows was erected for the execution of a man and a woman. First, came an officer on horseback, wearing a gold chain with the pope's picture hanging at it; many *sbirri* attending on him; then followed a crucifix and the two malefactors (accompanied by several in black disguises) who went into a little chapel near the gallows, and the persons in disguises sung. After some time the man was brought out, and placed before the crucifix, while the *boia* or hangman tied his hands; then the executioner and one of the disguised led him towards the gallows, and up the ladder, with his back always toward it, holding the picture of a crucifix before him; after a little time the hangman speaking two or three words, he turned him off, and immediately leaped upon his shoulders. When the fellow was dispatched, the hangman comes down and fetches the woman, who was executed after the same manner.

On a wall nigh *S. Maria del Popolo* is a stone above a man's height, whereon are inscribed these verses:

*Subiectum ut audax indicem fluvius sui  
Tetigit sibi æquus proximo at depressior  
Fonte imus inquit altius vinci haud decet  
Famam aucupabor omnium cælo fruar  
Propinquiore et seculo tradar novo  
Meminisse quantum vieta non ætas potest  
Votas Quirine hic imprime hic Tybris fuis  
Ex ix Kal. Januar. CIOIOXCVIII.  
Clementis VIII. P. M. Anno VII.*

*Septimus Auratum Clemens gestabat Hetruscus  
Sorte pedum huc salit quom vagus usq; Tyber  
Quippe memor campi quem non coluere priores  
Annibus epotis in nova tecta ruit  
Utq; foret spatii implacabilis ultor adempti  
Et Cererem Bacchum sustulit utq; Lares.  
Restagnavit vii id. Octob. An.  
M D XXX.*





*Santa Maria del Popolo* hath neat chapels adorned with curious monuments of cardinals, bishops, &c. Two fine marble pyramids stand for tombs in one chapel, erected to two of this pope *Alexander VII.* his ancestors, viz. *Augustinus Cbifius*, and *Sigismundus Cbifius Senenfes*. The high altar is richly dressed up by this pope, and on each side of it is an altar-picture set in marble between two white marble figures: one of these altars was done at the cost of cardinal *Padrone*, and the other by don *Augustino* the pope's brother. In this church is the monument of *Hermolaus Barbarus*; and of one who died with the bite of a cat. We saw here the popish ceremonies used at the baptizing of a child; vide *Rituale Rom.*

The city wall.

We walked from *Porta del Popolo* under the city wall to *Porta Pinciana*, anciently *Collatina*, and took notice of one corner of the wall that stood very much inclining over the highway. A great part of the wall is built with arches (in some places double) on the outside, like those at *Frescati*, under prince *Ludovisio's* garden. Very probably this is the remainder of the old wall, by the little bricks on the outside, and the manner of building.

Proclamation against whores riding in coaches.

*Novemb. 15.* A bando or proclamation was set up in divers places, forbidding the courtesans riding in coaches; and another bando, forbidding commerce with *Monaco*, *Nizza*, *Grenoble*, &c. by reason of the plague.

Hospital of S. Giacomo.

The hospital of *S. Giacomo dell' incurabilis* is remarkable for the many diseased in the *French* pox, &c. In one room are the men, and in another the women. We observed one sad spectacle, a woman whose nose, eyes, part of her tongue, and the greatest part of her face were eaten away with that foul distemper; she looked frightfully with a raw skull.

A sermon before the pope.

*Novemb. 20.* being *S. Andrew's* day, (*Santo Novo*) his head was shewn at *S. Peter's*; and the pope and cardinals heard a sermon (preached by the *magister sacri palatii*, a *Dominican*) in the *Capella Paulina*, (which chapel was built by *Paul III.*) where the famous picture of the last judgment is, drawn by *Michael Angelo*. After the sermon, one of the cardinals said mass: at the elevation the pope came down from his seat, and kneeled before the altar. He had a mitre on, which was two or three times taken off, and put on again; and sometimes he read in a book brought to him. When mass was finished, canons, and the cardinals, with lighted tapers in their hands, made a procession before the pope, who carried the host under a canopy born

by six men, and a cardinal went on each side of him, holding up his robes; six switzers with naked swords went just before him. Thus they walked thro' the *Sala Regia* into a little chapel curiously dressed up, like some of the scenes we saw at the *Venetian* opera, having the clouds filled with representations of angels, &c. Here the pope staid a while; and then returning with his mitre on his head into the hall, he thence retired with his cardinals into more private rooms.

About this time the winter weather began with frosts and cold rains.

*S. Sylvester in Montibus* is a very neat church within, supported by marble pillars, and the roof well gilt; on the top of the high altar is written:

*Filia Patris, Mater Filii, Sponsa Spiritus Sancti, ora pro nobis Sancta Maria.*

Underneath is a handsome shrine, where saints bones are preserved; a descent here leads into a fair old vault, where on a wall is inscribed, *Sedes S. Sylvestri Papæ*. On the north-side of the church he is pictured in fresco, sitting in council with cardinals and bishops, and a translation under-written out of *Baronius's* annals into *Italian*, signifying that this church was built where *Titus* his baths stood, (which baths were repaired by *Trajan*); that it was the first church the *Christians* had in *Rome*, and that *Sylvester* lived here 10 years. This belongs to calceated *Carmelites*.

*S. Maria della Vittoria* belongs to the discalceated *Carmelites*; it is a pretty church adorned with good pictures: on the right side of the high altar is another, lately erected by cardinal . . . where are two curious figures of *S. Theresa*, and an angel in white marble; and on each side are figures in basso relievo of several that had been cardinals of the same family. In this church hangs up a banner, which they say was the king of *Sweden's*. In it is pictured the triple crown, the keys, a cardinal's cap, a mitre, a priest's cap, &c. and this written, *Extirpentur*; and underneath this inscription:

*Urbanus Georgius Resinensis in Conflictu Pragensi Peditum Dux, ense quem pro fidei defensione in eadem victoria gestaverat Beatissimæ Virgini dicat & offert.*  
A. D. 1630.

From that victory and others this church hath its name.

*Turkish* colours with *Arabick* characters, kettle-drums and swords hang up here.

Prince



SKIPPON.

Prince Pa-  
lestrine's  
palace.An obe-  
lisk.

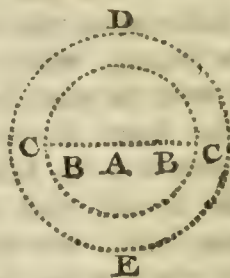
Prince *Palestrine's* or *Barbarine's* palace hath a fair and large hall, where are horries of several nations painted; and the roof is curiously pictured. Here are two noble stair-cases in the top open to the air, one spiral and the other square; some old statues preserved at this place, and the figure of a lion in stone. In the court-yard lies an *Egyptian* obelisk with hieroglyphicks, broken into three pieces. Within the palace are excellent pictures, viz. a prospect of *M. Vesuvius*, and the last violent eruptions of it; the three kings of the east, by *Cavaliero Calabrese*; a little chapel painted in *fresco*, by *Cortona*; several prospects, by *monfieur Pufin*. In the roof of the middle chamber is painted *Providentia*, with all the virtues, and the terrestrial globe, by *Andrew Scacchi*; God the Father is pictured in another roof, by *Camiseo*; the nativity, by *Romanello*; a white marble boy lying on his back; the marble heads of *Urbanus* and his mother *Don Ant. Barberino*, &c. *Dea Natura*; the three modest pictures of the *Gratiæ* holding up a basket of flowers; the picture of a man 118 years old; the story of *Lazarus*, by *Paulo Veronese*; a *Venus*, by *Titian*; an *Indian* bedsted painted with *American* birds: it was given by the king of *Spain*; the picture of *Tobias*, his son and the angel; *Adam* and *Eve* hiding themselves, by *Dominico Passignano*; *Abasuerus* and *Esther*, by *Guerfimi Dassanto*; faint *Mary Magdalen* with our Saviour in the garden, by *Annib. Caruaggio*; the head of *M. Aurelius* with the *laticlavica*; the heads of *Philippus Arabs*, *Ælius Cæsar*, and *Ælius Hadrianus*; the picture of *St. Sebastian's* throwing into a privy; *M. Parnassus* painted on a roof in *fresco*, by *Andrew Camiseo*; a fine *Mosaic* table; *Diogenes* lying on a marble couch; *Latona* with her children; *Phæbus* and *Diana* when they were hindered by rutticks, and disturbed going into the water.

*Nov. 24.* was a festival to *S. Barbara*, protectrix of soldiers; and therefore at castle *S. Angelo* the great guns were discharged about break of day, and at the elevation of the host, when high mass was saying.

S. Stefano.

*S. Stefano rotundo* was the antients *Templum Fauni*, very remarkable for its form of building. There are two circles of pillars that have the distances between them walled up. The outward circle hath 44 pillars, all *Tuscan*, except at D, where are four striated pillars somewhat taller than the rest, with *Corinthian* capitals; and at E are four others, not striated, with *Dorick* capitals, just opposite to those at D, and taller than the rest.

On those eight pillars the figure of a cross is marked. A is the high altar, on each side whereof is a tall stone pillar B B, which support a wall that holds up the roof of the inner circle, consisting of 22 pillars, whose distances are equal to those in the outward; C C are now brick pilasters (formerly pillars) almost as high as B B.



This church is large, and the walls painted in *fresco*, by *Nicolo Pomorance*.

*S. Pietro in Vinculis* (on *M. Esquilinus*) *S. Pietro*. is an indifferent church, where we saw the stately monument of *Julius II.* (whose body is in *S. Peter's*); several statues well made, but the notablest is that of *Moses*, done by *Michael Angelo*; a pretty monument, erected to *Marianus Petrus Vecchiarellius*; two curious marble skeletons holding up his marble effigies.

This church belongs to the *Canonici Regolari di S. Salvatore*.

On the *Torre di Conti*, a low and square tower of brick, are these verses:

*Hæc Domus est Petri valde devota Nicolî.  
Strenuus ille fidus miles, fortissimus atq;  
Cernite qui vultis secum hanc transire  
Quirites*

*Quam fortis intus minus composita foris  
Est unquam nullus vobis qui dicere possit.*

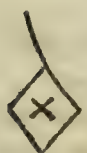
*S. Girolamo* hath an high altar picture *S. Girolamo* of *S. Hieronymus*, much esteemed, drawn *mo.* by *Dominichini*; the chapel on the left hand is curiously adorned with marble of different colours.

*S. Athanasio* belongs to the *Greeks*, *S. Athanasio* where we observed their high altar, like *nasio*. that at *Venice*; but *Romish* masses are also said at four chapels here. One morning we saw the *Greek* singing-boys hearing the *Latin* mass. The *Greek* priest sat behind the high altar screen, and the choristers sat in the middle of the church, who answered the priest when he read the *Greek* mass, yet all the while read their *Latin* prayer-books, as the *Roman Catholics* do at their masses.

We observed some things here which we did not see done at *Venice*: One of the choristers read in the liturgy, standing in the middle of the church with his face towards the altar, and the mass-priest all the time stood with his back towards the altar, holding out the forepart of his cope. When the priest came



came out with the bread on his head, he held in his left hand a glass with white matter in it, which was thus cover'd with a round thing hung round with tassels. Three times the singing-boys kneeled down; and when they rose up, they bowed towards one another. About the conclusion of the service they sat down and put caps on, like the *Venetian* noblemens, and one of them read out of the liturgy, while the rest went by pairs, and took the *panis benedictus* from the priest, who stood at the altar door; they bowed very low to him, kiss'd his hand, took the bread, and bowed again when they came back: the bread they carry'd away with them when the service was done. The priest had a blue cope, and under that on his right side hung a square piece of . . . with a cross wrought in the middle, after this fashion.



November 28. at night was very stormy weather, with much lightning and thunder. This day was a feast for the conception of the virgin *Mary*.

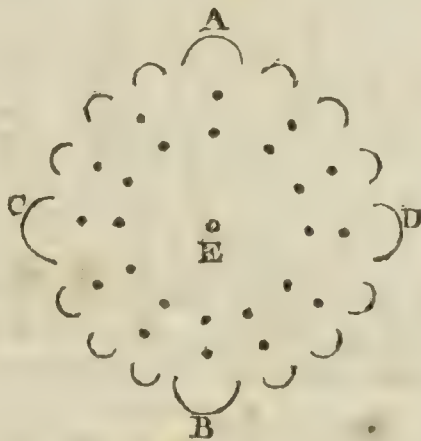
This palace is well furnish'd with statues and pictures; some of which we remark'd, viz. *Herod's* soldiers killing the children; done by . . . an *Englishman*: Our Saviour brought before *Pilate* sitting at a table with a candle upon it; *St. John Evangelist*, done by *Dominichini*; *S. Tomaso*, and a *Cupid* bending his body, are of *Michael Angelo Caruaggio* his doing. The *Cupid* is highly esteem'd, for which they say a *French* ambassador offer'd 500 pistoles, and 100 for the copy. Our Saviour, drawn by *Hannibal Caruaggio*; the apostles painted by him and *Albano*; a *Venus*, by *Titian*, her face like that in the duke of *Florence* his gallery; the beheading of *S. Paul* or *S. Peter*, by *Lucas Saltarelli* a *Genoese*; *Christ's* washing the disciples feet, by *Lanfranco*; the baptizing of our Saviour, by *Albano*; our Saviour's beating the money-changers, by *Michael Angelo Caruaggio*; a *Madonna*, by *Andrea del Sarto*; *Christ* lying dead in the virgin *Mary's* lap, painted on a marble. The gallery is filled with statues, three ranks on a side: among them we took notice of the *Minerva* worshipp'd in her temple; two huntsmen, each with a horn in one hand, and a boar's head under one arm, and a dog behind them; *Hercules*; a little model of the statue of *M. Aurelius* at the capitol; *Dea Vesta*; the heads of *Janus*, *Homer* and *Pindar*; a *Harpy*, a modest *Venus*; a goat; two feet of an old statue, which are very neat; the heads of *Nero*, *Alexander M.* cardinal *Giustiniano*, of *lapis Lydicis*; *Jupiter*; a horse's, a bull's and a deer's head; a fair

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table of porphyry; a little figure of *Nilus*; *Skippon*, three *Cupids* tumbling and sleeping together, all of one stone; *Dea Natura*. In a yard stands a marble basin with basso relievo figures on the out-side. They say, the very sculpture of this place cost 80,000 *scudi*. This prince would sell them out of *Rome*, but the pope hath forbidden him.

*S. Pietro in carcere*, a small chapel, *S. Pietro*, where they say he and *S. Paul* were imprison'd together, formerly called the *Tullianum*; it is not far from *Arcus Septimii*, and is cut out of *Mons Palatinus*.

We walk'd a mile out at *Porta Pia*, and *S. Constantia*, saw the church of *Santa Constantia*, formerly a temple of *Bacchus*; it is built round, and is less than *S. Stefano Rotundo*. The niches *B C D* are three doors; and at *A* probably was another, where the *Sepulchrum Bacchi*, or rather *Ara Bacchi* now stands. *E* is the high altar, which is a huge hollow stone of porphyry wrought in basso relievo, on the out-side with *Bacchi*, gathering and treading of grapes: one end and one side is the same work with the other end and the other side; a cover of stone (porphyry) lies on the top. Between *A D* and *D B*, &c. are twelve lesser niches, where, it is likely, the *Dii majorum Gentium* stood; and now there are the pictures of the twelve apostles.



The roof between these niches and the inner circle consisting of twelve double pillars, is arched, and painted with the description of a *Vindemia*, &c. between each door's space were five little windows in the roof, some of which are now stopp'd up; within the pillars is the cupola, which in former days was open on the top, but is now covered; in the round of it were twelve windows, three of which give light at present; and underneath them is painted the story of *S. Constantia*; in the upper part of the cupola is the picture of the resurrection; in the pavement



SKIPPO. ment are pieces of the antient christian tombstones.

S. Agnese. S. Agnese's is a pretty church; over the isles and the west end is a portico with old pillars and marble ballusters. This portico is even with the highway; yet the west door is equal to the lower ground: at the high altar is a fine marble cupola, supported by four neat porphyry pillars, erected by Paul V. The figure of St. Agnese stands upon a curious pedestal of one agat. The roof of this church is well carv'd in wood. There is a stately descent to this church from a garden belonging to . . . . . monks.

S. Sufanna. S. Sufanna's church hath a fair front, it hath much fresco painting.

S. Bernardo. S. Bernardo is a large round building; the cupola of it made within into neat squares. This was one of the seven *Torrioni* (towers) belonging to *Dioclesian's* baths; and Anno 1598, converted into a church by *Catherina Sforza*, countess of S. Fiore.

S. Maria Minerva. At *Santa Maria Minerva* are the monuments of Paul IV. and Urban VII. In the steps without the church is cardinal *Cajetan's*. Behind the altar are two stately tombs of two popes. Nigh the altar is the figure of our Saviour, done by *Michael Angelo*. In a little chapel is a handsome tomb for Paul the IVth's mother. Nigh the father general's lodgings hang the pictures of famous men of the *Dominican* order. In one frame are those that have been fainted, and those of royal blood, who derive themselves from the same original with S. Dominick, among which are the late emperors. In another frame are all that have been popes and cardinals of this order. In the third, all the *Magistri S. Palatii*; and in a fourth, such as have been bishops and archbishops. Round the upper part of a gallery are painted all the generals of this order; a picture of such as they say were kill'd by the *Alligenses*; two brothers pictured, who were twins profess'd themselves of this order at one time, and dy'd in one and the same day; the pictures of famous nuns of this order; the picture of a *Dominican*, who was a great necromancer, but by a special favour of the *Madonna* was converted.

A fair tomb of *Dominicus Hisp. Comitis Beneventoni Filius Cardinalis* 1653.

A curious *Mosaic* picture of *Ubalдин* over his monument; a fair black marble sheet inscribed to *Maria Raggia Cbia. Autore Bernino*.

The *Dominicans* have a sermon here every afternoon. One Father *Barlier*, secretary to the general of the order, is a vir-

tuoso and has a garden filled with variety of plants.

December 9. The pope visited the seven churches. About this time the great rains swelled the river *Tyber*, which overflowed its banks at *Ponte Molle*.

S. Sabina was formerly *Templum Dianæ*, M. Aven-  
tinus.

S. Alexius and S. Bonifacius, antiently S. Alexius. *Templum Herculis Victoris*, on the *Aven-tine*.

At . . . . is a pillar erected with a crucifix on it, in memory of Henry IV. of France, when he turned papist, four pillars support a cover over it, and on the pedestal is this inscription.

D. O. M.  
Clemente VIII. P. M.  
ad

Memoriam  
Absolutionis Henrici IV.  
Franc. et Navar.  
Reg. Christianissimi

Q. F. A. D. xv. Kal. Oct. c1c10xcv.

Saturday morning, 10th December, about three and four of the clock, we saw the comet which was at the foot of *Crater*, A Comet. and blazed with a large and long tail towards *Cor. Hydræ*.

S. Eusebius's church (part of the ruins of S. Euse-  
*Gordianus's* baths) belongs to the *Celestines*, <sup>bis.</sup> who are habited in white with a black *Patientia*, i. e. a lacinia or tippet down before and behind: we here met with *Carlo Manelli* bishop of *Termoli* (a place not far from *Naples*) who discoursed freely with us, and somewhat discontentedly about the present pope *Alexander VII*.

S. Prasside hath a little chapel dedi- S. Prasside.  
cated to S. Zeno, over the door whereof is written a prohibition that no woman should enter there under the penalty of excommunication, but we saw women kneeling at the door; the pillar which they say our Saviour was scourged at, is kept here.

S. Pudentiana hath a well in it, where S. Puden-  
tiana. they say the blood of martyrs is kept. Here is a chapel adorn'd with curious re-  
lievo work.

Prince *Colonna's* palace (who is great Prince Co-  
nstable of *Naples*) is situated (as we <sup>lonna's</sup> were told) on the highest ground of <sup>palace.</sup> *Rome*; in the gardens are considerable ruins of *Nero's Casa Aurea*, viz. many large rooms one above another, under the side of a hill, and part of two *Corridori*, which had each three galleries, that (they say) went to the *Rotunda*. Here stood a tower whence, some guess, *Nero* viewed the burning of the city;  
it



it is now thrown down. By some it is called *Frontispicium Neronis*; by others *Templum Solis*. Vast stones lie on the ground, which have cornices very well carv'd. A cascata or fall of water in this garden. In the palace is a narrow gallery hung with pictures, among which was *Europa* done by one of the *Albani*. Nigh the hall door is fix'd in the wall, a large head of *Medusa* in porphyry.

S. Bartholomew.

*S. Bartholomew* is in the insula, and belongs to the *Franciscani minores*; here was formerly *Templum Æsculapii*; in the porch of this cloister is a stone that was inscrib'd to *Simon Magus*, as many think, but we did not see any such inscription.

Pons Fabricii.

At *Pons Fabricii* are three stones, each carv'd with four heads, which give the bridge the name of *Ponte di 4 Capi*.

Villa Farnese.

*Villa Farnese* is on the *Palatine* hill, where are pretty gardens, and on the top an aviary; many old ruins and grotte about the garden.

The Augustines library.

The *Augustines* library is called *Bibliotheca Angelica*, from one *Angelo Rocca* of this order; it is stored with many books out of *Holstenius's* library. Two friars always attend to deliver out what books are desired by any strangers, who have freedom to study here. Over the door is written, *Τοις Βιβλιοφύλακας*.

In the *Augustines* church is this inscription under a brass head.

D. O. M.

*F. Onuphrio Panvinio Veronen. Eremitæ Augustiniano, viro ad omnes et Romanas et Ecclesiasticas Antiquitates è tenebris eruendas nato, Qui Alexand. Farn. Card. Vicecan. in Siciliam persecutus alienissimo et sibi et historię tempore obiit 18. Kal. Apr. MDLXVIII. præclaris multis et perfectis et inchoatis industrię suę monumentis relictis Vix. An. xxxix. Amici honoris causâ posuerunt.*

The marble figures of *St. Anne*, the virgin *Mary*, and our Saviour here, made by *Sanfovino*. The picture of a prophet by *Raphael Urbin*, and reputed one of the best paintings in *Rome* we heard of here, but could not see it.

Villa Matthæi.

*Villa Matthæi* is situated on *M. Cælius*; here we saw two curious tables of oriental granate, the marble head of a *Sabina*; *Apollo's* statue; the statues of *Agrippina* and *Amicitia*, with her hand upon her breast; the marble figure of *M. Aurelius* looking off on one side of his horse; the statue of *Antoninus*; a large table of *Mosaic* work, wherein is a fair piece of *alabaſtar cotoneus*; three white marble *Cupids* sleeping and tumbling together on *Pietra Paragone*; two

little figures of old comedians with masks SKIPPON. on; a brass horse representing him slay'd, and discovering all the outward veins and muscles; a marble head found in this garden, under which is written *Cicero*; it is very lively, and is highly esteemed. *Ceres*; the curious half figures of *Brutus* and *Portia*, of one piece; a dead sheep hanging on a stone. In the garden a great number of small square monuments to keep ashes in, having covers over them, and have short inscriptions; they are thus shap'd. We saw two pleasant fountains, and an artificial rainbow, at one of them when the sun shin'd; the statue of *Andromeda*; *Apollo* slaying of *Martius*, both made by *Paulus Oliverius*. In a grove are the figures of several wild animals; a fair ancient sepulchre, having the muses and *Apollo* in relievo about it; towards the top of the front are two heads, over which is written,

L. PI. VARIUS ALANTEROS  
APPIA > LMYRSINE.

An *Egyptian* obelisk in two pieces, with hieroglyphick sculpture in the upper part; the head of *Alexander M.* his colossus; under it is written,

*Cyriacus Matthæus*

*Alexandri Magni Caput ex Aventinis ruinis effossum injuria temporum nonnihil corruptum antiquę formę et nitori restituit, Velustatis amatoribus spectandum proposuit.*

*Villa Montalto* afforded us the sight of these curiosities in two palaces; the head of *Pyrrhus*; the statue of a gladiator in black polished marble; the statue of *L. Quinctius* with his plough-share by him; a *Mosaic* table with *Sardonian* agate, which is like *alabaſtar cotoneus*; the painted story of *Alexander M.* the statue of *Germanicus*, with the sculptor's name, *Κλεομένης Κλεομένουσ Αθηναϊός εποίει*. *Agricultura* made of *Marmobigio*; a marble *Bacchus* on a tyger; *Nero Juvenis* with his harp; painting in fresco of many of the antiquities of *Rome*, and the erecting of obelisks, &c. by *Sixtus V.* who built this *Villa*; the picture of *S. John Baptist* made by cavalier *Pomerancie*; *S. Magalena* and *Susanna* drawn by *Terentius*; a marble head of *Sixtus V.* and his sister's picture; a white marble head of cardinal *Alexander Perrot*, by *Bernini*; the head of *Alexander Juvenis*; the roof of the library is painted with old philosophers; a cabinet set with precious stones;



SKIPPON a landskip in marble, representing a man's head. In the garden lie bowls (within a box) which had chains fastened to them, that forced water out to wet the lookers on; large walks with tall cypress trees, and many water works. A statue of Ποσειδωνος; a statue sitting on a cushion; ceremonies at a Roman marriage, and sacrifices to Priapus of relieve work; the heads of Geta, Caracalla and Antoninus pius; a brass ape that was an Egyptian idol; the picture of David cutting off Goliath's head, done by Daniel Volterrano; a dance of naked boys designed by Raphael Urbin, but painted by Fontagna a French woman; the marble head of Scipio; the picture of Mars and Venus catch'd in Vulcan's net; Venus kissing Adonis; a piece of basso relieve in white marble; the head of Drusus; a prospect drawn by Annibal Caruaggio; two little boys representing S. John Baptist and our Saviour, drawn by Julio Romano; the heads of a pope and a cardinal, which appear at a near distance long and unshaped, but looking through a hole in a board on each side, they are well proportioned; little brass figures of the Florence centaur, the boar, Mercury, and the ravishing of the Sabins, Hercules and Anteus; a rustick catching birds with a lamp and a net; two horses; the lion killing the horse; two bulls; a lion killing an ox; the centaur carrying away Dejanira; a curious table of oriental alabaster; birds and trees pictured in very small Mosaic work; a lomucelle table, which is of a greenish colour; a marble Martius tied to the stump of a tree to be slay'd; the statues of Perseus and Diana; a monument with relieve figures and the temple of Janus, made when the temple of Janus was shut. Many white peacocks at this Villa.

The cardinals at supper.

On Christmas eve N. S. the cardinals were invited to supper at the pope's palace, and all strangers were freely admitted to be present; before supper there was excellent vocal and instrumental musick in a little room; the different shap'd napkins were first taken away, and more ordinary ones brought, then the cardinals (who where but 14) put off their upper garments of scarlet, which they gave to their gentlemen, and sat down in their red silk cassocks with their square caps on, and every one had his napkin tied about his neck; great store of sweet meats were placed as intermesses, which they gave away to standers by; every cardinal had his mess by himself, serv'd up in small dishes, which were serv'd up but one at a time; when

they called for drink, four glass cruses, three with wine, and one with water were brought together; Switzers stood at each end of the table.

At midnight there was good musick at the Apollinari.

On Christmas day we went to S. Maria Maggiore, where the pope came in cavalcade, attended by the cardinals in their red hats. When he came to the church, he was carried in an embroidered chair on a bier, supported by twelve men with red habits; on each side of him was carried a great fan made of white peacock's tails; he had his tripple crown on, the three golden crowns being fix'd on a cone of silver. Trumpets sounded at his entrance, and before him went a rich black cap wrought with silver, and two maces went on each side of it; next followed two mitres and the cross-bearers, and immediately before him came the cardinals two and two together. He was brought to the chapel on the south side, where the manger (they say) our Saviour was laid in, was expos'd to view, they set him down, and his tripple crown being taken off, he made his devotions to the manger; then he was hoisted up again upon men's shoulders, and carried backward with his face towards the relique, and then brought behind the high altar, where he placed himself on a high throne at the further end, with the cardinals seated round, while cardinal Francis Barberino with his mitre celebrated the mass. When the pope received the sacrament, the people kneel'd, and a loud choir of voices sung, which was often repeated.

When the mass was near concluding, four vast tapers were carried up lighted, and two stood one on each side of the pope, while he address'd himself nigh the altar. All finished, the pope went again to the manger, and return'd home with the same solemnity as he came, only the cardinals went back in their coaches.

This morning the castle of S. Angelo fir'd its guns.

December 26. A student of the English jesuits college made a Latin speech before the pope, which we were not present at.

We saw the ruins of Mausoleum Augusti, Mausoleum which is well pictured in Roma Antiqua; on the top of it is a garden belonging to the palace of the Fioravanti; within the walls are large vaulted rooms, and round about upon them are many gardens, whence is an ascent to a walk round another wall that rises from the inner superficies of the lower wall.

Vespasian's



*Vespasian's tomb at S. Saba on the Aventine.*

A little chapel, where they say *S. John* was put into a cauldron of oil. It is situated on *M. Caeliolus*, and near it is a great piece of an old brick building.

S. Maria  
in Cam-  
pitelli.

*S. Maria in Campitelli* hath this inscription on the front, *Sacris Deiparæ Natalib.* and under one statue is written *Deiparæ Sponsus*, and under another *Deiparæ Pater*. This place belongs to the *Cbierici della Madre di Dio*, vulgarly called *Preti di Luca*.

S. Maria  
Inviolata.

*S. Maria inviolata* is not far from the *Collegium Romanum* in the *Corso*; which hath a fair front with a portico one over another, built by the present pope *Alexander VII.* In the lower porch is a passage down to the place where *S. Paul* lived two years, and there is kept the pillar he was scourged at. This inscription here.

*Alex. VII. Pont. Max. locus antiqua veneratione sacer et nobilis in quo S. Paulum Apostolum diu moratum, non semel una cum ipso Ecclesiæ capite S. Petro de rebus Christianæ fidei deliberasse ubi S. Lucam Evangelistam et scripsisse et Deip. Virginis imagines depinxisse jam inde à primis temporibus traditum congestu terræ olim depressus atq; inaccessus facili scalarum descensu, immissoq; fenestris lumine Peruius factus perpurgatus exornatusq; pio fidelium cultui restitutus est. Anno Sal. MDCLXI.*

English  
jesuits col-  
lege.

*December 19.* Was a festival solemnized by the *English* jesuits in memory of *Thomas Becket*, whose picture with a hatchet on his head, stands in their parlour; it was given them by the earl of *Arundel*. This college is but a mean building.

The *Jesuits* have seven colleges in *Rome*.

Palazzo  
Farnese.

*Palazzo Farnese*, or *Palazzo di Duca*, is a stately building, where the *French* ambassador lodged; we saw here the famous statue of a bull by *Apollonius* and *Tauriscus*; the naked marble figure of *Augustus* on horseback; the stone figure of a goat, many old heads great and small. In the hall is the statue of *Alexander Farnese* treading on a naked man and woman, with a *Victoria* standing by him; in one room very good fresco painting. In other rooms the *French* king's, the queen's, the queen mother's, monsieur's, and princess *Henrietta's*; a small statue of *Meleager* in red stone; an *Egyptian* idol; a picture of a woman singing, and a fellow playing on a lute,

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well drawn; an old head of Ποσειδωνος; SKIPPON. a gallery roof rarely well painted by *Annibal Caruaggio*. *Vespasian's Congius* is preserved here. The roofs of little rooms curiously painted.

At the *Rotunda* these epitaphs were transcribed.

D. O. M.

*Tadæo Zuccaro in oppido Divi Angeli  
ad ripas Metauri Nato  
Pictori Eximio*

*Ut patria moribus, pictura, Raphaeli  
Urbinati Simillimo, et ut ille natali  
Die, et post annum Septimum et tri-  
gesimum Vitâ functo, ita tumulum  
eidem proximum*

*Federicus Fratri Suaviss. Mærens  
pos. anno Christianæ Sal.*

MDLXVI.

*Magna quod in magno timuit Raphaelæ peræquæ  
Tadæo in magno pertimuit Genetrix.*

D. O. M.

*Raphaeli Sanctio Joan. F. Vrbinati  
Pictori eminentiss. veterumq; æmulo  
Cujus spirantes propè imagines si  
Contemplere naturæ atq; artis sædus  
facile inspexeris*

*Julii II. et Leonis X. Pontt. Maxx. picturæ  
Et Architet. operibus gloriam auxit  
V. A. XXXVII. integer integros  
Quo die natus est et eo esse desit  
VII. id. Aprilis MDXX.*

*Hic situs est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci  
Rerum magna parens & moriente mori.*

D. O. M.

*Flaminio Vaccæ*

*Sculptori Roman.*

*Qui in operibus quæ fecit  
Nusquam sibi satisfecit.*

D. O. M.

*Perino Bonacursio Vogæ Florent. Qui  
ingenio et arte clariss. egregios permul-  
tos pictores plastas fere omnes superavit.  
Catharina Penna Conjugi Lavinia Bona-  
cursia Patri, Josephus Cincius Belga  
Socero clariss. et opt. posuerunt. Vixit  
an. 46. m. 3. d. 29. obit 13. Kal. No-  
vemb. Anno Christi 1547.*

*Certantem cum te secum natura videret  
Irata in tenebras misit et ad tumulum  
At tumulus si te tegit et Perine tenebræ  
Et tenebræ et tumulus non tua facta  
[tegunt.]*

We visited father *Kircher*, a *German* Jesuit, at the *Collegium Romanum* (which is a very large and stately building belonging to the *Jesuits*.) He shewed us his gallery, where we saw all his works, some of which are not yet printed;



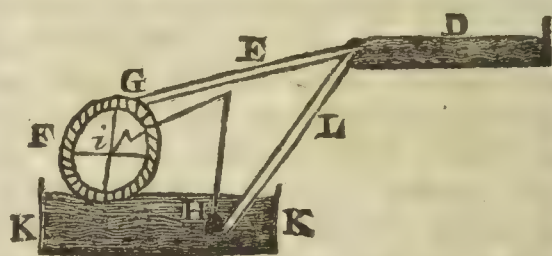
SKIFFON. he hath translated an *Arabick* book into *Latin*; wherein the virtues of plants are discoursed. He said *Johnston*, the printer at *Amsterdam*, offered him 2000 for all his writings. His *Roman* medals were fixed within a wire grate on a turning case of shelves. This pope's picture seen in a glass that reflects it from the plaits or folds of another picture. An organ that counterfeits the chirping of birds, and at the same time a ball is kept up by a stream of air. The picture of the king of *China*. A picture of father *Adam Schal*, a *German* Jesuit, who is now in great favour with the king of *China*, being his chief counsellor; on his breast he wears the mark of his honour, which is a white bird, having a long bill, and red on the crown of its head. The picture of *Deva Rex Davan Navas*. The picture of *Michael Rex Nepal*. The rib and the tail (flat and broad) of a *Syrene*, which *Kircher* said he saw at *Malta*. A cross made of 300 small pieces of wood set together without glew, nails, &c. Painting of *Raphael Urbin* on earthen

dishes. A microscope discovering fine white sand to be pellucid, and of an elliptical figure; and red sand pellucid and of a globular figure. A *China* shoe. Two *Japan* razors. A *Japan* sword, wherewith some *Jesuits* had been martyr'd. A *China* sword, or rather a mace. *Corvus Indicus*, a red bird. *China* birds-nests like white Gum. *Canada* money made of little pieces of bones, and a medal of the same, which faintly represented the figure of a man. Medals of the hieroglyphical obelisks in *Rome*. A cabinet door that first opened upon hinges on one side, and then upon hinges on the other. A flat and broad hoop that moved to and fro, on a declining plane, without running off; within it having a weight at A.

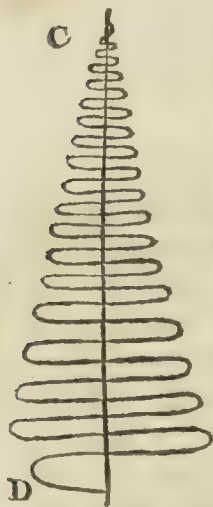


Water put into the glass B C, and by clapping one's hand at B, without touching the water, forces the water out a good height at C.

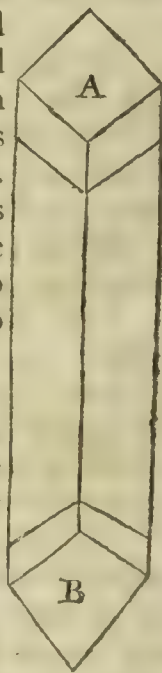
A perpetual motion attempted by this engine. D is a cistern with water, which runs down the channel E, and turns the wheel from G to F. At i the axis of this wheel is a handle that lifts up the sucker H, that forces up the water out of the cistern K K. into the pipe L. into the upper cistern D.



A sphere moved regularly by water that falls on the æquinoctial line which is made like a water wheel. An image that spewed out of its mouth four sorts of water, one after another. A serpent vomiting water, and a bird drinking out of the same dish. The perpetual motion we saw at *Milan*. The heat of a man's breath or hand, expelled water out of a glass, that afterwards turned a wheel. A brass *Clepsydra* made after this manner. A and B are two cisterns for water. When that in A is uppermost it falls down thro' the four *tubuli*, which are the supporters into the lower cistern B, and there it springs up like a fountain, a pretty height for an hour's space; and so *vice versa* when B is turned up.



A notable *deceptio visus* in the pyramidal spire C D, being turned one way it seemed to go up, and moved the other way it appeared as if running downwards. These and many other inventions are described in *Kircher de Magnete*.



\* See the preceding description of Ton-queen, p.

Birds-nests, that are eaten by the \* *Indians*, which *Wormius* p. 311, calls *Nidus Ichthyocollam referens*. The figure of a woman he called the oracle with a hole in her breast, which applying one's ear to, words and sentences are plainly understood, though whispered a good way off.

Flies and a lizard within amber. A paper lizard with a needle stuck in it, ran up and down a wooden pillar, being moved by a loadstone. The magnet moved several figures hanging within glass globes. One figure was moved by the loadstone, thro' wood, glass, water and lead. A cylindrical glass of water with a glass figure in it, which rises or falls as you press the air at the top of the glass with your finger; the air being pressed in the cylinder, presses that in the figure into a narrower room, and so water comes in and weighs the figure down, which rises upon



upon lessening the pressure at the top of the cylinder. *Avis Guaira*, p. 308. *Wormii*, was seen here. SKIPPO.

Tivoli.

Dec. 26. Six of us, (*viz.* Mr. Steele, Mr. Townly, Mr. Soames, Dr. Paman, Mr. Ray and myself) hired a coach with four horses, for four crowns, and rode to *Tivoli* (going out at *Porta S. Laurentii*) 18 miles from *Rome*. *Tivoli*, anciently *Tibur*, is a small city on the side of the *Apennine* hills: in the piazza, stand two old figures like *Ægyptian* idols. Here we saw the river *Anio*, now called *Teverone*, make a great *cascata* or cataract, and then run under ground for a little way. This place is called *Bocca del inferno*, where are several *cascata* of lesser streams, that fall into a plain, called *Piazza d'Hercole*. On the top of a steep rock, are the ruins of *Templum Herculis*, which by some is called *Templum Sybillæ*. We went down into some caves (where they used to make oil) called *Grotta di Sybilla*.

*Palazzo d'Este* is on the side of a hill; in the gardens are fountains of old *Rome*, having a channel imitating the *Tyber*, with the *Insula*, &c. *Stanza di Diana*, a walk with two channels one above another, with artificial eagles and boats spouting out water, are worth one's fight. Five or six fountains playing one above another. Artificial thunder, vulgarly called *Girandola*, is made in this garden; we had seen and heard the curiosity of it; but late rains had too much fouled the pipes the water was to run thro'. A large and black marble statue of an *Ægyptian* idol; from some of the walks we had a full view of *Campania* and *St. Peter's* cupola at *Rome*. Many olive-trees grow about this place. Without the walls of *Tivoli* we took notice of an old (as I remember) octagonal temple. Returning the same way we came, about six miles from *Tivoli*, we came to the sulphur river, which is warm, of a greenish colour, and stinks very strong, and tastes nauseously; it petrifies the channel it runs in, and makes little white stones called *Confetti di Tivoli*, being very like sugar comfits in shape. Before we reached this rivulet, we crossed the *Teverone* at *Ponte Lucano*, where is an old and large round tower of stone, with several inscriptions on it; one of them was transcribed, *viz.*

M. PLAVTIVS M. FAN.  
SILVANVS  
COS VII VIS EPVLON  
HVIC SENATVS TRIUMPHALIA  
ORNAMENTA DECREVIT  
OB RES IN ILLYRICO

BENE GESTAS  
LARTIA CN. F. VXOR  
A PLAVTIVS M F  
VIRGVLANIVS  
VIXIT ANN. LX.

Soon after this we crossed the *Teverone* again, which is a pretty river that runs into the *Tyber*.

Before we entred *Rome*, we went into the church of *S. Laurence*, which hath a tessellated pavement, and old stone pillars, some of which are large. In the choir is fixed a broad stone, whereon they say *St. Laurence* was laid after he had been broiled upon the gridiron. In this church, on some festival, are exposed to view some of the stones that were thrown at *St. Stephen*. An ox's head and inscriptions on *Porta S. Laurentii*. At the church is an old basso relievo monument of a *Roman* sacrifice, now the tomb of a cardinal. Under a marble pulpit is an ancient stone, with these *Roman* instruments of sacrifice, exactly made in basso relievo.

This had *Castor's* head on the top.

An *Acrostolium*.



A *Strigil* carved here.

Dec. 27. being *Epiphany*, according to the new stile, at *St. Athanasio* was performed this ceremony. When the *Greek* service was done at the altar, a silver cross was carried in procession, the singing boys in suplices with lighted candles in their hands, and the officiating priest followed, and went out of the church, but presently returned into the middle of the church, where was placed on a table a great silver font; a good while was then spent in reading and singing, and the priest brought a nosegay of daffodils, and a wrought crucifix; both which he laid down at one end of the font, and some time after made a cross in the water with his fingers; after a little space he crost the water three times together, and a third time he made crosses thrice, as he did

Ceremony at the Greek church in memory of the appearance at Christ's baptism.



SKIPPOON: did the second time. He took up the nosegay and crucifix, and three times together dip'd them into the water and made the sign of the cross; at the finishing of each cross, he put the crucifix and nosegay quite under water; and when they were taken out, a silver dish received the water that drop'd from them. Then the priest kissed the crucifix, and rubbed the nosegay on his assistants and choristers foreheads; at last he carried the nosegay, &c. to the altar, gave the *Panis Benedictus*, and rubbed all that came near, on the forehead, with the nosegay. In the mean time, the people carried away the consecrated water in pots, &c. When the procession was made, he carried the crucifix (laid on an embroidered

filk) upon his head. In the service-time, a thing like a dirty handkerchief, which they said was the host, and the cup were carried from the altar, and shewed to the people.

Dec. 28. We went by coach out at *Porta S. Paul. Ostiensis*, or *Trigemina*, and at a mile distance, on a streight and broad way, we saw the church of *St. Paul*, which is large, having a wide *Navis*, and double isles, each with 20 pillars in a row, every pillar of one stone. In the middle of the wings, are pillars that support the roof. A statue to *Boniface IX*. See *Roma Moderna*. Without the church stands a pillar of old relievo figures, and on the pedestal are these verses;

*Hanc sacris veteres facibus statuere columnam  
Quam Casinenses restituere Cruci  
Olim ignes nunc clara Dei vexilla triumphum  
Devictæ mortis Symbola Pacis habet.*

About a mile and a half farther, we came to the church of *St. Anastasio*, and *St. Vincentio*, and close by it saw *St. Bernardo*, where, they say, that saint saw souls ascend out of purgatory into hell; (Qu. Whether it should not be heaven?) every mass said at an altar, some are so fond to think, delivers one out of purgatory. A little distance off, we saw the pillar, they believe, *St. Paul* was tied to, in this very place, when he was beheaded, and in one row, under three marble ornaments, are three fountains that miraculously sprung up in the same places where his head made three rebounds after it was cut off; some are persuaded they have each a different taste. We could only observe, that that nearest the pillar tasted a little warmer than the rest. Here are two pictures, drawn by *Guido Reni*, one of the beheading of *St. Paul*, and the other, the crucifying of *St. Peter*.

The Annunciata. The *Annunciata* is a small church, that has the indulgences of one of the seven churches.

The Prætorian camp. The *Prætorian* camp of the antient Romans is a square walled about with brick, having many towers; at one corner is a thick tower, the monument of *Metella*, the wife of *Crassus*; it is somewhat larger than that at *Ponte Lucano*; the outside was covered over neatly with white marble, now in part ruined; round the middle of it is a cornice wrought with bulls heads, &c. and thence it is vulgarly called, *Capo di Bove*; the walls are very thick, and within is a hollow of a conical figure, from the bottom to the top, which was open to the air: At this same corner are the reliques of a building, that pro-

bably was the lodging of the *Præfæctus*. There are gates to the camp, and from one leads a streight way, that hath on each side many ruins of old monuments.

*Circus Caracallæ* (is nigh the *Prætorian Circus Caracallæ* camp) hath two long side walls remaining, which are indifferently high; two towers at one end, and two places, probably the *Metæ*, which were hollow. Round the inside, and sticking to the wall, are many urns, which were all broken.

Just by the *Circus Caracallæ*, are great ruins of a square old building called . . . . . where we saw a high brick wall, continued almost round three sides, and within are some pillars of a portico.

At *St. Sebastian's* we went down with lighted candles in our hands, and passed under ground; where we saw the antient grots, where they say the christians hid themselves in time of persecution. Many old inscriptions of sepulchres up and down these grots, and in the side of the passage are hollows, supposed to have been graves; there are a great number of ways which are stopped up, lest people should lose themselves. These are much inferior to the catacomb at *Syracuse*. We went down on one side of the church, and came up on the other side. In this church were shewn us several reliques, viz. the prints of our Saviour's feet, and one of the arrows *St. Sebastian* was shot with, &c. From this place we rode to *St. . . . .* where, in the middle of the church, is a stone with the impressions of *Christ's* two feet, in the same place where he appeared



*Domine quo vadis.* appeared to St. Peter. And a little way hence is a round chapel called *Domine quo vadis*, built in the very place our Saviour met St. Peter in, who, they say, said those words to Christ. These churches are in the *Via Appia*.

Christina  
queen of  
Sweden.

This evening (Dec. 28.) we went to the queen of Sweden's palace, and came into a chamber (hung with immodest pictures of women) where queen Christina sat, and cardinal Azzolino by her, and much company in the room; for the space of two hours instrumental and vocal musick entertained them, and the queen played with her little dog, talked sometimes with the cardinal, and sometimes with the strangers; she is crook-backed, was dressed in her hair, had a cravat about her neck, and a coat with short sleeves on, and had linen sleeves like a half shirt about her hands.

The titular duke of Northumberland was here. He was son to Leicester's bastard, who was nephew to the duke beheaded in queen Mary's time. This person waits upon the queen of Sweden in quality of . . . . and has allowed him about forty or fifty crowns a month. When queen Christina came in sight of Santa Casa at Loreto, she refused to kneel down and say her devotions, as some would have persuaded her, saying she would not worship stones.

Trinità  
del Monte.

*Trinità del Monte* belongs to the *Minnum* friars, who shew'd us their spiceria, where was a press full of essences, &c. In the portico we observed a dial, that serves for all ways of reckoning the hours. The sun-light is reflected from a glass, in a window, and points to the time of the day, on the roof. We saw two perspectives, painted on the wall; one is a fryar praying under a tree, which cannot well be discerned except at a distance; for looking near, nothing appears, but a prospect of a country, &c. The other is an evangelist

writing, the characters being cattle on *SKIPPOH* ploughed land, and the rest of the picture is an hilly shore; the eagle's neck and head make the port of Messina. These were made by one fryar Magnar of this order. Upon one of the towers, we had a large prospect of the city. In their garden is a deep well, with a winding pair of stairs that goes down to the bottom of it; in one of the chapels of the church is our Saviour's being taken off the cross, painted in *fresco*, by Daniel Volterrano, and is highly esteemed.

The boat-fountain in *Piazza d'Espagna*, below this convent, was made upon the taking of Rochel. Cardinal Mazarine would have made a stately ascent thence up to *Trinità del Monte*, if the pope would have suffered the erecting of the French king's statue.

The weather was, for about ten days, as piercingly cold, at Rome, about Christmas, as it is in England. There was snow, and the curtezans, and others, threw snow-balls out of the windows; but a bando or proclamation was published against it, a coachman being (as was reported) killed with a snow-ball. The snow lay on the ground about a week.

At S. John Lateran we saw two iron keys; one silvered, the other gilt over, which are delivered to the pope when he is invested. An old broken chalice of pewter, which, they say, St. Peter used. The *Pax tecum* used by Constantine the Great. Two gilt crosses, made in his time. The cope St. Sylvester wore. In a ruined cloister stand three old stone chairs; wherein, they told us, the popes were formerly crowned; they are made like close-stool chairs, with a great slit from the hole, thus:  The reason of it some guess to be for the trial of sexes. This rhiming epitaph in this church.

*De Mediolano Comes hoc requiescit in Antro  
Presbyter et Cardo veniat tibi splendor ab alto  
Lombardis Carus, ipsorum gente creatus  
De Patria clarus, de magno sanguine natus.  
Tu sapiens pectus juris vexilla ferebas.  
Simplex et rectus, fausta pompa; carebas.  
Pauperibus largus, ad prava per omnia tradus.  
Consilio magnus, mitis devotus ut agnus.  
Muneris acceptor, rarus tu justas obiisti.  
Neminis illektor, cur sic citò morte ruiisti?  
Hunc Mediolanum Romanaq; curia ploret  
Ne pleat in vanum, pro te rogo quilibet oret.  
Anno Dom. MCCLXXXVII. Mens. Apr. Die VIII.*



SKIPPON.

In the same room, under the arms of Alexander VII. is written,

*Septicolti Urbi sex montes in cæli monte exaltatos Capitulum Romanum gratulatur: Quoniam suscipient montes pacem populo et colles justitiam.*

*Alexandrum VII. P. M. Sponsum à Deo datum S. S. sua Lateran. Ecclesia Universali Urbis et Orbis exultans gaudio letanter excipit Restitutorem suum Tertii Alexandri in Lateranens. Concilio auspiciis illustrata veneratur.*

A double portico looks towards the obelisk. On the uppermost is inscribed.

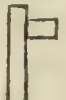
*Sixtus P. P. V. ad Benedictiones extruxit MDLXXXVI.*

The pope once a year blessing the people at this place.

At one end of the lower portico is a room, where the brass statue of Henry IV. of France is erected, and on the pedestal is this inscription;

*Paulo V. Pontifice maximo sedente.  
Henrico IIII. Francorum & Navarrorum  
Regi Christianissimo  
Pietate alter Clodoveo  
Varietate præliorum Carolo Magno  
Amplificandæ studio religionis,  
Sancto Ludovico Generis propagatori  
Statuam hanc æneam  
Sacrosanctæ Lateranensis Basilicæ  
Capitulum et Canonici  
Grati animi monumentum  
Collocari curaverunt  
Carolo de Neufville D. D'Halin-court  
Regio Oratore. Anno CIO D CVIII.*

The Jews  
circumci-  
sion.

We saw, (Jan. 2.) at the Jews synagogue a circumcision, which was celebrated, before dinner, after this manner; A priest and another brought out a little cassket, and sung in a howling tune for a quarter of an hour, then the child was brought in, and laid on a cushion between a man and a boy; the swadling cloaths being unfolded, the priest took a silver instrument thus shaped,  which he put between the glans and foreskin, which he cut off with a knife, after this shape.  The priest made a loud noise, and held up the præputium to be viewed by the people, who answered with as loud a noise. When the circumcision was done, the priest sucked the child's Penis with his mouth, and presently the priest had wine given him to drink; after that, with his thumb nails, he tore the fore-

skin towards the belly; then took some more wine, and sung out very loud; the child crying, they put a little wine into its mouth, and on its yard they laid or sprinkled gum-dragon, and then a long piece of . . . was fastned to the yard, and several pieces of linen with holes for the Penis to come through; this done they tied it down, and swaddled the child, who was delivered to the women relations. The præputium was buried in a bason of Puzzolan earth.

The Jews have a large Gbeto; they are permitted to eat the flesh of bufola, beef, mutton, &c. They wear red hats as at Venice, but are poorer than they, these being forbidden all profession of merchandise and trade, except brokerage. They go up and down selling and buying old cloaths, and every Wednesday keep a great market, having stalls on Piazza Naona full of old suits of apparel, &c. Some of them, as they walk the streets cry things for sale; and some carry instruments to card wool with, giving notice to the people that employ them by striking two sticks together. If a Jew carries a sword to sell, he must have it tied fast in the scabbard.

In the Piazza Naona is the palace of Prince Pamfilio, who was nephew to Innocent X. and had been a cardinal deacon, but desiring to marry, he resigned his cap. We saw here the picture of S. Katherine, drawn by Annib. Caruaccio. Cain killing his brother Abel, by Alb. Durer. An idol called Archileo, of touchstone, stands on a dial of stone, whereon is an ancient inscription, and some of the Zodiac signs. Several tables of Pietra Lattaria, which is of a whitish blue colour. The angel commanding Joseph and the Virgin Mary to flee, drawn by Raphael Urbin. Noah's ark, by Bassano. The conversion of St. Paul, by Michael Angelo. The sacrificing of Isaac, by Titian. Our Saviour's nativity, by Pietro Parugino, which is imitated by Raphael Urbin, when he was first his scholar. S. Francis, by Guido Reni. The crucifying of St. Peter, by Michael Angelo. Our Saviour and the two thieves on crosses, by Raphael Urbin. Noah's flood, by Paulo Veronese. S. Agnese and S. John, both by Guercini. Most of these pictures are in a fair gallery, the roof whereof was painted by Peter Cortona, who left part of the great duke's gallery unfinished, which is perfecting by one Cerrus, who is excellent for painting of story. S. Antonio di Padua is a dark piece, by one Vander Gay. Duke of Bourbon's sacking of Rome, by Romanello. A soldier with his arms thrown by him on



on a table, and singing with two other soldiers, and a picture of grapes, pomegranates, &c. by *Il Maltese*. Two doctors, with books on shelves, and two country fellows, by *Alb. Durer*. The ravishing of the *Sabins*, by *Romanello*, done in *fresco*. Prospects in *fresco*, by *Monf. Pusin*. The triumph of *Bacchus*, in *fresco*, by *Camefeo*, a *Florentine*. Prince *Pamfilio*'s father and mother, half-statues, in white marble, made by *Algardi*, *Donna Olympia* was his mother. One *Claudio Lorrani* is famous for land skips. At this palace we saw a white camel.

Aldobrandini's palace.

*Aldobrandini*'s palace and garden is at *Monte Magnapoli*, where we saw the picture of *Bartolus*, done by *Raphael Urbin*. A room with a picture of five naked *Venus*'s, in several frames; one lies along, and has a face like that of *Titian*'s at *Florence*. *Jupiter* in the shape of a swan with *Leda*. The copy of the *Roman* marriage; the original whereof we saw in the garden, being painted (as some say) by *Grecians* on a wall, in *fresco*; it was found in the ruins of *M. Esquilinus*, and by the air is a little faded. There are ten figures, and it in print, and described in the note of all the galleries, &c. at *Rome*. A young cardinal's picture. A handsome shaped head of a *Roman*. The stone figure of one riding on a goat. A stone statue of a man struggling with a woman. An antient head of black stone. A little chapel with the picture of *S. Sebastian*.

Jan. 5. It thundred very much; tho' not very loud.

The Colonesse palace.

The *Colonesse* palace, in the *Borgo*, is handsome; it was built by *Henry VIII.* for his ambassadors.

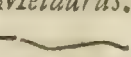
At S. Antonio.

Ceremony of sprinkling holy water on horses.

At *S. Antonio*, Jan. 7. which church is near *S. M. Maggiore*, we saw a priest standing at the church door, sprinkling holy water on horses, and the people, as they came by. The vitturins or hackney-men, rode up and down, this day, on their horses, mules and asses, trimmed with ribbands and bells; and trumpets sounding, and a mace carried before them; many of them had large tapers in their hands; one fellow on a mule (which some say drank of the consecrated water) talked with the priest. One *John Baptista*, a *Fleming*, is a good antiquary now in *Rome*.

Leonardo Agostino.

We visited *Leonardo Agostino*, the pope's antiquary, who is seventy years old. He has made a collection of marble heads, camei, entaglie, coins, &c. He shewed us the heads of *Trajan*, *Homer*, *Vespasianus* before he was bald. *Gordianus*, *Gordianus III.* *Paris* with a *Scythian* cap. *Seneca*, which was found within

these twelve years, it is very lively. A *SKIPPO* marble head on a foot, which he called *Voto di Serapide*. A small statue of *Britannicus*, of green marble. An *Egyptian* stone. *Agrippina*'s head, of the same stone, in relievo. A little vessel of oriental alabaster. *Hieromantes Egypt.* is a small stone figure of a priest standing at an altar full of hieroglyphicks, which are birds, fishes, and plants of the river *Nile*; this was found in the temple of *Isis*. A roundish ball, of antient red coloured perfume, found at the river *Metaurus*. A *Secefpita*, thus shaped;  or that which was fasten'd like the labarum on the top of a lance. A flat patera. A little brass figure of *Cybele*, in an odd sitting posture. A *Demasco* dagger perfumed. A *Turkish* scimitar perfumed. The camei of *Charles* the Vth, *Tiberius*, *Britannicus*, *Semiramis*, *Tbalia Musa*, *Severus* and *Julia Mamaea*. *Democritus* on one side and *Heraclitus* on the other. An entaglia of *Caligula*, with his three sisters sacrificing to *Priapus*, in a heliotrope stone. An entaglia of *Julius Caesar*. Brass lamps hanging in chairs. A *Præfericulum*. An old measure made of brass. Two sorts of antient *fibulae*, one thus shap'd,  the other like a pair of buckling clasps. Entaglie heads of *Junius Brutus*, in a corneole. *Alexander the Great*. *Medusa*. *Agrippina*. A woman's head unknown. *Iole*. *Antinous*. Coins of the twelve *Caesars*, in gold and silver; the silver *Otho* thus inscribed, *Imp. Otho Caesar Aug. T R. P.* on the reverse, *Senatus Aug.* The gold *Otho* thus inscribed, *Imp. M. Otho Caesar Aug. T R. P.* on the reverse *Securitas P. R.* A gold *Caligula*, which he said cost him twenty scudi; this written on it, *Ti. Cæ. Div. F. Imperator V.* on the reverse *Rom. et Aug.* *Agostino* told us that all onyx-stones engraven are antient. And he informed us how to make a red wax, which will take off the impressions of entaglie very clear, viz. melt sulphur, and then mingle vermilion with it, till it gives a true red; when he uses it, he melts it in an iron ladle and anointing the entaglia with oil, he pours the wax on, which is kept from running aside by a ring of paper about it. A cameo of an emperor on horseback killing a man. A relievo nicolo with an hermaphrodite, *Cupids* and other figures. Camei of *Seneca*, *Pallas*, a *Vindemiator*. A dog made of chalcedony. The earl of *Arundel*, he said, offered him seven pistoles for a broken cameo, which had part of a garment, the left arm and hand remaining. A nicolo of *Agrippina*. *Claudius*.

How to make a red wax.

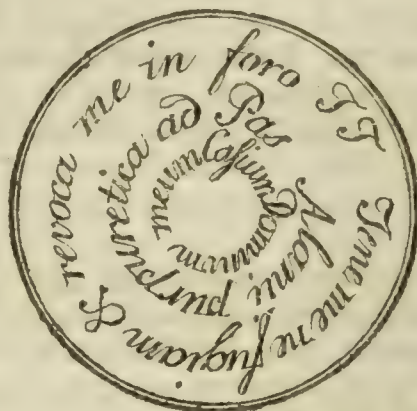


SKIPPON. *dius*. The half figure in an agat of *Cleopatra*, her breasts, &c. of a carnation colour, and her hair yellowish, all one piece of stone. A crystal icosihedron found in a garden of the monks of *Rischatto*. The head of king *Pergamus* is a curious entaglia in *Corneole*. *Æneas* and *Anchises* were highly esteemed by him. Old medals with obscene figures, whence *Aretine* took his postures; on one side is the number put for the place they visited in *Lupanaribus*. *Statera antiqua*, which had three sides, one for a different centre of gravity.

*Benedictus Melinus*, and one *Falconero*, are learned antiquaries.

Cavaliero dal Pozzo. We visited Cavaliero dal Pozzo, who most courteously obliged us with a sight of his curiosities, among which we observed the copy of a stone relievo in *Barberini's* palace, which represents on a vessel the dream of *Alexander Severus*; the figures here were *in plano*, and hung up in frames. Brass modern medals, fix'd in long frames. The famous women are together, among which is queen *Elizabeth*. Italian princes, popes, cardinals and *religiosi*, among which is *Savonarola* and *P. Jovius*. French princes, emperors and princes of Germany, among which is *Henry VIII*. Four folios pictured with plants, well done. Many pictures of birds, &c. in loose papers. The picture of an onocrotalus, phænicopterus. The picture of a boy that defended philosophical theses when but ten years old, now grown a most ignorant man. His study is well furnished with books. An octagonal table with shelves round the sides for books. *Salvianus's* fishes done to the life in miniature. A great number of large volumes filled only with all sorts of antiquities. In one, all the instruments used in sacrifices; in others were remarked these particulars, viz. one playing on an instrument like an organ, and another blowing with bellows. Little figures of children; a hare, &c. which are ancient *Crepundia* found in urns. *Pondera antiqua Crotalum*, a musical instrument shap'd thus, which he said is now used in French galleys; the *Sistrum*, he told us, was made of Corinthian brass, and the cross bars in it were loose, which being moved to and fro, made a musical noise. A lamp with the *Calige* express'd [qu?] Lamps shap'd like a griffin's body, and a *Priapus* before and another behind. A medal with

*Malleoli pedis* in reverse, and this written, *Qui ludit, arram det, quod satis est*. The *Fritillus* was like our dice-boxes. *Strigiles* are to rub off sweat with. A medal that was tied about a slave's neck, on the reverse whereof was written this in three circles, viz.



On the other side was the wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*. A drinking vessel made like a *Priapus*. *Bollo Antico* of lead, which had *Severus's* head on it, having been a mark in marble bought for his use. The picture of a stone *Priapus* preserv'd by the duke of *Tuscany*, the lower parts like a lion; figures of animals, &c. hung round the glans. In a book of birds, the picture of a white parrot. *Porphyrio*, so called from its colour, it is bred in *Sardinia*, having a red bill and feet, the claws thus divided. It feeds itself with its teeth, and catches flies with them. *Turdus indicus*, which is red and pretty frequent in *Spain*. A book of the most noted Italian men and womens pictures, and some strangers; among them *Eleanora Toleta*, who poison'd her father that came purposely to poison her husband *Cosmus I*. *Laurentius Medices* had a very ill aspect. *Cosmus Medices*, father of *Leo XI*. *Martinus Navarrus*, a Portuguese lawyer, who took a journey to *Rome* when he was 80 years old, to defend the cause of his country. *Jo. Petrus Aloysius Mefius*, vulgarly *Il Palestrino*, *Merula* and *Cyprianus* were three famous musicians. *Sarra Colonna*, who put *Boniface VIII*. into prison. The weights and *stateræ* of the antients were the same now in use at *Rome*. Medals of the Austrian family. These inscriptions, viz.

*Divo Georgio Votum solvit Thomas Zambicharius*.





M. VALERIUS DIVS  
FECIT VALERIAE CHRESTAE  
LIB SVAE CARISSIMAE  
M. VALERIO TERTIO LIB. SVO  
ET VALERIAE PRIMAE LIB SVAE  
HOC MONUMENTV L TITVRIVS SABINVS SE VIV  
O DONAVIT L SALVIO SYMPHO ROMAN CV.  
FAVITQVE SESTERTIO NVMMO VNO  
CVRTILLVS HERMEROS  
FECIT SIBI ET  
CVRTILLAE THETIDI  
CONIVGI SVO CARISSIMO  
ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE  
SVIS POSTERISQVE EORVM  
MAGISTER VICI AB CYCLOPIS  
REGION PRI FABER ARGENTARIVS.

Among the pictures of the birds, &c. *Aquila barbata*. *Onocrotalus bursâ rubrâ*. *Passer imperator Hispanorum*. *Turdus Viridis Ind.* *Alauda alba*. *Calidris nigra*. *Nicticorax* with a long yellow bill, the body of it small. *Porcano minor* is a kind of *Gallinula*. *Hiaticula torque albo*, it is a little bird; *Gallinago major albis distincta maculis*; *Hemantopi species*, black and white, with a dark coloured bill and red legs; *Arcuata Turcica* having a purplish breast; *Ardea species*, with a long black bill; two sorts of *Fibri*, which are species of wild ducks; *Graculus palmipes*; *Onocrotalus bursâ luteâ*; *Porcarello Spiancello*; *Turdus luteus*; *Balbusto*, which is taken usually among larks; canary-bird of *Elba*, which hath a little yellow on the head; *Occhio Cotto* is blackish; *Codi rosso vel turdus marinus Florent.* *Muscipeto*; *Perditempo*; *Strillozzo Congener Alaudæ*; on old hen's egg thus shaped:



*Perdix Hispan.* distinguished from the *Italian* by its reddish breast; *Anas Campestris*; *Toucan*, called by the Spaniards *Carpentero*: *Rollar Argentorat.* *Pica Marina* or *Gazzera Marina*; *Caprimulgus vulg.* *Piattola* è tutta bocca, hath a small bill. An owl called *Faccia d'buomo*. A *Lanius* called *Castrica passerina*. A dolphin brought to the fish-market in *Rome*, having one fin on the middle of the back, a pair of fins under the gills, a longish snout, wide mouth, a forked tail, and is well armed with sharp teeth. *Zebra* an *Indian* . . . with a skin streak'd blackish, or rather tawny and white. *Bos strepticerus*, with short and thick horns. *Ignavus Hispanorum*. *Sagovius*, a sort of jack-an-ape, with large white ears. An *Egyptian* mouse with long hind legs, and very short ones before. The plant that budded out of a man's

side in *Spain*, *An.* 1626. Tulips and hyacinths admirably well painted by *Monf. de Fleury*. *Bezoar occidentalis* as big as a man's head. *Delineatio phaenomeni quod apparuit 10 Martii 16..4.* *Supra Juliacum (Juliers) Soles 4. circa solem 20 Martii 1629. Romæ observati.* A little embryo about an inch and a half long fully shaped, which was observed to pant in *menstruis*. Seven books of *John Heckius* a *German*, wrote in his travels; he observed plants, insects, &c. and was one of the *Academici Lyncei illum.* *Antoninus's* pillar pictured, also all kinds of mechanical measures. A chopping-knife and a saw the martyrs were put to death with, were found in church-yards. A copy of old painting found at the *Piazza di S. Gregorio*. Ancient brass armour, very light, easy to be worn, and fitted. *Diana triformis*. The pictures of three mummies which were in *Pietro della Valle's* possession, but are now sold; all of them were richly gilt and painted with strange figures. One had four bolline of lead, which is counted a great rarity. A mummy preserved at *Florence*. The picture of the mummied leg at *Cavaliero Corvino's*. *Matthiolus* curiously painted. These books are painted very exactly, the heads, legs, and other parts of animals being distinctly drawn. The picture of *Sada*, *Petrarch's* mistress. *Caval dal Pozzo* inherited these things at his uncle *Cassian dal Pozzo's* death.

*Jan. 11.* In the evening we paid two A comedy *Julii* a man for seeing a comedy called *Il* in abuse of *Schiavo*, which was in abuse of the Je- the Je- suits, one in their habit representing their behaviour, how he turned bandito, sold his soul to the devil, and at last repenting, hell-gates and fire was shewn to him, was rescued by the command of an angel; after that he appeared on the stage with a rope about his neck, and cry'd *Penitenza*. The humour of this part pleased the spectators exceedingly. The comedies



SKIPPON. medies here are not so obscene as at *Venice*.  
 ~~~~~ Nasty spitting out of the boxes upon the people in the pit.

Cardinal Jan. 12. At *Chiesa Nova di S. Philippo Aldobrandini* lying in state in *Chiesa Nova*. *Nerio*, cardinal *Aldobrandini*'s dead body was expos'd to publick view in the middle of the church. His face was naked, and his cap laid on his feet; two persons on each side held banners, and in each side the nave of the church was a row of lighted torches; the church was hung round with mourning, and an innumerable number of escutcheons. The cardinals were present at even-song, and sat nigh the high altar; one always gave the cardinals a sign when to stand up, and when to kneel.

About this time four persons in one family were poisoned at *Rome*.

Mich. Angelo Ricci. We visited *Michael Angelo Ricci*, a learned priest, and were civilly entertained by him; his library is stored with select books, among which all mathematical authors; he is esteemed a good mathematician: He told us somewhat of his would be printed at *Florence*. He was scholar to *Torricellius*, and hath great correspondence and friendship with learned men. He shewed us an *Italian* commentary on a *Latin Virgil*, done by one *Venuta*. *Astronomia restituta*, by one *Levera* a *Roman*. *S. Ambrose* and *S. Augustine*, printed at *Basil* by *Amberbachius* 1492. He told us one *Father Raynaltus* an oratorian at the *Chiesa Nova*, is a learned historian, and has in several volumes continued *Baronius*'s annals. He gave us a commendatory letter to father *Honoratus Fabri* a *French* Jesuit, one of the penitentiaries at *S. Peter*'s, esteemed more learned than *Kircher*.

Giovanni Pietro Bellori. *Giovanni Pietro Bellori* is a skilful antiquary, whom we visited, and saw in his museum these particulars; a head drawn by *Titian*, and two other heads, one by *Tintoret*, and the other by *Caruaggio*. A little dog by *Vandyke*. The figure of a man and woman sitting, a basso relievo piece in the ancients *Creta*. A *Quadriga* running in the *Circus*, and the chariot overthrown, with a man lamenting standing by it, are in two relievo pieces of the same *Creta*. This inscription on them, *Annie Arescæ*. In this antiquity we observed the driver's being girt with cord several times about the waist, the *Ova Castoris*, &c. on the *Metæ*, the dolphins on the temple of *Neptune*, the running round the *Metæ*, which explained that in *Horace*, *Metaq; fervidis excitata rotis*. A little brass vessel shap'd into the head of *Isis*, in which they brought water to the sacrifice. A large vessel of earth painted after the manner the *Greeks* call *Monocroma*, there being no shadows, and only one colour, and simple

lines. Many such vessels were found about *Surrentum*, nigh *Naples*. This was pictur'd round with the old manner of being served at the baths. See *Bellori*'s description of it in his *Note delle musei*, &c. An *Arostolium* shap'd like that on the basso relievo at *S. Laurence*'s church. A brass *Strigil* thus shap'd.

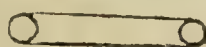


A *Patera dedicata* wrought towards the bottom. A *Patera*, wherein were engraven figures of men, and in *Greek* characters was written *Mercurius & Alexentrom*. A brass ring with a medal (inscrib'd *Tene me ne fugiam*, &c.) that hung about a slave's neck. A marble relievo with *Silvanus*, having a falx in his right hand, and a pine branch in his left, &c. described in *Casalius*, and *Tomafinus de Donariis*, c. 26. A *Medaglione* (brass) of *Caligula*. Several sacrificing instruments preserved very intire. A *Prefericulum* of metal, having two snakes made into the handle, which was probably used in sacrifices either to *Apollo* or *Æsculapius*. A *Prefericulum* curiously varnished with green. A piece of crystal cut into eight angles, on the upper part of it were hieroglyphical figures, and below them *Ægyptian* characters. A *Patera* for the blood. A brass spoon to take up incense withal, made thus,



A little brass figure of *Hercules*, and another of *Jupiter*. Two small figures of *Liſtores* in brass, having their garments fastned to the right shoulder with a *Fibula*; in their left hand they carried the *Fasces*. A small brass figure of *Fortuna*, with a long *Trabalis* in her right hand, and a *Cornucopia* in her left; this explains that in *Horace*, *Sæva neceſſitas clavo trabali*. A shield of brass broader than a man's hand, whereon was the head of *Bacchus* in relievo, having his forehead bound with a *Fascia*, and two roses fix'd on it against drunkenness, and a crown of vine-leaves on his head; on the right side of him was a *Patera*, and on the left a *Phallus*. A brass *armilla* worn by the ancient christians, having a cross on it. A marble stone made with five perforated *Radii*, called by *Pliny* *Lychnites*, which served as a lamp. *Fibula antiquæ*, or *Æliæ*, described in *Casalius de ritibus antiquis*. A rare and curious little figure of an empress in brass. A large brass lamp with a *Labarum Constantini* in the handle, and a *Corona Civica*

Civica of oak-leaves and acorns round about it. A lamp inscribed *Palladi Victrici* described also in *Casalius*. A lamp with a griffin devoted to *Apollo*. Another with a sea-horse's head, to *Neptune*, and one with a vine-leaf to *Bacchus*. On the handle of another Lamp α and ω . A brass figure of *Mercury* having a *Cornucopia* in his hand. A little brass lamp with a Greek inscription to *Diane*, viz. *Απλημίδι*, &c. dedicated by *Eutyches* prefect of *Melitopolis*. *Erizzo* in his book of medals, translates his name *Felix*, which *Sig. Bellori* will not allow of. A *Votum* for a fore finger's recovery, made of brass, and shap'd thus,



A spouse veil'd, with her friends about her in relievo. The head of . . . in black *Æthiopian* marble, harder than porphyry, and seems like iron at first sight. The case of the upper part of one of *Pietro della Valle's* mummies. An earthen vessel dedicated to the muses, which are painted round the outside. A fair brass *Janus*. A brass figure of young *Hercules* killing the serpent. A little brass *Tripus*. Two feet of another *Tripus* having two figures (*Bacchantes*) well express'd. Two large masques of brass, and one small one. A small figure of *Sphinx*, triplex *Isidis* figura, described in *Casalius*. An earthen lamp to *Serapis* with the figure of *Bacchus* on it. A marble head of *Serapis*, which is like *Jupiter's*, only the dividing the hair before distinguishes this from that. A brass figure of a *Pocillator*, that used to attend the emperor, &c. at meals. An earthen lamp with the figure of an emperor, a *Pocillator*, and a globe, &c. Another lamp with a dying soldier held up by another, and several arms all in relievo upon the lamp. The *Pelta* thereon was thus shap'd,



A lamp with the figure of *Prometheus*. A lamp with *Æternitas* symbolically represented in a relievo head radiated like the sun, and the moon on his breast. *Sig. Bellori* shewed us some medals with *Æternitas*, that are printed by *Hemelarius*. An earthen lamp with obscene postures, as the *Spintriae*, &c. One of the *Clavi trabales* of the *Rotunda*. A *Simpulum* thus made.



Two brass and sharp things he knew not the use of, shap'd like chisels thus,



A piece of red earthen vessel which had been curiously adorn'd with the relievo figures of the muses, the upper parts of two are preserved, over one in Greek characters is written, *Θαλια*. Pieces of the antient *Purpura*, of a dirty reddish colour. An old brass figure of the *Madonna*. A little brass figure of *S. Peter*, in the posture of blessing with his right hand, and in his left holding these two letters alluding to *Ferte nomen meum*.



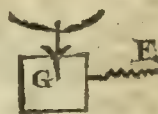
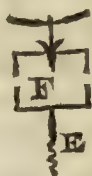
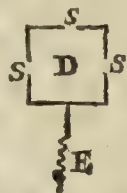
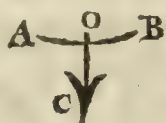
A small ivory head of *Helena*; these last things were found in the *Cœmitera* of the ancient christians. *Aurum textile* of the ancients is gold round wire, which confutes *Ferrarius* his contrary opinion. A small brass figure of *Deus Lunus*. A brass head of *Deus Ebbo*, having bulls horns in his forehead; this was worshipped by the *Neapolitans*. Several *Bulle*, some made like round boxes in which they carried *Amuleta*. In a marble statue of a *Puer prætextatus*, we observed a *Bulla* hanging at his breast. *Priapi*, &c. worn by the *Roman* women. *Sig. Bellori* told us the letter T was esteemed by the *Ægyptians* *Signum salutis*. Some triangular *Bulle*; whence the custom of *Agnus Dei*, being worn now among papists. Old rings with keys. A *Tessera hospitalitatis*, being a long square stone. Ancient seals with letters of names. A little and long square piece of brass being one of the ancient *Sortes*, whereon was written, *Fauste Vivas*. A relievo head of *Silenus*. A stone thus inscribed.

LABVCCIUS HERMES
SIBI ET
TYCHAE L. SVAE
AB TITVLO SVSVM OL. XIX.

An ancient brass weight with two faces on one side. A very small stone weight. A stone weight with *ex auctoritate*, written on it. *Anubis* an *Ægyptian* idol of red stone. An idol with the face of a monkey. The picture of *Annibal Caruaggio*, drawn by himself on his pallet. *Sig. Bellori* was very civil to us. He has good medals and *Entaglie*, and a collection of designs made by

SKIPPOON: by the best masters; he draws pictures, and makes good landskips, and he is a learned antiquary. He wrote the explanation of *Leon. Agostino's Gemme Antiche Figuratae*, and of the coins in *Symbolica Dianæ Ephesiae statua*. He published *Nota delli Musei, &c.* in *Roma*, and is now printing a book of *Bassi relievi*. He is making an addition to the lives of the painters, and shewed us his corrections of *Erizzo*.

Eustatbius de Divinis was visited by us, ^{Eustathius de Divinis.} who shewed us glasses of his making: we looked thro' two of his perspectives, one of ten palms long, with four glasses, which made the objects large, but somewhat obscurer than another of eight palms long, into which he removed two glasses from the first, and then the objects were more large. We observ'd a contrivance to rest a perspective on.



AB is a leather channel to lay the perspective in, being fastned by a moveable axis at *o*, to a perpendicular iron *oc*, which at *c* hath a spring that serves to fix it, when it is put into a square iron frame *D*, at *s* above or on each side; the frame *D* may be fixed by the screw *E*, either perpendicularly or horizontally.

He told us, when he makes plano-convex glasses, that he makes them a semidiameter thinner then the convex on both sides, to have the same distance of focus for both sorts. He shewed us his invention of a telescope with seven glasses, *viz.* the first objective, and the other six plano-convex, placed two and two together, touching one another on the convex side, thus,



The object thro' this perspective is larger, and with a bigger area than in that with four glasses, which yet made the object clearer. In a perspective with two glasses, objects appear inverted; in that of seven, and the other of four glasses, they appeared inclining in one, and *in situ naturali* in the other. In that of seven, the *lentes* are without any coloured circle, but in the last we observed a yellow, and the glasses of this grow moist (tho' at the first whiter and clearer than the others) which he thinks is occasioned by a mixture of salt. *Vide* his letter to cardinal *Manzini*.

Eustatbius de Divinis hath writ against *Hugenii Systema Saturninum*, which was answered by *Hugenius*, and a reply made, but since *Hugenius* hath been silent, *Honoratus Fabri* the Jesuit, writ also for him in *Latin*, who esteems more of *Divinis* than of *Campani's* glasses.

Honoratus Fabri.

Honoratus Fabri, a French Jesuit, and one of the penitentiaries at *St. Peter's*, is a good philosopher and mathematician; he received

us with great civility, and told us he was about to print five tomes of his works at *Lyons*; the first that will be published is *De Homine*, which is last in order. A quarto book of his, is *De motu locali corporum*. He discoursed of reflection of light, which he says is not made only from the first superficies, instancing in a thin piece of *Talcum*, which will hardly make any reflexion. He said also, that a speculum may be made so thick that it shall reflect as well as with quicksilver, &c. By this scheme he demonstrated that reflexion is not only made from the first superficies. The radius *A* is imbib'd into the globuli, and is reflected into the radius *B*.



He proved the angle of incidence not equal to that of reflexion, because the superficies of a glass *CD* being covered with a cloth all over, except *C* *E* *F* *D* at the point *E*, nothing of the radius *F* will be reflected till the superficies *CE* be uncovered.

S. Cecilia in *Transstevere* belongs to *S. Cecilia Benedictine* nuns, where we took notice in *Transstevere* of a rich shrine, and of an old tomb of an *English* cardinal; under his effigies is written,

D. O. M.

Adam. Anglo Tit. S. Cecilie presbytero Cardinali Episcopatus Londinensis perpetuo Administratori, Integritate, Doctrina Et religione prestanti
Obiit di xv. Augusti mcccxcvii.

The king of *England's* arms, and on each side the cardinal's (*viz.* a red cross charged with an eagle in a field argent) are on the monument. In the porch of this

this church cardinal *Barberin* has set up the old cover of this tomb-stone, about which are these verses in odd characters,

*Artibus iste Pater famosus in omnibus Adam
Theologus summus Cardinalis eram
Anglia cui patriam, Titulum dedit ista Beate
Edes Cecilie morsq; suprema locum.
MCCCLXXXVII. Mense Septembr.*

Ceremony
on Candle-
mas-day.

Jan. 23. being *Candlemas-day*, St. N. at the great chapel in the pope's palace, cardinal *Antonio Barberino* seated before the high altar, distributed wax candles to the cardinals and others; the pope used to perform this ceremony, but he was indisposed this day; some said he counterfeited himself ill because he would not give audience to cardinal *Orsini*, who was going into *France* for an *Abbatia* the king intended to bestow upon him, which cardinal *Al-drobandini* had. This *Orsini* within these six months came over to the *French* faction. After the candles were distributed, the cardinals made a procession in the great hall, carrying every one a lighted taper, having their mitres and copes on; before them went several bishops with mitres, and among them one without a mitre, who, I think, was an *Armenian* bishop.

The government see in my collection of governments.

When the pope dies, every house is obliged to set out a light every night; which custom is strictly observed all the time the *Sede vacante*. The bells at the *Campidoglio* are never rung but at the pope's death. When a new one is chosen, his friends and relations ransack and carry away what they can find in his palace. One had been formerly elected pope, but he wanted those fingers usually lifted up when the people are blessed.

Cardinal *Estè* is altogether of the *French* faction, who some few years since gather'd eight hundred men against the pope in the city of *Rome*.

Six white loaves now sold for one julio: In *Urban VIII*'s time eighteen were sold for the same price; which might be from the price of corn.

Buffaloes are used in waggons, and they are guided by a ring that is fastened in their nostrils.

Leti informs us, that the pope is always guarded with fifty *Switzers* in two companies, twelve light horsemen, and four lances at least.

That the cardinal nephew subscribes letters *di ordine*, and the patents of some governors; but the pope subscribes patents of legates, &c.

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That the pope's court consists of about 350 persons, besides guards.

Il Maestro di Stalla wears a sword.

That the pope's armories are at *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, *Ca. St. Angelo*, the *Vatican*, *Ancona* and *Ravenna*. He has three hundred workmen for making of arms at *Tivoli*.

That the pope may have about sixty thousand soldiers, horse and foot.

That in all expences the pope spends not above a million and a half of scudi per annum; his daily revenue is somewhat above twenty thousand scudi.

This pope *Alexander VII.* has laid on fourteen new gables, and they say it is never the custom of the successors to ease the people of those laid on before their time. This pope is a *Senese*, his name *Fabius Chigi*; he was legate in *Germany*, and hath related his travels in *Latin* verse, among many other poems of his: he is very careful of his health, never going abroad without the advice of his physicians, who told him the air of *St. Peter's* would be bad for him this winter, and therefore it was reported the canonization of a *Spanish* and a *French* saint was deferred. Don *Mario* is the pope's brother, whose palace was repairing nigh *Antoninus's* pillar. Cardinal *Padrone Fab. Chigi* is his nephew (son to Don *Mario*) who is counted a lover of women, and has, they say, been infected with the *French* pox. Don *Agostino* is another of his nephews, and son to Don *Mario*. The pope's *Staffieri*, or servants, in the summer wear red silk coats, made like the *Spanish* soldiers, and in the winter they wear red velvet. The captain of the guard of *Switzers* is always nigh the pope, and is privately armed with pistols. Don *Agostino* is prince of *Farnese*, a place in the ecclesiastical state, given in exchange by the duke of *Parma*. Don *Sigismondo* is his younger brother, and is a knight of *Malta*, and is designed to be cardinal the next creation.

Cardinals, when they ride *incogniti* in their coaches, order the tassels to be taken off their horses heads, and then the coaches of inferior persons are not to stop as they pass by. Dukes and princes have the like tassels about their horses, and their coachmen sit on velvet cushions.

The title of *Altezza*, i. e. *Higness*, is taken away from cardinals that are princes, and all have the title of *Eminenza*. Cardinals pull off their hats or caps only when they drink the pope's health, but ambassadors stand up. Cardinals swear in the pope's hand, but governors, &c. that are not cardinals, swear in the *Camerlengo's* (chamberlain's) hand.

The chief families in *Rome* are the *Colonne*, *Orsini*, *Conti* and *Savelli*.

SKIPPON.

Widows are here distinguished as at *Florence*, by their great sleeves; young married women and maids do wear curled hair, which they desire may be of a reddish colour; they wear little farthingales, and have short sleeves behind them thus shap'd, and before and behind hangs down a *Lacinia*. Young women never walk the streets without their mother or some old woman at their heels, as young boys, sons of gentlemen, &c. have always priests attending them. The women wear much of ordinary blue, red, &c. druggets.

Great number of courtezans live in *Rome*, some of them live splendidly, but none can ride in coaches without licence, and then the curtains must be drawn: they dare not come where the sacrament is, or where any festival is kept; and about *Christmas* the men are strictly forbidden to visit them, under a penalty that reaches both. These and hereticks, as they call the Protestants, are buried in a place by themselves without *Porta del Popolo*.

Burdasties are kept by noblemen, and, as some say, by cardinals.

The king of *Spain's* ambassador on *St. Peter's* day presents the pope with a *Neapolitan* horse, and five thousand scudi.

Great linen is usually dried on iron bars, that run from house to house cross the streets, which the people had rather do than pay gables for carrying it out and in at the city gates.

Every parish priest is obliged once a year to bring to the vicegerent the names of all that live in the parish.

Variety and plenty of wines at *Rome*, as *Vino Albano* (which is most common) and is pleasant, of a whitish colour) *Greco*, *Vernatico*, *Monte Fiascone*, *Monte Portio*, &c. that which is well tasted they say is *Boccalo*.

Porters are not suffered to carry burdens on festival mornings.

The carts are narrow and long, and made descending towards the horse.

Auctions or outcries are made here as at *Venice*.

Two testons, *i. e.* about three shillings, is a physician's fee for a visit. He is obliged to acquaint the parish priest when he sees his patient in danger. If a heretick, *i. e.* a protestant, will give leave before his breath be quite out of his body, that but a piece of an host may be put into his mouth, he shall have the usual solemnities of a burial, if not, they say, the *sbirri*, *i. e.* fellows who go up and down as a guard or watch, must carry him to his grave.

Dead bodies are dress'd up in cloths and laid on biers (seldom in coffins) and carried with their hands and faces naked.

Monachi di Rischatto, called so from their

redeeming of slaves, are white bare-footed friars, who wear a red and blue cross on their breasts.

We observed, in some parts of the city, many country fellows (who probably stood to be hired) in their ruffet cloaks.

About *Christmas* time many sorts of cakes and bread are sold; one sort of cake is called *pan-giallo*, like our plum-cake; others are of other colours.

Rouzacla is a play in the streets, three or four playing together, winding a cord several times about a trundle, and he that throws it furthest wins.

These famous painters now in *Rome*: Painters. *Pietro di Cortona Berritini*; *Cavaliero Calabrese*; *Carluccio*, a young man; *Monfieur Pugin*, an old Frenchman; *Salvator Rosa*; *Mar. di Fiore*; *Siegebrandon*; a *Burgundian* Jesuit paints battles; *Filippo Louri* makes landscips and figures; *Cavaliero Bernino* is an excellent sculptor.

We lodged some time at our first pension in the house of a *Spanish* cavaliero of *St. Jago*, who wore a red cross on his shoulder: He told us, that his countrymen always dealt cards to the right hand: that four or five leagues from *Barcelona*, at a mountain called *Bicque*, amethysts are found; and in the mountains southward of *Madrid* is crystal, at *Gualdel* canal was a silver mine, sufficient for the building of the *Escorial*; it was afterwards stopp'd up by water.

This winter there were at *Rome* two brothers, titular dukes of *Brunswick*; the younger was a papist, and the other a *Lutheran*, married to . . . the prince *Palatine's* sister, her husband is the bishop of *Halberstadt*. Most of the canons there are *Roman Catholics*, who chuse one time a *Lutheran*, and the next time a *Catholic* bishop. Prince *Colonna* entertain'd them with a feast of four dishes, each costing two hundred crowns.

We observ'd in the market all sorts of birds to be sold, and venison, wild boar, porcupine, &c. Most of the hogs in these parts are black. When they intend to kill them, they drive them through the streets, and thrust sharp irons of their long staves into them. Before they kill beeves and calves, they bait them with dogs in the streets. Six post-houses in *Rome*, 1. That for *Venice*; 2. *Milano* and the *Tramontane* countries; 3. *Ligorne* and *Genoa*; 4. *Florence*; 5. *Naples* and *Sicily*; 6. The ecclesiastical state: where twice a-week letters are expected by crowds of people.

The water we wash'd with every morning, in the coldest weather, seem'd as if it had been a while set over the fire, it was so warm.

Limoncelle,



Limoncelle are little lemons, which some pickle up.

Monte di Pietà. *Monte di Pietà* is an office where any one may deposit their household stuff, plate, jewels, &c. and take up money upon them; and afterwards may have them again, allowing some interest. The usual time of leaving goods here is for a year and a day; but oftentimes they renew it from year to year. Noblemen, &c. when they intend to be absent a good while, think this the safest place to lodge their plate, &c. in.

Rome is disprais'd by some, and prais'd by others.

It is a proverb said of *Rome*,

*J'amais ni Cheval ni homme
N'amenda d'aller à Rome.*

Also,

*Cbi Bestia vâ a Roma
Bestia ritorna.*

Likewise,

Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet.

*Terrarum Dea Gentiumq; Roma
Cui par est nihil, nihilq; secundum.*

Rome tousjours à voulu avoir le premier rang sur toutes les autres villes du monde, anciennement en vertu, maintenant en vices & meschancetex abominables.

Voyage du D. de Rohan.

The *Jesuits* have a treasury in *Italy*, The Je-
suits. *France*, *Germany* and *Spain*: In *Italy* at *Naples*, *Florence*, *Mantua* and *Rome*. Six colleges make a *Custodia*, and five *Custodie* a province. Every college puts into the private treasury two *per Cent.* and half that goes into the treasury of the *Custodia*; and the *Custodia* puts one third of that into the provincial treasury; and the provincial treasury puts in one third into the general treasury.

Priests when they are ordain'd have the fore-finger and thumb of each hand bless'd and cross'd by the bishop; and with those four they can only touch the host. If one of them should be cut off, &c. another must be consecrated: and we were told, when they are degraded and put out of orders, the tops of those thumbs and fingers must be cut off.

In *Italy* are these Princes and Commonwealths that have Absolute Power, according to *Leti*.

Princes,
&c. in
Italy.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Alexander VII. | Pope. |
| 2. Philip IV. king of Spain, | King of Sicily and Naples, and D. of Milan. |
| 3. Carolus Emanuel, | Duke of Savoy. |
| 4. Ferdin. II. | Duke of Tuscany. |
| 5. Carol. II. | Duke of Mantua. |
| 6. Ranutius II. | Duke of Parma. |
| 7. Almericus | Duke of Modena. |
| 8. Sigism. Fra. | Bishop of Trent. |
| 9. } | Prince of Bozzolo. |
| 10. { Several families | Marquis of Castiglione. |
| 11. { of Gonzaga, | Duke of Guastalda. |
| 12. } | Duke of Novellara. |
| 13. Ursini, | Duke of Bracciano. |
| 14. Ursini, | Conte di Petigliano. |
| 15. Augustinus Chifius, | Prince of Farnese. |
| 16. Pico, | Duke of Mirandola. |
| 17. Grimaldi, | Prince of Monaco. |
| 18. Cibo, | Marquis of Massa. |
| 19. Aldobrandini, | Marquis of Meldola. |
| 20. Ferreri, | Prince of Massarano. |
| 21. Malaspina, | Marchese di Monte. |
| 22. Colonna, | Prince di Pagliano. |
| 23. Ludovisi, | Prince di Piombino. |
| 24. Barberino, | Prince di Palestrina. |
| 25. Medina de las Torres, | Prince di Sabioneta. |
| 26. Doria, | Marquis of Torreglia. |

The following Republicks, viz. 1. *Venice*; 2. *Genoa*; 3. *Lucca*; 4. *S. Marino*.

SKIPPON.

Tuesday, Jan. 24. Hiring two horses for nine scudi, we began our journey for *Ancona*, and set forth about noon; we rode over *Pons Milvius*, which at each end has a wooden bridge, to break down on occasion of war. The *Tyber* was very high at this time, almost even with its banks. Seven miles from *Rome* we pass'd through *Prima Porta*, a small village, and then travell'd hilly ground on the *Via Flaminia*, which is pav'd with broad flints; and in some places we observed a ridge of stones set on each side of the way, and at about every two paces distance were fixed stones higher than the rest; we took notice of some old ruins, and one round building with broad buttresses. Nine miles from *Prima Porta* we lodged at *Castelnuovo*. The *Campagna* of *Rome* is not well inhabited.

We paid two pistoles for our horses at *Rome*, and one more at *Spoletto*.

Jan. 25. We mounted before break of day, and went seven miles to *Arignano*, a little wall'd place, and eight miles farther came to *Civita Castellana*, another small wall'd town, where we cross'd over the river *Triglia*; from hence we had twelve miles off a prospect of *Caprarole*, a famous palace made into a pentagon; it belongs to the family of *Farnese*: there we were told is a whispering place like that in the duke of *Mantua's* palace of *T*. Four miles from *Castellana* we dined at *Borghetto*, a poor wall'd place, where our pasto or entertainment was but bad. In the afternoon we rode over the *Tyber* at *Ponte Felice*; which was begun by *Sixtus V.* and finish'd by *Clemens VIII.* On our left hand we saw *Magliana*, and two little castles. Four miles from *Borghetto* we pass'd by the ruins of the ancient city *Otricoli*, and went over a hill, where the new town, a small and mean place, is built. On an altar-stone here is this inscription, with a *præfericulum* on one side,

IVLIAE LVCILIAE
LIVII IVLIANI FIL
PATRONI MVNICIPI
CVIVS PATER
THERMAS OCRICOLA
NAS A SOLO EXTRVCTAS
SVA PECVNIA DONA
VIT
DECVR. AVG. P...P.
D. D. D.

Hence we travell'd a stony and hilly way eight miles to *Narni*, a small city with a castle on the top of a hill, a mile

or two before we reach'd *Narni*, where we lodg'd this night. We rode by a very steep and high precipice.

We observ'd in this journey Eremites, that sprinkle holy water on passengers when they beg their charity.

Jan. 26. We went seven miles in a pleasant valley cultivated like *Lombardy*, and the highway was strait till we came to *Terni* (anciently *Interamna*) a pretty city built in a plain. In the midst of the piazza stands an old pillar before the cathedral church, which seem'd to have been a *Roman* temple. Hence we travell'd, and ascended a high hill. Soon after we left . . . seven miles from *Terni*; and seven miles farther we rode through *Spoletto*, a large city on the side of a hill. Here we changed our horses, and had a prospect of a large and pleasant valley that reach'd to *Fuligno*; it was till'd as the country in *Lombardy*. Eight miles from *Spoletto* we pass'd by *Trevi*, (anciently *Mutusca* and *Trebia*) a walled town upon the top of a hill on our right hand. The way this afternoon was very strait and very good. We lodged this night at *Fuligno*.

This evening we saw the comet nigh *Aries*, with its *barba* towards the *Pleiades*, but it was very dim.

Jan. 27. We took a litter (as we did at *Spoletto*) and fresh horses, which carried us a mountainous way up four miles to *Bala*, a small village where they make paper. We had here a pretty prospect in a narrow valley, and had a good road the higher parts of the mountain, where we met with snow. We dined at *Serravalle*, and there changed our horses again. This is a little village by the river *Cbiente*, that runs in a narrow valley, fourteen miles from *Fuligno* hither. In the afternoon we travell'd fourteen miles more, and lodged at *Valcimarra*, a small village, seated in the same valley and the river *Cbiente*.

Jan. 28. Two hours before day we took fresh horses and another litter, and rode seven miles to *Tolentino*, a little wall'd city, where we had fresh horses again, and then went ten miles to *Macerata*, (anciently, according to *Ferrarius's Lexic. Geograph.* *Ælia Ricina* and *Helvia Ricina*) leaving the high mountains of the *Apennine* behind us. A little before we enter'd this place we pass'd under a fair new arch, with the half figure of cardinal . . . of brass upon it. *Macerata* is indifferently large. We should have changed our horses, but travelling on, after dinner we met with some on the road, with whom we changed horses; and eight miles from *Macerata* came to *Recanati*, (*Recinetum* and

and *Racina nova*) a long city on the top of a hill. Here we observed an inscription on the side of a house, signifying that the *Santa Casa* had rested there. Many poor boys were importunate beggars as we came up to this city.

We went four miles up hill and down hill, and in very bad and deep way, passing by an aqueduct, and at night arrived at *Loreto*, where every innkeeper we saw invited us into his house.

The church dedicated to the virgin *Mary* is built like a cathedral, where the story of *Santa Casa*'s removal from place to place is hung up, and translated into, 1. *Hebrew*, 2. *Arabick*, 3. *Greek*, 4. *Latin*, 5. *Slavonian*, 6. *Dutch*, 7. *French*, 8. *Spanish*, 9. *Italian*, 10. *Welsh*, 11. *English*, 12. *Scotch*, 13. and *Irish* language. One father *Corbington* a *Jesuit* turned it into the four last. See Mr. Ray's travels.

A fair brass font here, which is well carved. A pretty monument of cardinal *Cajetanus*. The church gates are brass, and wrought with relieve figures, representing stories in the bible.

A *French Jesuit* introduced us into the treasury, which is a large room with a painted roof; within several presses and iron grates we saw many rich presents made to the *Madonna* of *Loreto*, by princes, &c. We observed particularly the wood at *Vincennes* nigh *Paris*, in a silver model; a crown of gold set with pearls, given by princess of *Transylvania*; the crown and scepter of queen of *Sweden*; an emerald, presented by wife of *Henry III.* king of *France*; a large heart of gold, given by *Henrietta Maria* queen of *England*: On the outside of it are these three letters, *I H S*, made of fair diamonds; opening it, on one side is the *Madonna* pictured, and on the other, the queen's picture curiously drawn, ('tis said by *Cooper*) and her name is thus written, *Henrica Maria Regina Angliæ*. A gold chalice set with precious stones, by the emperor; a little book of gold set with camei, &c. and adorned within with pictures of the virgin *Mary*, &c. furniture for an altar worth 120 scudi, by *Camoski*; a heart with two great diamonds; a basin and ewer of *lapis lazuli*, the pieces being soldered together, by count *Olivares*; a chalice of *lapis lazuli*, one intire stone, by *Henry III.* of *France*; the picture of the *Madonna* made of feathers; a vestment for the image of the virgin *Mary*; set with diamonds, by *Isabella* governess of *Flanders*; a spread eagle, set with diamonds; that diamond in the breast is large: a diamond valued at 12,000 crowns,

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by don *Carlo Doria*; a diamond, sent SKIPPER by the present king of *Poland*, worth 8000 scudi. The family of the *Medices* have been great benefactors. This pope hath yet sent no present. A model of *Taberna* in *Calabria*, twice freed from sieges; a model of *Augusta Prætorie* (*Aosta*); a model of the city *Nantz*, 1633. The story of our Saviour's nativity, carved in box, given by a *German Capuchin*; part of the evangelists, written so small that it cannot be read without the help of a glass; *lapis bezoar occid.* given by a *Jesuit*.

Within the area of the cupola of this church stands the *Santa Casa*, cruised over on the outside with marble rarely carved with story; vide the pictures of it. At the west end is a window, where they say the angel saluted the virgin *Mary*: In the middle of the north side was the old entrance, now stopped up, and four other entrances are now made; over one is written this distich:

*Nullus in Orbe locus præluet Sanctior isto
Quaq; cadit Titan, quaq; resurgit aquis.*

A stone table is preserved under the altar; the image of the virgin *Mary*, which they say was made by *S. Luke*, hath hanging before it a great gold lamp, given by the *Venetians*, *ex voto*, when they were infected with the plague; which 'tis said abated presently after this present was made; two large cornucopie of massy gold; three *scudelle* or poringers are preserved here, wherein people rub their beads; an old piece of a plank wrapt up in an embroidered cloth was shewn us for a great relick, also two gilt stars of wood; the bell which causes the pestilence to cease, &c. when it is rung; the pavement is of marble, which hath many times been covered with iron plate, yet both that and the pavement have been worn away; but a wooden beam, placed in the pavement, is reported to remain miraculously the same without wearing. The walls of this house are built of stone of a reddish colour, shaped like bricks; and at *Nazareth* they find the same kind of stone. They have a legend that *Suarez* desired one of these stones to be put into a chapel he was building, like this, in *Spain*; which was granted by the pope, and it was sent to him while he was at *Trent*, when the council was there: but *Suarez* fell immediately sick, and till he sent back the stone to *Loreto*, had no hopes of recovery; but it was observed, as the stone was brought nearer and nearer to *Santa Casa*, so he gradually recovered.

SKIPPON. This stone is now distinguished from the rest in the wall by an iron grate about it. At the upper end of the choir is an esteemed picture of the *Jews* accusing the woman of adultery.

The apothecary's shop hath all the gally-pots painted with *Roman* and Sacred story, by *Raphael Urbin*. The duke of *Florence* offered as many of silver in exchange, but it was refused. In the cellar, which is large and well stored with wine, we saw three several coloured wines drawn out of one tap.

At the steps leading up to the church, is a fair brass statue of *Sixtus V.* who made *Loreto* a bishoprick; a pretty fountain in the piazza, one side whereof is double porticoed, belonging to 24 canons. A dung-hill place was shewed us, where they say the *Santa Casa* rested before it came to the place it is now in.

Loreto consists of one short street on the top of a hill, and is walled about; it is three or four miles distant from the sea; most of the houses are inns or shops, where they sell beads, measures of the *Madonna*, &c. without the walls is an indifferent street.

January 30. We took fresh horses and rode deep and dirty way, up hill and down hill; and eight miles distance we passed through *Camerona*, a small walled place on the top of a hill. Seven miles further we arrived at *Ancona*, a pretty large and well built city, but the streets are narrow and not well paved.

Ancona.

The *Bancho* or exchange is a fair place like that at *Genoa*, having the roof well painted, and a balcony looking into the haven; over the entrance is a stone figure of one on horseback removed from *Trajan's* triumphal arch (on the mole) which is built of large *Parian* marble, and is very handsome and kept intire. At the end of the mole is a fort, where there is a lighthouse to direct ships in a dark night; for there is a rock not far off that is dangerous. On the top of a hill is a strong fort (finished by *August. Chisius* the present pope's nephew) which commands the city. Ruins of the old port are still remaining.

S. Cyriacus, the domo, is seated on a hill. The monument of *Van Loosen* of the *Bosch* in *Flanders* here.

A pretty new play-house was built up for this carnival.

In *S. Francis's* church are many *tabulae Votivæ*, whereon these letters were written, *P. G. R. i. e. Per Gratia Riceuuta.*

In the *Dominicans* rosary church is a tombstone thus inscribed,

D. O. M.

Sepulchrum Balthazaris Vander Groes Boldus Flandrie suorumq; successor. Anno Domini MDCXXXIV.

Many *Jews* live here.

At night our host at the inn took our names.

Here we observed a kind of muscle, *Ballare Concha altera longa Rondeletii*, vulgarly *marine*. called *Ballare* or *Dattyl di Mare*; they live within great stones that are soft; some of the stones are as big as a man can lift, and many muscles are found in one of them; they are fed by the sea-water, &c. that runs in at little passages. The meat is delicate and sold dear.

In the road from *Rome*, vines are fastned to reeds.

January 31. Hiring for seven scudi two horses to carry us to *Ravenna*, and to see *S. Marino* by the way; we had a good road on the shore, nine miles to a long wooden bridge over the river *Fumesino*, and passed by a ruined castle; eleven miles further, we rode good way on the shore to *Senigallia*, a small city, with low walls *Senigallia*. and a shallow ditch; it hath a little port and haven, and a strong fort towards the sea.

Many *Jews* here. We travelled 15 *Jews*. miles after dinner, passing bridges over the rivers *Cesano* (Lat. *Senna*) and *Mitro*, which last is nigh *Fano*, where we lodged *Fano*. this night without the walls. This city is fortified with a higher and stronger wall than that of *Senigallia*; it is handsome, having streight streets indifferently well built. The piazza is neat.

The *Augustines* church is a broad and square structure, formerly the temple of *Fortune*; the brass figure of this *Fortuna* is in the palace.

We saw an old *Roman* arch, which is represented on the wall of a church close by it, where is this written,

Effigies Arcus ab Augusto Erecti posteaq; ex parte diru: bello Pii II. contra Fanen. An. MCCCCLXIII.

DIVO AVGVSTO PIO CONSTANTINO PATRI
DOMINORVM.
IMP. CAES. DIVI F. AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXI
MVS COS. XIII. TRIBVNICIA POTEST. XXXI. IMP. XXVI
PATER PATRIAE MVRVM DEDIT.
CVRANTE. L. TVRCIO SECVNDO APRONIANI PRAEF
VRB. FIL. ASTERIO VC CORR. FLAM. ET PICENI.

Malatesta usurped the authority of this place, and was driven out by *Pius II.* and the duke of *Urbino*.

The arms of this city are a red and white ladder, which they have from two families, *Carignano* of *Ancona*, and *Cassara*.

In hac Porta stat Leo Fortis, was formerly written on a gate.

Pesauero. Feb. 1. We rode on the shore seven miles to *Pesauero*, a pretty city with a handsome piazza. The domo hath a large cupola. We went bad way 10 miles further, and dined at *Catholica* a poor village, having *Gradaria* on our left hand. Hence we travelled good road on the sea-shore, and the *Via Flaminia* brought us to *Rimini* 15 miles from our baiting-place. Antient inscriptions in the piazza of *Pesauero*; and at the gallows were many skulls and quarters of men.

Rimini. Before we entred *Rimini* we passed under an arch of brick, thus inscribed;

*Veni, Vide et Impera
Ter felix Piccolominee
Gentilitia tua Aquila.
Veni celerior, Vide oculatior, imperia augustior
Hæc sunt Ariminensium Vota
Quorum indicem obsequii
Vel rude Saxum tuus reddit adventus.*

Within the walls we passed under another arch of stone, made in honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*, but the inscription is defaced: It is a high and large arch.

In the piazza is a brass statue of *Paulus V.* The piazza is fair, with some portici about it; and here is preserved the stone *Julius Cæsar* stood on when he spoke to his soldiers after he passed the *Rubicon*; these modern inscriptions on it:

*C. Cæsar Dict. Rubicone Superato civili
Bel. commilit. suos hic in Foro R. ad-
locut.*

*Suggestum hunc Vetustate collapsum Coss.
Ariminensium Novembris et Decembr.
MDCV. Restit.*

On a little chapel is written,

*Eucharistiae Sacramento non pauci ad
Christi fidem deducti D. Antonio heic
Concionante.*

Rimini is a great and handsome city. An old stone bridge built of huge stones, by *T. Cæsar*, over the river *Marecchi*.

Cardinal *Piccolomini* is legate, and present governor here.

This carnival there was much masking and running at the ring.

We found the weather much colder in these parts than between *Rome* and *Loreto*.

A *Spanish* pistole worth about 30*l* *julio* on this side of *Italy*, and worth 31 *julii* at *Rome* and elsewhere.

Cardinal *Carafa*, nuncio at *Vienna*, was here in his return from the emperor's court.

Feb. 2. After much wrangling with our vitturine, we procured two fresh horses, and rode by a cloister of white monks, two miles from *Rimini*; five miles farther we began to ascend a mountainous country, and entred the territory of *S. Marino*, passing through a small village with a castle, called *Serravalle*; and three miles thence came up to the borgo of *S. Marino*, where we dined at the sign of this commonwealth's arms, which are three towers on a mountain, and this under written, *Libertas perpetua*. This borgo, like some of our country villages, hath but mean buildings; in the middle there is a piazza with a portico before the shops, and a market kept here every *Wednesday*, which from *Christmas* to the end of carnival, is frequented by people with a great number of hogs, sometimes amounting to four or 5000. This borgo is situated directly under a precipitous high rock, whereon is built the city of *S. Marino*. Two ways lead up to it; one very steep, the other more easy and winding: In the first is a cross cut in the rock, called *Croce di Cavaliere*, because a knight was killed there in *Malatesta's* time. At the city gate we left our swords, which were returned us again by the favour of the captain of the militia, and permitted to wear them. This city is on the ridge of the highest mountain

S. Marino.

SKIPPON. mountain in these parts, having a perpendicular precipice on one side, and on the other a wall with a difficult ascent up to it; on the highest places are three towers, one of which is called the fortress, and is a prison; a cistern nigh it. The houses are but indifferent, and the streets narrow and uneven. The piazza before the council-house is small; underneath it are two great cisterns for water. On a wall here is fixed a stone, marked with these measures; *Piede da mano* equal Measures. to 12 inches; *piede commune*; *braccio piccolo*; *braccio grande*. *Faccie delle Canne*, *Mattone Cotto*, *Tavella Cotta*, and *Coppo Cotto* are the sizes of bricks; and in stone are carved the measures for corn.

About 60 Jews live here.

Here are four convents; the discalceate *Franciscans min. observ.* the nuns of *St. Clare*; and without the walls are the *Capuchins* and the *Servites*.

The jurisdiction of this republick is about eight miles in compass, and three miles in length. Four castles subject to it: 1. *Serravalle*. 2. *Fietano*. 3. *Monte Giardino*. 4. *Fiorentino*.

About 1500 fighting men in this commonwealth. We saw no soldiers, only some sbirri at *Serravalle*. At a distance we saw the garden of *S. Marino*, nigh *Monte Albo*; where they hang malefactors; under the fortress they behead some offenders. Without leave none are suffered to wear swords or pistols, but daggers are allowed. There belong 25 small pieces of cannon to this republick, two culverins and about 50 horse pistols.

We were told, if any one kills another in his own defence, he forfeits 100 *scudi*, but the magistrates remit all but 25.

The little river *Canova* bounds the territory towards the north, where are eight corn, and two powder mills. *Acqua della valle* is a water, they say, springs out on *S. Jo. Bapt.* at night, and cures all diseases but the *French* pox. We had a prospect of a very mountainous country, and saw *S. Leo*, a strong fort of the pope's, whose country environs this republick on all sides.

The bishop of this place is also bishop of *S. Leo*, *Monte Feltre*, and *La Penna*.

The cathedral dedicated to *S. Marino* is pretty large, where his head is preserved within one of silver. Behind the chapel devoted to the sacrament are two hollows in a rock, which, they believe, were *S. Marino* and *S. . . .* beds, who were both stone-cutters, and made these places with their own hands. Another place cut out of the rock, where *S. Marino* used to chastise himself, and in a garden we saw of that sort of garlick he

used to eat when he did penance. In the cloister is an old monument of a countess and her son, who gave this mountain to *S. Marino*.

In the *Franciscans* church is a tabernacle of wood pitched over, whereon the evangelists, prophets and saints are handsomely pictured in gold, and covered with glass.

Two apothecaries shops, and but two butchers shops in this city. The republick gives maintenance to a physician and a chirurgion.

When the parent dies, children have equal shares.

Good *Moschatella* wine grows in this territory, and they have olives and sheep, but breed no cows. The soil is indifferently good.

The republick sends ambassadors, and presents of cheeses, made of sheeps milk. They have enmity with no prince or state, nor particular friendship with any; and in the several wars of *Italy*, lived in peace. Their commonwealth is 1163 years old. Little or no impositions on the people. But one coach here, which is kept by signior *Giacomo Bellozzi*. They stamp no money.

Cardinal *Carolus Barberino* is their protector at *Rome*.

On *S. Bartholomew's* day is a great fair for calves, &c. which is encouraged by reason of the small gabelle that is paid; for whether more or less are brought, they say but a julio is the custom. All the soldiers are then in arms, and stand in the ascents up to the city. When they march, the captain of the militia goes first, then the two captains of the republick, with the gentlemen after them; the fiera, who carries the colours, followed by the lieutenant and four sergeants.

The inquisition can do nothing without leave first from the magistrate.

The government is described by Mr. Ray.

Every *Wednesday* a court is held to hear causes in the *Borgo*.

We returned in the evening to *Rimini*.

Feb. 3. We had a good road nigh the shore, and at 12 miles distance went over the *Rubicon*, and three miles further dined at *Cesenatico* (*Cæsena*) now a small village, with a port for little barks; we rode then five miles, on a causey, in a fenny country, and passed through *Cervia*, it is like a small *English* market-town, with a low earth-work about it. We travelled for five miles by a pine wood, on our right hand, and then ferried over the river *Cervia*, paying 2 julio for a horse. Above five miles more we

Ravenna.

we had another pine-wood on our right hand, and rode in a fenny country, on a firm causey. Ten miles farther, we rode by a channel (for small barks) that comes five miles from the sea to *Ravenna*; we crossed the river *Bedese*, and immediately entered the city of *Ravenna*, at *Porta Pamphilia*, whereon is the half stone figure of *Innocent X.* and painting relating to his name, and *Columba's* discovery of the *West-Indies*. The dove being that pope's arms.

The domo

The domo is a large church, with double isles; the body is painted in *fresco*, with stories, and the end of the choir is pictured in *Mosaic* work, with eighteen archbishops of this city, and eleven of them have a dove sitting on each of their heads, signifying their being chosen by divine inspiration, for at their several elections a dove appeared, and came, and lighted on their heads. The pavement is antient tessellated work; the steeple is round, and so are the steeples of many other churches here.

La Classe.

La Classe is a monastery of the *Monachi Classenses*, who wear a white habit and white hats. One of their cloistered courts is stately; their church, dedicated to *S. Romualdus*, is neat, tho' small.

S. Apollinaris.

S. Apollinaris is a large church, with old stone pillars; the pulpit is of stone, and they shewed us the chair of *S. Apollinaris*, who was made first bishop of *Ravenna*, by *S. Peter*. This belongs to the *Francisc. discalceati*, who have a fair cloister. In the portico, before the church, are these two *Roman* inscriptions,

PROPAGATORI ROM.
NI IMPERII FVNDATO
QUIBUS FVBLICAE D
FL. CONSTANTINO
MAXIMO VICTOR
SEMPER AVG DIVI
CLAUDI NEPOTI DIVI
CONSTANTI FILIO
SETORIUS SILANVS
VP PRAEPOSITVS
FABRICAE DEVOTV
N M Q E

M. COCCEIO M
POL NEPOTI
TRIB PLEB. DESI
LEG. PR. PR. PROV. IN
SICILIAE QVAES.
TRIB MIL LEG XI CL
SEVIRO EQ. R. XVIR ST
PRIMITIVVS LIT
VIVIR.

Nigh this church a large porphyry monument is fix'd in a wall, and this inscribed underneath.

VOL. VI.

Vas hoc Porphyriacum ol. Theodorici Gottor. Imp. cineres in Rotundæ apice recondens; huc Petro Donato Caesio Narnien. Praesul. favente translatum ad perennem memoriam. Sapientes Reip. Rav. P. P. C. MDLXIII.

On the north side of the city is the river *Marecchio*, and a little distance without the *Porta Cybo* is an old Gothic building called the *Rotunda*, which is about four-
teen paces broad, having the roof of one stone, in the middle whereof is a cross made of four stones, upon which formerly stood the foremention'd *Vas porphy.*; underneath, they say, was another church, now filled up with earth and water. This *Rotunda* is built of stone, on eight arches in an octagonal figure, and the outside, except towards the cornice is octagonal; upon the arches were placed round, a portico of pillars, now thrown down. These two inscriptions here under two relievo figures.

*Duo Juvæn Lupi et Apri
Una Juvænæ Domus hos produxit alumnos
Libertatis opus contulit una dies.
Naufraga mors pariter quos junxerat ante
Et duplices luctus sic periniqua dedit.*

An. Do. MCXLVIII. tempore Eugenii P. P. et C. Impr. hoc opus est factum ad honorem Dni et S. Marie pro aia Aliprundi et Guillie Uxoris ejus & Galudi filii ipsorum et omnium parentum eorum.

The church of *S. Maria Portuensis* is *S. Maria* very handsome and hath a stately cloister belonging to the *Canonici Lateranenses*.

The *Benedictin* convent is a fair building; they have a round church erected by *Justinian* the emperor, and dedicated to *S. Vitale*, which is fill'd up almost half the height of the pillars to make it more dry and healthful; there are eight pillars, and between each are two pillars. This church is crufted over with marble, wherein are odd representations, viz. the legs of a man, a man's face and bones like a skeleton. Under the altar of *S. Vitale* is a well, where he was drowned and martyred. The altar table is of oriental alabaster which is transparent, tho' above three inches thick; the pavement is old and tessellated. A little chapel wherein is a well, they say, full of martyrs blood, which one pope doubting of, put his ring in, and had it taken out bloody; whereupon he bestowed great indulgences, and called this chapel *Sanctum Sanctorum*, into
8 Q which

SKIPPON. which no woman must enter; the bodies of *S. Ursicinus Episcopus*, *S. Ecclesus Episcopus*, and of *S. Victor Episcopus* here. A square stone in the pavement of the church, whereon the martyrs suffered. Within an altar is a stone with two hollow impressions, made by *S. Ursicinus* his knees, when he was beheaded, who carried his head in his hand for a quarter of a mile. Under the marble head of *Justinian* is written,

Memoriæ Justiniani magni legum parentis Divi Benedicti Patris patrueilis, quem Augustus Augustum appelles, ex agnatione tanti viri quam ex diademate Sac. Rom. Imp. sibi ab Avunculo suo Justino Cæs. delato, quod templum hoc S. Mariæ Vitali à fundam. erexerit et una cum uxore Theodora dedicationi interfuerat Abb. et monachi agnato suo Benefac. suo observantiæ pignus, gratitudinis monumentum pos. An. Domini MDCXLI.

Below this is an old basso relievo stone, with these figures; a chair, a monster like a dragon; three boys, one of them winged, holding a trident, the second is winged, and the third carries a *Concha turbinata*; on each side is a curious pillar, that seemed to have been cemented of several stones. The *Venetians*, they say, offered for them their weight in gold. The like relievo stone, with a pillar on each side, is under another marble head, and this inscription,

Joanni XI. Archiep. Raven. ex Traversar. nobiliss. familia, cujus regiæ ac præmunificentie argumentum esto tota insula Palatiola monachis dono data, in qua cum natura solum sterile dedisset, Ars æmula nobile Pinetum, ne Italiæ suum miraculum deesset, excitavit quadragesimo tertio anno supra septem sæcula ab accepto benefic. adhuc non immemor. pos. Anno Domini MDCXLII.

In the *Sacristia* (vestry) are two fair white marble pillars that were found under ground. A chapel dedicated to *S. Mathildis*.

Over the door of a house, called *Pompilia*, is written, *Deesse terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest.*

There is a square leaning tower of brick belonging to the council-house.

Ravenna is a large, but meanly built city. It is ill served with fish, which is brought from *Rimini* and *Cesenatico*. We met with bad oil and wine here, but their cheese and pine kernels made some

amends; their water is still bad, as formerly,

Sit Cisterna mihi quam Vinca malo Ravennæ.

Justings and maskings, this carnival in the piazza before the palace, where the governor cardinal *Piccolomini* resided, whose guard of *Switzers* were in the same livery with those at *Rome*, as all the cardinals (who are governors of cities) guards are.

Half a mile from *Ravenna* we observed the ruins of an antient round building.

Feb. 5. Paying twelve julii for two horses to *Faenza*, we rode sixteen miles on a causey, having the river *Montone* on our left hand. Four miles before we came to *Faenza*, we entered the road from *Loretto*, which was a bad way, and under the picture of the *Virgin Mary* we saw written,

Tu qui transis cave ne dimittas dicere Ave.

We dined at *Faenza* (*Faventia*) a *Faenza*. large town walled about, having a long and fair piazza; *Mayolick* or earthen ware, that is much esteemed, made here. We passed through a borgo, trenched about, and went over a bridge, and under a tower in the middle of the bridge, which is cross the river *Amone*, before we came into *Faenza*. Nigh this town is a church dedicated to *S. Maria Paradisi*.

After dinner paying six julii for fresh horses, we rode ten miles in a strait road passing through *Castello Bolognese*, a little walled borgo, and went over the river A little before we came to it, a quarter of a mile before we reached *Imola*, we forded one stream and ferried over another (giving one julio for a horse) called *San Ermo*. *Comelia* or *Forum Comeliis*, is

Imola, which is a city somewhat less than *Imola*. *Faenza*, the piazza is indifferent, with large *portici* before the shops.

Feb. 6. Paying six julii, we took fresh horses, and rode ten miles to *S. Nicolo*, passing first through *Castello S. Pietro*, and at *S. Nicolo* changed horses for six julii more, and travelled ten miles farther, to *Bononia*. This day we crossed the *Bononia*. river *Idice* and several others, going over bridges, and had a strait rode most part of the way. We staid at the gates of *Bononia* till we had licence from the consalonniero to enter; there being some suspicion of us, because we had no bills of health. A long and fair portico on one side before we came to the gate.

The country between *Ravenna* and *Bononia* is fruitful like *Lombardy*.

Justing at
Bononia.

This afternoon we saw justings performed by two cavaliers on a side, who were in armour *cap à pe*, and were richly adorned with huge plumes of feathers, &c. At the sounding of a trumpet they ran a full gallop at one another with their lances having a long partition of wood between them; some of their lances were broken, and some beaten out of their hands.

Feb. 7. In the afternoon we gave the *Florence* procaccio or courier a chicquin a man for our passage by water to *Venice*. All this night and till noon next day.

Ferrara.

Feb. 8. We were journeying 45 miles to *Ferrara*, where we dined and then took boat again and went three miles in a channel that brought us to the river *Po*, where at a place called *Ponte* we changed our boat. And all this night went 30 miles to *Corbola* in the *Venetians* country, and at five miles distance we passed through a *Sostegno* or *Porta* into the *Cavanella Nova*. . . miles from thence we breakfasted next day.

Feb. 9. At *Loreda*, a village; after that we went against the stream in the river *Adige* [*Atbesis*] for five miles, and then entered at another sluice or *sostegno*, a channel, passing through a fenny country for 15 miles, and then went through *Chiozza*, a place in the sea built on two or three islands, having long wooden bridges that join it to A fort is not far distant. Here we came into the lagune, and went in a channel marked out by stakes on each side, and five miles from *Chioggia* were forced by contrary winds to lie all night in *Palestrina*, a place built on a long island, that reaches to *Malomocco*. In this journey, from *Bononia*, our boat was sometimes drawn by horses.

Chiozza.

Feb. 10. We set out before day-light, and at ten miles distance entered the port of *Malomocco*, and viewed the outside of two castles that defend that passage; five miles from thence we pass'd by the town of *Malomocco*, and five miles farther arrived at *Venice*, when at the office of *Sanità* we delivered our bills of health we brought from *Bononia*.

Venice.

We staid in *Venice* till *March* 13. taking Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon* into our company, who left us at *Naples*, and went with Mr. *Willoughby* to these parts, and coming to us, while we were at *Rome*, he fell sick in his journey of the small-pox at *Bononia*, and returned then to *Venice*.

March 13. We took a gondola; and at seven miles distance from *Venice*, came

to *Mestre*, when we hired places in a coach for two livres a man, and ten miles riding brought us to *Trevise*.

SKIPPON.
Mestre.
Trevise.

March 14. We had three horses for ourselves, and one for our vitturine, giving four hungars for *Trent*. Twelve miles from *Trevise* we pass'd by castle *Franco* on the left hand; and twelve miles further din'd at *Bassano*, a pretty wall'd town seated by the river *Brent*. To this place we travell'd in a plain country; and just here we entered the mountains, and rode along the *Brent's* side, till we took up our lodging this night at *Ponte di Sigismondo*, (fourteen miles from *Bassano*) where we paid twelve soldi a man for passing the bridge.

Women hereabouts wear falling bands. Vitriol is made nigh *Pertineo*.

March 15. About three miles from *P. Sigismondo*, giving about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foldo a man, we came into the arch-duke of *Inspruck's* country, going through a gate, where there is a house built in the side of a steep rock, which none get up to without the help of a ladder or rope. After we had travell'd eighteen miles, we baited at *Borgo*; and thirteen miles farther lodg'd in *Pergine*, passing a little before by a castle on the top of a round hill on our right hand, and by a lake on our left.

March 16. We travell'd five miles stony way, and steep descents, with high precipices nigh the road side, and then arriv'd at *Trent*.

Trent.
The domo

At the domo, on the front of the choir is an inscription in memory of the council; and a monument to *Matthiolus*, with an inscription under his head. See the inscription in Mr. *Ray*.

This is a small city, but well built, having two fair streets. The prince or bishop's palace is large, and fortify'd with bulwarks towards the city.

S. Maria is an indifferent church, (be- *S. Maria* longing to the order of *Pb. Nerio*) where the council was held.

The river *Atbesis* runs by the walls of the city, and has a good bridge over it, cover'd with a penthouse of wood. A rich valley and high mountains about the city.

Sigismundus arch-duke of *In-Govern- spruck* is the present bishop of *Trent*, ment. chosen by the canons of the domo. If he marries, they may choose another. Under him in spirituals there is a vicario, whose jurisdiction reaches twenty miles beyond *Bolzan*. In temporals is a governor and a council, consisting of two canons, four deputies of the city, who must be doctors of law, and the podesta, who determines civil and criminal causes, but from him may be an appeal to the council;

SKIPPON council; all these for life, if they behave themselves well.

In *Tyrol* they have water boiling always in their kitchins, and when there is occasion they put some of it into a frying-pan, where they presently boil meat.

They have also a dish called in *Italian*, *Menestra d'Ove*, thus made; they put beaten eggs into the boiling water in the frying pan, and stirring them together, they serve it up.

March 18. Mr. Bacon, Mr. Ray, and myself, bought horses, and rode 15 miles to *Solurne*, and thence five miles to *Borgo*, a pretty village, and seven miles further lodged in *Bronzolo*. We observed in the vineyards of this country three poles set up thus together,



with a truss of hay or straw on the top, and about them the people dance in vintage time.

A gelding is called a *Hungar*.

March 19. We went eight miles to *Bolzan*, which is a large town, pleasantly situated in a fruitful valley by the river *Atbesis*, and five miles further baited at *Terli*. Ten miles more brought us to *Mara*, a pretty town having one street, long and cloistered. Six miles from hence, we mounted a higher ground by the *Adige* (*Atbesis*) and lodged in a village called *Raveland*. Men and women wear ruffs hereabouts, and are like the *Switzers*. The women have great broad brim'd hats. Very little or no *Italian* spoken by the people. Featherbeds used here instead of blankets; and stoves are frequent.

March 20. We made a constant journey by the *Atbesis*, and passed thro' *La Torne*, baited at *Schlandem*, then came thro' *Malc* another village, and a quarter of a mile from thence, to *Glurentz*, a small place within a square wall; then we began to travel on snow, and at night we lodged in a little *terra* or village called *Tavers*, about 30 miles from *Raveland*.

From *Trent* to *Glurentz*, we rode good way in a pleasant valley, in sight of gentlemen's castles.

March 21. We rode about one half mile, and pass'd thro' *Monastero*, a village belonging to the *Grifons*, afterwards came to *S. Maria*, and by reason the snow began to grow soft, and therefore bad for our horses to travel on, we stop'd about noon at *Cerfs*, six miles from *Tavers*.

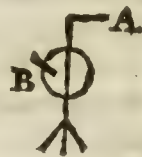
These three villages are in *Rhetia*; *Cerfs* is intirely protestant. *S. Maria* mix'd of protestants and *Roman* catholicks. *Monastero* is all *Roman* catholicks. These three make a *Communità*, and every year all above fifteen years old give votes, by lifting up their hands, and chuse twelve *Jurati*, sometimes sixteen, who are to elect twelve others, who with the *Castellano* of *Furstenburg*, make choice of a *Maestral alternis vicibus* out of the three forementioned villages, and with him they determine all causes. If the prisoner hath not estate enough to defray their expence, then the charges are born by the *Castellano* of *Furstenburg*, who is made by the bishop of *Cbur*.

At *S. Maria* the Catholicks have their masses first, and afterwards the Protestants have their sermon in the same church, where some altars were thrown down by the protestants about ten years ago.

At *Cerfs* the minister preaches *Sunday* and *Tuesday* mornings, and in the summer time, twice every *Sunday*.

In those three *terra* or villages are about 500 men.

In these parts of *Rhetia*, the people use no taper candles, but light themselves with a little cotton fix'd on a piece of tallow.



A is the handle they hold the candlestick with three feet by.

B is the cotton and tallow.

In these mountainous countries *Rupicapra*, called *Gimps* and *Chamoch*, are frequently taken and killed; and nobody prohibited to meddle with them.

March 22. In the morning when the deep snow was hardned by the frost, so as to bear our horses, we passed over a mountain called *Bufolora* in six hours time, and in the middle or half way, we went by a wooden cross that bounds the jurisdiction of *S. Maria* from that of *Zernetz*, and by *Furno*, a single house near that cross. Six hours from *Cerfs*, we baited at *Zernetz*, a large *terra* or village seated nigh the river *Oenus*, in the valley of the lower *Engadine*; after that we rode four good hours in the upper *Engadine*, and passed thro' several villages, among which *Zuotz* is the best, and this night and the next lodg'd in *Ponte*, a small *terra* in the *Engadine*, where all the

the inhabitants are of the protestant religion, who speak an odd language, called *Romauntsh* (which is also spoken by the other *Grisons*) compounded of high *Dutch*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, and their own idiom; they have several dialects of it, and those in the lower speak differently from those in the upper *Engadine*. The new testament and psalms are printed in this language, which the ministers preach in.

The Lord's prayer is thus, in one dialect.

The Lord's prayer in the Romauntsh language.

Bab nofs, qual ca ti eis en tſchiel, ſoing vengig ſaig tieu Nom, tieu Raginavel vengig nou tiers, tia velgia d'aventig en terra, ſco la fa en tſchiel, ne iſ paun daminchiagi dai à nus oz. Pardunnien à nofs Culponts. Nus manar buc enten pruvament, mo nus ſpindre d'ilg. mal. Parchei ca tieu eis ilg Raginavel, la puſſanza la gliergia a ſemper. Amen.

In that printed at *Basel* 1640, and translated by *Joan. L. Gritti*, out of *Matth.* chap. 6.

Bab noas chi eſt in l's tſchéls. vegnia ſantificbio tieu Nom; Vegnia tieu Reginam, duainta tia Vægla, ſco in tſchél uſchea eir in terra. Noas paun d' in-munchia di do à nus hoazz. Et perduna à nus noaſs debits, ſco eir nus perdunain à noaſs debitaduors. Et nun mnær nus in approvainaint, ma ſpendra nus da l' mæl. Per ché tieu eis l' reginam, et la puſſaunza, et la gloria, in æterna. Amen.

Most of the people understand and speak *Italian* well, being near the *Valtelline*, where *Italian* is spoken altogether.

The bread of this country is black and hard; they have no bad cattle, and they make very good cheese.

The snow covered the country this time we were here, very thick, and their winter usually lasts six months at least. Upon the snow they draw sledges, which are changed at several stages, when they bring wine out of the *Valtelline*, and merchandizes from thence and other places. Their carts are small, and made to go close to the ground. They bring wine, &c. also upon horses backs. When the sledges are changed, other persons drive them, that so several may have the benefit of carriage.

Most of their houses are built of stone, and handsomely plaister'd over; on the outside sentences and the owner's name are written; their stoves or *Stufæ* are

pretty rooms, wainscotted with fir; the windows are like loop-holes.

We saw no tradesmens shops besides smiths.

The *Grisons* pay no gables or taxes; and they have no fortified places. There are about 17000 fighting men of the protestant party.

They have great square tables made of one slate stone, which are brought from *Glaris* in *Switzerland*, and on them they will ordinarily sum up their accounts with a piece of chalk.

Over their rivers are large bridges of one arch, made of wood, after this manner.



The *Engadine* is in the *Lega della Casadi Dio*.

See the *Grisons* government in Mr. Ray's and my collection.

Under them is the *Valtelline*, which is all *Roman* catholick, except some few who enjoy their religion privately. The people in the *Contado di Chiavenna* are also papists. None of them pay more taxes, than for the maintenance of their *podeſta's*. The *podeſta* or governor of *Chiavenna* has 3000 florins for two years. The *podeſta's* of the *Valtelline* have the third of malefactor's estates.

The women in the *Engadine* wear much linen about their heads and necks, and in cold weather many wear mufflers.

They scatter earth on the snow, when they would uncover their corn.

March 24. We had a very difficult passage over a high mountain, having very cold and snowy weather, and the wind in our faces; Mr. Ray lost his sight for some days, and his fingers were so benum'd with cold, that he had not the perfect use of some for some time after. We were six hours going to our bait at an inn, that is counted but four hours from *Ponte*; an hour and a half more brought us to this night's lodging at *Borgogne*, a protestant terra.

In this *Comunità* the people of *Borgogne*, and two other terra which are protestants, chuse seven, and they elect fourteen *Jurati* (but none must be chosen out of the seven) viz. nine out of *Borgogne*, three out of one terra, and two out of the other.

March 25. We travelled through *Aban*, nigh *Belfort*, a very mean and old castle, and baited at *Lans*, four hours from *Borgogne*; *Aban*, *Belfort* and *Lans*, are

Skippon. popish *terre*. From *Lans* we rode a bad snowy way over another mountain, and came to *Perpan*, a protestant *terra*; thence we went a constant and sometimes a steep descent till we came to *Coira*, where we arriv'd in the night. This day we rode eight hours, every hour about two and a half *Italian* miles.

Coira.

Coira or *Cbur* is a small city, meanly wall'd, seated by a little river in the beginning of a plain and pleasant valley: This river, half a mile off, runs into the *Rbene*, which hath its two streams, *viz.* the further *Rbene* arising at the mountain *Crispalten*; and the hinder *Rbene* arising at the mountain *Vogelberg*, united about five *Italian* miles from *Cbur*, at a place call'd *Damintz*. The inhabitants are protestants, who have organs in their churches. In the castle is the bishop's palace, and lodgings for twenty-four canons, who choose the bishop. In their cathedral they shew'd us the picture of a *Franciscan* friar, who,

they said, was kill'd about five years since for attempting to preach in one of the re-form'd churches.

The men and women are of a better complexion and cleaner than the *Grisons* in the mountains. The women wear much linen about their heads, which stares out every way round their faces. The Protestant and *Roman* Catholics marry together. No beggars in the *Grisons* country.

This passage over the snowy mountains alter'd our complexions very much for some days, and made us look swarthy.

The *Grisons* coin only a very small money. They are in league with the *Spaniard*; which was made when the *French* under the duke of *Rohan* had reduced the *Valteline* for them: and being unwilling to leave the country, they were obliged to retire by this league. When the *Valteline* revolted, all the protestants were massacred.

The curious will be pleas'd with the following Specimen of the
LINGUA RHÆTICA.

| LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. |
|----------|----------------------|-----------|------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Deus | dio, deus | Cortex | scorza | Venter | ventre |
| Coelum | ciel | Folium | fuglia | Brachium | braccia |
| Stella | steilas | Semen | feme | Manus | mans |
| Ignis | feug | Pinna | alas | Digitus | dets |
| Fumus | fumb | Squama | taglaas | Femur | gelun |
| Cineres | cendra | Rostrum | pitz | Tibia | yoma, scien-
ga |
| Aer | air, luft | Ala | ala | Pes | pè, peis |
| Aqua | awa | Penna | penna | Digitus Pedis | polce peis |
| Terra | terra | Ovum | oeuf | Genu | genoix |
| Pulvis | polvera | Crinis | caveaz | Calx | calcoin |
| Coenum | birija, loza | Cornu | corno | Cor | ceur, cor |
| Tonitru | toona | Cutis | pelle | Pulmo | leif |
| Nubes | nuvel, neffa | Cauda | cua | Hepar | narom |
| Pluvia | pluvia, plüf-
gia | Lac | latt | Viscera | bulia, bela |
| Nix | neif | Sanguis | fanguè | Vir | homme |
| Glacies | glacia | Cerebrum | cervè | Mulier | donna |
| Ventus | vento, avra | Os, Ossis | os | Mons | monte |
| Sol | foolai | Caro | carne | Vallis | val |
| Luna | luna | Adeps | grasse | Mare | mar |
| Saxum | crap | Caput | cao | Fluvius | fiume |
| Aurum | aur | Facies | vista | Longus | long |
| Argentum | argent | Oculus | oiels | Brevis | curt |
| Gramen | herba | Auris | oreills | Latus | larg |
| Flos | fleurs | Nasus | nase | Angustus | strett |
| Arbor | legne | Os, Oris | brucea | Altus | ault, ate |
| Musca | moschias | Lingua | langue | Humilis | humel |
| Piscis | pesch | Dens | daints | Oriens | domanfwert |
| Avis | uccheas | Collum | colutz | Occidens | da faira werf |
| Bestia | moagleas | Tergum | rein, deis | Septentrio | da nigium
hora |
| Lignum | vide arbor | Pectus | broest | Meridies | da mezo di
wert |
| Radix | raisch, ra-
gisch | Humerus | spadla | | |
| | | Mamma | tetta | | |
| | | Costa | costas | | |

Multi-

| Italy.] | | Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France. | | | | 711 |
|----------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------|
| LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | SKIPPON. |
| Multitudo | berezzia | Gustus | guſt | Credere | croir | |
| Paucitas | paug | Tactus | toccar | Dubitare | dubitare | |
| Unum | un | Vita | vita | Inquirere | cerchare | |
| Duo | due | Mors | mort | Invenire | afflare | |
| Tres | tre | Salus | ſalut | Deſiderium | gargement | |
| Quatuor | quatre | Morbus | ſmaladi | Placere | plaiſer, pleſ-
cher | |
| Quinque | cinque | Robur | force | Diſplicere | diſpiacer,
malpleſcher | |
| Sex | ſeis | Debilitas | debole | Compaſſio | compaſſion | |
| Septem | fette | Dolor | doleur | Pudor | turp | |
| Octo | otte | Mas | maſchial | Amor | amore | |
| Novem | noſ | Fœmina | ſœmna | Odium | has | |
| Decem | deice | Fertilis | fruteivel | Gaudium | allegrezza | |
| Undecim | undeice | Sterilis | non fruteivel | Triftitia | triftezza | |
| Duodecim | dodeice | Maturus | madure | Spes | ſperonza | |
| Tredecim | tredeice | Sapientia | ſapientia | Metus | terna | |
| Quatuordecim | quatuordeice | Stultitia | malperdertu-
dat | Ira | gritz | |
| Quindecim | quindeice | Fidelitas | fedeltà | Riſus | ris | |
| Sexdecim | ſeideice | Perfidia | mal fedeltà | Fletus | bragia, bor-
gir | |
| Septendecim | deiceſette | Mendacium | menzogne | Fames | fom | |
| Octodecim | deiceotte | Fortitudo | fermezza | Edere | manjar | |
| Novendecim | deicenove | Crudelitas | crudeltà | Bibere | biver | |
| Viginti | veint | Patientia | patienza | Somnus | ſone | |
| Triginta | trenta | Liberalitas | liberalita | Somnium | ſomiau | |
| Quadraginta | quaranta | Avaritia | averitia | Loqui | cenciare | |
| Quinquaginta | cinquanta | Fœlicitas | felicità | Canere | cantare | |
| Sexaginta | ſeiſſanta | Miſeria | miſeria | Parturire | parturir | |
| Septuaginta | ſettanta | Divitiæ | ricchezze | Stare | ſtar | |
| Octoginta | ottanta | Paupertas | pouertà | Sedere | ſedei, ſer | |
| Nonaginta | nonanta | Lux | lume | Surgere | levai | |
| Centum | cent | Tenebræ | ſcurdum | Cadere | caſcar, cor-
dar | |
| Recta | juſt | Umbrae | ombra | Ambulare | marchi, mar-
chir | |
| Curva | ſtortas | Pulchritudo | bellezza | Currere | corri | |
| Acuta | tagliant | Deformitas | trite | Volare | golar, ſchular | |
| Obtuſa | boltz | Albus | albe | Claudicare | va zop | |
| Agger | port | Niger | neir | Natare | nodar | |
| Foſſa | foſſa | Ruber | cochan | Saltare | faltar | |
| Dies | di | Viridis | vert | Ducere | menar | |
| Nox | nott | Sonus | ſoone | Sequi | ſequitar | |
| Mane | baimalvai | Silentium | quietezza | Spiratio | ſpirau | |
| Meridies | mezodi | Vox | vufch, gou-
che | Tuffis | tufch | |
| Vesper | ſaira | Dulcis | dulſch, dou-
feh | Singultus | ruper | |
| Æſtas | eſtà | Amarus | piter, amar | Sternutatio | tornaſor,
ſturnidar | |
| Hyems | invern | Salſus | ſale | Morſus | mers | |
| Ver | bronovira | Calor | caleur | Linctus | liccare | |
| Autumnus | altumne | Frigus | froid | Salivare | ſputar | |
| Infans | uſant | Humiditas | humé | Vomere | rietſcher | |
| Senex | voeilg | Siccitas | ſeccho | Mingere | piſſar | |
| Memoria | memoria | Gravitas | groſſe | Cacare | cacar | |
| Oblivio | obli, ambli-
dau | Levitas | legeir | Sudare | ſuar | |
| Viſus | vazüda | Durities | duretza | Pedere | treclar | |
| Cœcitas, cæcus | Orp, tſcheig | Mollities | tendrezza | Ructare | rupar | |
| Auditus | udito | Lævis | ſchuber | Pellere | ſtuſchar | |
| Surditas | maludito | Asper | aſper | Premere | ſquitschar | |
| | ſourd | Benedictio | benedittione | Trahere | trär | |
| Olfactus | fourar | Maledictio | maledittione | Vehere | portar | |
| | | Præſervatio | conſalva-
ment | | | |
| | | Deſtructio | ruoinement | | | |

| SKIPPON. LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. | LATIN. | ROMAUNSH. |
|-----------------|--|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| Fodere | cavar | Accommo- | logar | Sursum | fura |
| Plantare | plantar | dare | | Deorsum | gieu |
| Serere | femjar | Promittere | prometter | Anterius | anavant |
| Metere | meder | Medicus | medic | Posterius | anavaus |
| Lavare | lavar | Judex | ungurau | Interius | lient |
| Percutere | frida | Innocens | senza colpa | Exterius | vradador |
| Secare | tagliar | Nocens | colpaus | Magnum | grand |
| Frangere | romper | Condemnare | condemnar | Parvum | pitschen |
| Aperire | avrir | Abolvere | perdonar | Æquale | ulif |
| Claudere | clauder | Homicidium | murdigiau | Plenum | plein |
| Colligere | rispar | Factum | faict | Vacuum | vid |
| Spargere | sponder | Pœna | poena | Otium | lischenzedad |
| Pater | bab | Præmium | strof | Negotium | handligar |
| Avus | auk, aug | Pax | pache | Simile | sumgliont |
| Filius | filg | Bellum | guerra | Diffimile | non sumgli- |
| Filia | figlia | Pugnare | batter | | ont |
| Frater | frare | Victoria | vintschida | Habere | ver |
| Soror | fora | Armâ | armas | Carere | muncament |
| Patruelis | näf | Sacerdos | seignor | Jungere | metertiers |
| Maritus | mari | Votum | ampormaf- | Separare | sparchir |
| Uxor | moglia | | chun | Dare | dar |
| Vidua | veüa | Precatio | rugar | Accipere | reitscheiver |
| Virgo | } figlia dr. de
ignob.
dongella dr.
de nobili | Nihil | nagut | Recusare | girgieu |
| | | Nomen | nom | Incipere | antscheiver |
| | | Bonum | bein | Concludere | ferrar |
| | | Malum | mal | Mittere | tarmeter |
| Herus | padron | Verum | ver | Prehendere | prender |
| Servus | fomelg | Fassum | fauls | Quæstio | damonda |
| Discipulus | scholar | Necessarium | dabasengs | Responsio | risposta |
| Amicus | amic | Licitum | lubieu | Rogare | rogar |
| Hostis | animic | Facile | leaff | Concedere | lubir |
| Pratum | brada | Difficile | malmaneivel | Affirmare | confirmar |
| Arvum | ineir | Utile | vizeivel | Negare | schnagar |
| Docere | musar | Tutum | figir | Plumbum | plom |
| Laus | laud | Periculofum | prigel | Ferrum | fier |
| Minæ | schmanatcha | Prosperum | saung | Ego | jou |
| Rex | reig | Adversum | schvantira | Tu | ti |
| Subditus | subjet | Auferre | prendernavent | Ille | el |
| Lex | schontement | Medium | miez | Nos | nus |
| Tributum | tribut | Extremum | oradim | Vos | vus |
| Emere | comprar | Apex | sifum | Illi | els |
| Vendere | vender | Fundus | gieudim | Pecunia | muneida |
| Mutuari | fare impref- | Dextra | mandrett | | |
| | tar | Sinistra | manfanister | | |

Switzer-
land.

March 29. We travelled very good way to *Mayenfeldt*, a protestant town of small note, and four hours journey brought us to a ferry over the *Rhine*, and our bait at *Ragatz* subject to the *Switzers*; then came to *Sargans*, and four hours from *Ragatz* lodged at *Walenstatt*, where is a lake, and fish taken in it, called *weiss-fisch*.

March 30. Giving three florins, we boated ourselves and horses, and by reason of contrary winds were six or seven hours passing the *Walenstatt Zee* or lake, which is not above three hours length. We landed at *Wesen*, a small village belonging to *Switz* and *Glarus*, and two hours hence we arriv'd

at *Glarona* or *Glarus*. Here Mr. *Nathaniel Bacon* left us, and went for *Zurich*

Glarona, or *Glarus*, is a large borgo, *Glarus* being without walls, situated in a narrow valley, between high mountains; two parts of the inhabitants are protestant, and one part *Roman* catholick, and the government is proportion'd between the two religions. Vide the description of the government. The reform'd call themselves *Stadt* or *Città*, the papists *On* or *Cantone*. They both make use of one church here, the *Roman* catholicks having masses at their altars in the mornings first, and then the protestants have prayers,

prayers, and on *Sundays* sermons. *S. Fredelinus* is counted the tutelar saint of this place.

Formerly they coined money here, but for some years they, and the cantons of *Zug*, *Underwalden* and *Uri* have forbore to make any. No beggars here.

The *Italian* language is called *Walß* by the *Switzers*.

Marmotti or *Mures Alpini* are found in these parts; they sleep under ground from *Michaelmas* time till . . .

In the house where we lodged, we saw the horns of the *Steinbeck* (*Ibex*?) that is taken in *Valesia* or *Wallisland*, where they say the old stile is used, as it is in all the protestant cantons.

April 1. One hour from *Glarus*, we rode thro' a *terra* called *Newels*, two hours thence to *Bilten* a protestant village, and an hour further baited at *Schiibelberg*, a *Roman* catholick village; two leagues thence passed thro' *Lachen*, situated by the *Rapperswil Zee*; and in sight of *Rapperswil* (where there is a long wooden bridge cross the lake) which is protestant, and subject to *Uri*, *Switz*, and *Glarus*. A league, or hour from *Lachen*, we left the valleys, and mounted a steep hill, and rode two hours in snowy way to *Einsidle*, a village subject to the canton of *Switz*. Here is a *Benedictine* abbey, where within their church is a little chapel cruised over with marble on the outside, dedicated to the *Madonna of Einsidle*, and is within like that at *Loretto*.

The canton of *Switz* is protector of the abbey, and if any criminal causes relate to the jurisdiction of the convent, a judge is sent from *Switz*. Here, and as we observed at most places of superstitious devotion, are many beggars.

April 2. We rode four leagues, descending the mountains, passing in sight of a small lake on our right hand an hour before we came to *Switz*, a borgo situated in a rich soil full of pastures; it is much less than *Glarus*, but hath a large piazza neatly paved.

April 3. We had an hour's riding to *Brunen*, a village, where for one louis or half ducat, and three batz, we hired a boat, and in three hours arrived at *Fluellen*, and half an hour thence arrived at

Altorf, or *Altorf*. At *Brunen* we paid out of the half ducat, &c. eight *Switz* shillings *dattii* for our horses. This day, as we passed on the lake of *Lucerne*, we saw a great quantity of snow fall from the top of a high mountain, that made a noise like thunder.

Altorf is a pretty borgo, less than that of *Glarus*; the church is neat.

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We saw the tower where they say the tree stood that *Tell's* son was tied to when his father was commanded, for not saluting his cap, to shoot an apple off his head with an arrow; and in a street not far off, is a fountain with *Tell* and his son's statues, and arrows with an apple represented; and passing on the lake, we were shewn a chapel built in the same place where *Tell* got away. This being the occasion and beginning of the *Respub. Helvet.* I shall not here transcribe the substance of the story out of *Boxhornius's* universal history, but refer to him, pag. 817. An. 1298.

With those of *Uri* or *Altorf*, joined *Switz* and *Underwalden* (*Sylvania*.)

The *Valteline* and *Lugano* wine drunk here.

April 4. We took boat at *Fluellen*, giving one and a half *Milan* scudo, and in about seven hours time landed in the canton of *Stantz* in *Underwalden*, and an hour after arrived at *Stantz*, the chief village in *Sylvania inferior*; (*Stanner* is the chief in the upper) it is less than the borgo of *Switz*. A neat church here.

The cantons of *Switz*, *Uri* and *Underwalden* have no grounds but pastures that they look after, corn and wine being brought from other places.

High mountains and great lakes defend their countries.

April 5. We rode almost a league, and then took boat at *Stanzstadt*, and in an hour's time crossed part of the *Lucerne* sea (which is the same we passed *April 3.*) for about five batz, we landed at *Winchel*, and in two hours rode to *Lucerne*, a pretty city (smaller than *Zurich*) situated at the end of the lake, which is somewhat shallow and muddy, and the air therefore is the worse for it.

S. Leodigarius is a pretty church, where we saw one of the biggest organs in *Europe*; a corpulent man may pass thro' some of the pipes. Round the churchyard is a handsome portico or cloister; two very long, and one shorter; foot bridges over part of the lake, covered with pent-houses, and in some places painted with legends and sacred story. In the shortest is the picture of death killing all sorts of persons.

The *Valteline*, *Lugano* and *Alsatio* wines drunk in this town. Corn is sown in this canton.

The *Jesuits* have a college and a *gymnasium* here. The pope's nuncio resides in this city. In these parts, as well as in some places of upper *Germany*, the host, hostess, and servants bid you welcome, by taking you by the hand when you come and go away.

SKIPPON.

Zug.

April 6. After five hours riding, we came to Zug (*Tugium*) a small city and not populous, seated by the lake of Zug, which, they say, affords 50 sorts of fish; the chief are, 1. Eels, 2. Pikes, 3. Carp, 4. Esche, 5. Alberlin, or weifs-fish, 6. Triffa or Botatrici, 7. Hasler, 8. Perch, 9. Prasma, 10. Reitell, 11. Trout, 12. Balla, 13. Nafe, &c.

Good guns made here. They can raise in this canton about 5000 soldiers.

S. Oswald king of England is their tutelary saint, and in the church they have relicks of his body, and his picture on horseback, as it is on some of their monies.

Here we eat butter made up with sugar.

These Roman catholick cantons are most experienced in war, and boast of themselves very much. Before they go into military service, the captain must engage to see them paid.

Alsatia and Schaphusen wines drunk here.

Their horses are fair to look on, but not good for hard working. The small boats in their lakes are like great troughs made of one tree.

Switz
customs.

In the church-yards hang many holy water vessels over the graves; and when any of the deceased's friends come by, they take some of the water, crossing themselves, and sprinkle it on the ground. Widows are distinguished by a great deal of white linen about their heads and necks, and on the top of their crown they wear a round and broad piece of black.

At the latter end of meals they bring to the table stewed prunes, a kind of ginger-bread, sugar-plums and almonds.

The Switzer and Grison men wear great trunk breeches, trim'd with some ribbands about the knees.

Zurich.

April 7. We passed thro' a village called Baar, one of the *Communi* of Zug an hour from thence; a little after entered the canton of Zurich, and after five leagues journey arrived at Zurich, where we met with Mr. Nathaniel Bacon again, who travelled after us to Geneva.

April 13. We left Zurich, and passed thro' Ailstetten and Dieteeken, two small villages, then rode over a steep hill, and four hours from Zurich baited at Melingen, a little walled place in the territory of Baden, and situated by a large river; here we paid, as at several other places, a small toll for passing the bridge. Two leagues from hence we went by a fair castle on a rock, and just by passed thro' Lentzburg, a little walled town under the Bernese, and two leagues further lodged

in Araw, another walled place by the river that runs to Bruck.

April 14. We came into the canton of Solothurne, after a little way riding, and at two hours distance crossed the river . . . and passed thro' Olten, a small walled town. Three hours from thence we baited ourselves and horses, then travelled thro' Weillispach, a little walled place in the canton of Berne, and having rode nine leagues this day, we arrived at Solothurne, a pretty city with an old fashioned wall about it, whereon is a walk covered with a pent-house. The river . . . runs by the walls.

The country hereabouts is very woody.

April 15. We went about three hours or leagues, and transcribed these verses on a stair erected upon a pillar.

Uxoris dotem repetens Cusinus Amate

Dux Anglus Frater quam dabat Austri-
acus

Per mare trajecit validarum signa cohor-
tum

Miles ubiq; premens arva aliena jugo

Hoc rupere loco Bernates hostica Castra

Multus et injusto Marte dedere Neci

Sic Deus armipotens ab apertis protegat
Ursum

Protegat occultis hostis ab insidiis.

1648.

This Cusinus came against the Bernese about 1376.

A bear is the arms of Berne.

Three hours further we arrived at Berne, Berne being examined by centinels at the gate.

On Sunday, at the French church here, while the sermon is preaching, and till the last psalm is singing, the doors are kept shut. The Dutch have a sermon in the same church at six in the morning.

At the great church, which is a fair stone building, in the afternoon we observed one in a desk keeping time with a wand, whilst two or three sackbuts played, and the congregation sang a psalm; after that a minister came to a desk in the middle of the church, and read a prayer, then put on his cap, and standing in the alley made a discourse in Dutch, and afterwards catechised little girls; then he returned to the desk saying another prayer; and wind-musick, with a psalm, concluded all. We saw a great bell in this church, judged to be bigger than that at Roban.

At the hospital is a sermon on Sunday afternoon.

The

The ministers and many of the citizens wear conical caps without brims, almost as high as those worn at *Basil*. Others wear round caps, broader than those at *Zurich*.

The women wear gowns somewhat like the *French* mode, and furr caps on their heads. Widows have much linen about their heads, and, as we observed before, on the top of their crowns stands a black tower. Almost all the men wear swords.

This city is built on the ridge of a hill, with an easy ascent, like *Edinburgh*; it is of a good length, and hath two or three streets, besides the high-street, which is very fair, all the houses being built of stone, but not of an equal height; the eaves hang over too much. A neat, tho' small portico on each side, and a rivulet runs in the middle of the street. Several fountains, one with the statue of a bear in armour. The river *Aar* encompasses the city almost round, and saves the charge of a wall. At the upper end of *Berne* is an old double wall, and without that strong modern fortifications. In the ditch they keep deer. The city is obliged to keep six bears, which will climb high trees, as we observed. The founder of this city, *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, and *Friburg* in *Germany*, was *Bertoldus V. Dux Zeringia*, about the year 1191.

Many *Foëtie* belong to this canton and *Friburg*, where protestants and papists use the same churches one after another.

At eight of the clock at night, and four in the morning, trumpets sound off a tower, and every hour of the night a trumpet is sounded. In all parts of *Switzerland* that we saw, a fellow cries aloud in the night, and bids the people take heed of their lights.

Friburg.

April 17. We rode three leagues, and entered the territory of *Friburg*, at a bridge where we paid a small toll; three hours thence we reached the city of *Friburg*, which is large, and built of stone; the houses are like those at *Berne*, but are without portici; the streets are not streight but winding; the chief street is on a steep ascent. The river *Sana* turns about this city as the river does at *Berne*. At the upper end are some fortifications, but much inferior to those at *Berne*, and are commanded by a higher ground.

S. Nicholas.

S. Nicholas is the principal church; small, but indifferently handsome; at this city the king of *Spain's* ambassador resides.

See the government of the cantons in *Mr. Ray's* and my collections.

April 18. We travelled four leagues bad stony way, among hills and woods;

afterwards came again into the canton of *SKIPPON. Berne*, and two hours further passed thro' *Milden*, a small walled place; two leagues of more stony and hilly way brought us to our lodging at *Montporvoyer*, a little village.

In the travels we twice made thro' *Switzerland*, we saw these cantons.

1. *Basil*, which is of the reformed religion.
2. *Zurich*. Reformed.
3. *Scapphausen*. Reformed.
4. *Glarus*. Two thirds reformed, and one third *Roman* catholic.
5. *Switz*. *Roman* catholic.
6. *Uri* or *Altorff*. *Roman* catholic.
7. *Underwalden* and *Upperwalden*. *Roman* catholic.
8. *Lucerne*. *Roman* catholic.
9. *Zug*. *Roman* catholic.
10. *Solothurne*. *Roman* catholic.
11. *Berne*. Reformed.
12. *Friburg*. *Roman* catholic.

The 13th, *Abbatiscella* (*Appenzel*) is half reformed and half catholic, but we did not see that canton.

The duke of *Neoburg* (*Neocomen*) is a papist, but the people in his country are of the reformed religion.

April 19. We had two leagues bad way to *Lausanne*, a city seated in a hilly *Lausanne*, country, and in prospect of the lake of *Geneva* (*Lacus Lemanus*) which is about one half-league from it. A *gymnasium* here. The cathedral is fair.

We only passed thro' *Lausanne*, and half an hour thence came down into an even road. *Mr. Drury* (the reconciler) lives here.

We rode by the lake side, and two leagues from *Lausanne* we dined at *Morges*, a small walled town; two hours further we went thro' *Rolle*, an inconsiderable walled place, and two hours more lodged in *Nion*, a walled place. All these are *Foëtie* or bailiffries belonging to the *Bernese*, and each bailiff (*Landvogt*) hath a castle to dwell in, and every *Foëtie* hath a pair of gallows. The people from *Lausanne*, and so along the lake, speak *French*, but the subjects of *Berne*, that speak high *Dutch*, are twice their number. The country by this side of the lake is called *Pays de Vaux*, where grows good wine they call *Vin de la Cofte*, and is carried to *Berne* and *Friburg*.

April 20. We rode thro' *Copet* and *Verfoy*, a village belonging to the *French* king, and in four hours time we arrived at *Geneva*, where the centinels were negligent in letting us pass to our inn without

SKIPPON. out any examination. We staid in this city till July 19.

Promotion of scholars. May 1. Monday. We saw the manner of promoting school boys, presently after dinner, in *S. Peter's* the great church; the rector of the *gymnasium* made a *Latin* speech, then the boys were read over, and one of the syndicks threw silver medals among them; after two *Latin* orations were spoke by two scholars, the *Hebrew* professor made a speech, and other exercises were performed. All was concluded by four in the afternoon.

The citizens delight much in shooting with bows, guns, &c.

King of the harquebusses. May 2. Many being in arms, and divided into several companies, went into the plain palais, an open place without the walls, and shot at marks the length of a field, every one before he shoots, first pulling a cord that rings a bell at the further end to warn the standers-by; after some time, one that hit the mark, was saluted king of the harquebusses; then one of the syndicks made a short speech in praise of the last year's king, and exhorts the new king to be true in his office, &c. The new king made a reply, and the people gave their acclamations, drums beat, and the soldiers conveyed him thro' crowds of spectators to his house, where he treated the principal of the town with a supper.

May 3. The soldiery were more brave, and had the addition of a company of boys in arms, and a troop of horse led by the Marquis of *Monpouillon*, who married Sir *Theodore Meyern's* daughter. In the plain palais was built a small fort of wood, which was assaulted by the horse, and defended by the foot; in the evening they returned into the city. As the king of the harquebusses passed by the gate, the great guns were fired, and before him was carried a great naked sword; a trumpeter sounding followed it, and then the king came on foot attended by the syndicks and counsellors; after them one carried a flag. Before one company went six boys dressed like *Moors* with bows and arrows in their hands. The day before notice was given by beat of drum and proclamation. At these solemnities the other gates were shut, only that towards the plain palais left open. They have also a king of the volunteers, and a king of the archers, each of them wearing (as the king of the harquebusses) the arms of *Geneva* wrought in gold upon their hats.

May 4. One of *Paris* was killed by another *Frenchman* in a duel; they walked out in the morning, and fought in the duke of *Savoy's* territory.

This city is well fortified with an old wall, and good outworks, some of which towards the plain palais not yet finished. One bulwark nigh the river *Rhofne* was built at the charge of the united provinces; it is faced with a strong stone-wall, and thereon is inscribed,

Oppugna oppugnantes me, 1662. Ex munificentia Celsiss. Ordinum Federatorum Belgii.

There are about 300 soldiers in constant pay, every common soldier has two crowns a month, and the captains eight, and are paid by the last syndick every month. The guards are exchanged (30 at each gate) every night, and before they begin the watch one of the soldiers says a prayer, and repeats the Lord's prayer and the creed. The guards that are to relieve those of the night before, first come to the palace, and before two of the syndicks, the captain or leaders, draw each of them out of a hat a paper with the name of one of the gates, and then one of the syndicks gives the word. This lottery is to prevent any captain that may have intention to betray his gate.

There are many *Corps du guards* of citizens, who by turns watch within the city, and are centinels on the bulwarks, about 300 every night; but the most of them give six sols a night to some of the poorer sort, who watch in their places.

See the collection of governments.

The inhabitants are guessed to be about 30000, and of them there are about 6000 fighting men; two galleys they arm in time of war, with 60 men apiece. A small island at the going out of the *Rhofne* may serve for a fortification. Every inhabitant is well provided with arms.

This city is situated on the ascent of a hill, and by the west-end of the lake, where the river *Rhofne* runs out of it, which divides it into two parts, joined by two wooden bridges. One of the bridges is built with houses on each side, that are inhabited by many workmen. The side of the city over the river, and towards *Switzerland* and *Burgundy* is called the borgo of *S. Gervais*. The *Rhofne* is much higher in the summer than in the winter, the heat of the summer sun melting the snow on the mountains. An old stone tower nigh the river's side, which they say was built by *Julius Caesar*. Two great conservatories of wood placed in the river to keep trouts in.

S. Peter's

S. Peter's. *S. Peter's* is the chief church, handsome and large, where are still preserved *S. Peter's* and *S. Paul's* pictures, in the east window of the choir; and in some seats are pictures (carved) of saints, which monsieur *De la Bodie* inveighs against in his sermons. Two great bells here, one weighing 50000 lb. which is seldom rung, and then there must be ten men to ring it, with two ropes. In this steeple is a watch kept every night with two small pieces of cannon, and when they give an alarm, they ring a bell they say is half silver. A bell is tolled three times a day, at four in the morning, at seven for a sermon, and in the evening to give notice for the change of guards.

From those steeples there is a prospect into, 1. *France*, 2. *Savoy*, 3. *Switzerland*, 4. *Wallisland*, 5. The county of *Burgundy*.

S. Gervais. *S. Gervais* is in the borgo.

S. German. *S. German* is a church where every *Thursday* morning, at eight of the clock, begins an *Italian* sermon.

The dead are buried in a piece of ground without the city, where there are no monuments, none of their famous men having any erected to their memories.

The pest-house is there, which was built by Sir *Theodore Meyern's* gift of about 800 crowns; it is made like a *Carthusian* cloister, where the cells or rooms are a little distant from one another.

Every *Saturday* about noon a trumpeter proclaims in several parts of the city what houses are to be sold.

Opposite to our lodging was an ancient stone thus inscribed.

NVMINIBVS
AVG
ET DOM DIV
VICTOR AVG
T. B. P. P. S.

Some few weeks before our arrival at *Geneva*, the daughter of monsieur *Chouet*, a bookseller, was divorced from her husband (a magistrate's son) who was impotent, yet the divorce was made so, that either might marry again. An appeal they said was made to the 200.

English men and women. *English* men and women in this city while we were there, Mr. *Rolls*, Mr. *Boyle* one of my Lord *Brogbill's* sons, Mr. *Hall*, Lord *Hinchinbrooke*, Mr. *Waters*, Mr. *Dashwood*, Dr. *Jeanes*, a son of Sir ... *Scot*; an *Englishwoman* married to a *Dutch* merchant of *Rouen*, and another married to one *Leit* of *Geneva*. Mr.

Nath. Bacon left our company and went ^{SHIPPON.} for *Paris*, intending directly for *England*.

The duke of *Crecqui* coming this way from *Rome*, was met at the gate by many horse-men, and so conducted to his inn, where one of the magistrates made him an harangue, and after dinner went away in his horse-litter, soldiers lining the way without the gate, and the horse-men accompanied him a league or two.

The ministers were, 1. *Turretin*, 2. The minister *Mesterat*, 3. Another of the same name, 4. *Tronchin* (a kinsman of his is fled for coining *Geneva* and *Switz* money,) 5. *Fontaine*, 6. *De la Badie*, who was formerly a *Jesuit*, 7. *Du Four*, 8. *Chabrey*, 9. *Girand*, 10. *Sartoris*, 11. *Rutet*, 12. *Calendrin*. Some of them are great inveighers against black patches, ribbands on shoes, &c. night-walkings, &c.

Every *Thursday* there is a sermon at five in the morning, and another at eight. On *Sundays* the like, and presently after dinner is catechizing, then the afternoon's sermon; but first chapters are read and psalms sung in the order they are printed in a paper, that hangs up in several places of the church.

While the chapters and the text is reading, the minister and men are uncovered, but in sermon time the minister and they put on their hats.

The preacher hath his liberty to use his own conceived prayer, or the printed forms. The women sit together nearest the pulpit, and the men round about. The magistrates and ministers have their distinct seats. Between the latter prayer and the blessing they sing a psalm. They have no other musick nor any imposed ceremonies. The ministers use no notes; they have more action in their preaching than the *Switz* ministers, who have a more fixed posture. They pray for the *French* king, the king of *England*, cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne* (who are in league with *Geneva*) the protestant princes in *Germany*, the prince of *Orange*, and the united provinces.

On *Sunday* evenings there are sometimes dancing, musick, &c. and always recreations without the walls, as shooting at butts, &c. which some of the ministers preach against.

Every week-day at seven of the morning, is a sermon, and every afternoon are prayers about four of the clock, at *S. Peter's* and *S. Gervais's*. On *Fridays* in the afternoon is a sermon.

In the borgo of *St. Gervais* is a large magazine of corn, where many of the citizens have stocks employed.

SKIPPON.

Another magazine of corn is opposite to the town-house (*Maison de la ville*) and under it is a portico to walk in. Before the *Maison de la ville* is a raised bench where malefactors are condemned; the execution place is in the plain palais; sometimes they burn the bodies after they are hanged. Confessions forced by torture here.

Arsenal.

In the hall hang up several old and large sepulchral urns; here is an inscription in memory of the league with *Zurich* and *Berne*. Four or five rooms full of arms for 5000 men. Great store of bullets and other necessities for a siege. Two great cannons taken from the duke of *Savoy*, when assisted by the *Spaniards* and *Italians*. Six lesser pieces, with the names of six months, the other six are at *Paris*, *Henry IV.* having borrowed them when he took a castle from the *Savoyard*; in exchange he gave most of the spoil to the *Genevese*. The arms of the 13 noblemen hanged on the bulwark *De l'Oye*, who were of the duke of *Savoy's* army, when he endeavoured to surprize *Geneva*. Several colours then taken; on most of them tears are represented. Ladders wherewith they scaled the wall; they are thus made of three pieces. The first ladder hath sharp irons at the bottom, to fix in the ground, the second was to be fixed upon that, and the third and uppermost upon the second, having trundles at the upper end to run up against the wall-side.



The petard (not yet discharged) which was then fastened to one of the gates, and ready to be fired by a *Savoyard*, who was prevented by being slain. The rod with which the duke of *Savoy* threatned to whip the *Genevese*. Guns that can discharge four times. A resting staff that throws out a rapier and two daggers. A great number of old pistols taken from the *Neapolitans*, who were sent by the king of *Spain* against this city. The duke of *Roban's* arms. Sharp-pointed staves the first sentinels use when any

carts with hay enter the city. An iron screw to break an iron chain, after this fashion.

He that shewed us the arsenal, had a half pistol of *Lewis XII.* which on the reverse had this inscription, *Perdam Babylonis nomen.* On the other side, *Ludov. Fran. Regniq; Neap. R.*



Many of the maid-servants in *Geneva* wear red hats, like the *Jews* in *Italy*.

The pell-mell was made at the duke of *Roban's* charge; his monument in a chapel of *S. Peter's* is stately, but his statue is ill made.

Two hundred inhabitants now in *Geneva*, that have been papists, and some of them fryars.

The great street, or *Le grande Rue*, mounts towards *S. Peter's*.

The lower, or *Rue bas*, is a fair street, only obscured by the tall portici of wood.

On an inconsiderable small house upon the bridge, are written these two verses.

*Stet domus hæc fluctus donec formica marina
Ebibat et totum Testudo perambulet orbem.*

Two eagles kept alive in a cage nigh the river, and in the front of *S. Peter's* is an old stone carved with an eagle.

In an old cloister nigh *St. Peter's* are three epitaphs to *Englishman*; the first for *Mr. Ralph Willburham* of *Cheshire*, who died 1644.

The second,

Christo Servatori.

Illustris juvenis Rogerius Townshend Equestris in Anglia Ordinis, exacto in patris ædibus et patriis gymnasiis sacro pietatis et virtutis tyrocinio, dum sapientiæ Comparandæ et moribus experientia excolendis exterarum regiones peragrat, huc non sine numine delatus vix adolescentiam egressus, ætate florente, cælo maturus mortalitate exuit et in spe beatæ resurrectionis hoc tumulo conditus requiescit. A. S. CIO IOCXLVII.

The third,

*In obitum nobilissimi juvenis Gulielmi Massam Baronetti Angli.
Decemb. 19. An. Dom. 1662.*

*Si pia tutoris valuisset cura Lucani
Pollucisque preces non ea fata simul
Non ea fata tibi, te vivum complexa fuisset
Patria te reducem leta parensq; tua
Ast aliter superis primo sub flore juventæ
En juvenum florem præsecuere Deæ*

*Immeritum vobis Parcarum nomen, iniquè
 Atropos abrumpit stamina cæpta modo
 Pono animum Deus hæc nec miror numina velle
 Primegenos animos primitiasq; sibi
 Debita dona Diis mens orta et reddita cælis
 Altera pars terris Sancta Geneva tuis
 Non Aquilæ vestræ muscas voluere cadaver
 Nobilis hæredis præda petita fuit
 Non lacus insignis Votis respondet avaris
 Tristitiæ plures mens pia vellet aquas
 Chæra Geneva vale discedens dico precorq;
 Sint vobis tutis ossa quieta sua.*

*Flevit Sam. le Brun Anglus Cestrensis, Johannis Nepos, Calvinii Filius, Oxonii
 Procurator Senior. An. Dom. 1656.*

In the *Gymnasium* we saw the publick library; where are not many books, but some fair old manuscripts: among which the bible translated into *French*, 1294. by a canon of *Theroüenne*. An *English* bible, printed here the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign.

The *Genevois* and the *Switzers* were partially inclined to favour the *Hollander* more than the *English* in this war between us and the *Dutch*.

A league from *Geneva* is the foot of mount *Saleve*, a long mountain in *Savoy*; upon the top of it cow-keepers dwell the six summer months, and make butter and cheese.

Two leagues from *Geneva* is mount *Thuiry* (*Jura*) in the territories of *France*, and it will take near three hours to ascend to the top, where cow-keepers dwell three months, and make butter and cheese; and the other two months they come half way down the mountain. On this I observed good pasture. Rare plants grow in these two mountains.

The territory of *Geneva* is largest towards *Savoy* to the eastward. The canton of *Berne* is very near on the N. E. The territory of *France* is nigh.

One of the *Syndicks* had been a cobbler or a shoemaker.

Thuan. lib. 68. p. 333. tom. 3. observes as follows.

A^o 1579. Genevæ patrociniū à Rege Hen. III. in renovatione fœderis Helveticī susceptum. Si ad publicam securitatem pertinere ex fœderatorum sententiā visum fuerit, Rex in v. cohortes Helveticas singulas, 300 militibus constantes stipendium conferre, in eamq; rem 1300 aureorum præsentī pecuniā Soloturni deponere teneatur. Si contingat urbem ab aliquo aperta vi oppugnari ad ejusq; defensionem tam Bernates ac Soloturnenses quam alii pagi exercitum conscribere cogantur Rex 1500 aureorum singulis mensibus, quādiu bellum durabit adnumeret, v. Helveticarum Cohortium stipendio in iis confuso.—— Si quis princeps hujus fœderis causā bellum aut Regi aut Fœderatis Helvetiis indicat, Helvetii 6000 peditum Rex 10000 aureorum singulis mensibus suppeditare teneantur.—— Genevenses pro tanto Beneficio liberum accessum in itū et reditū copiis regiis et seriātim per urbem transeuntibus trans Alpes et ubicunq; opus fuerit, præbeant.

SKIPPON.

F R A N C E.

Wednesday July 19. we hired horses of the *chasse-marin* for four crowns apiece (our diet or nourishment included) and allowed for the carriage of our portmanteaus two sols for four pounds weight above five pounds; and left *Geneva* about 11 of the clock, then passed over *Pont d'Arve*, where there is a *Geneva* guard; and over the bridge is the duke of *Savoy's* guard, that searches for salt, &c. We went through two or three villages belonging to *Geneva*, and after two leagues riding ferried over the *Rhosne*, paying five sols a man. Half a league further we came through *Coulonge*, a village where the *French* king's dogana officers search passengers portmanteaus, &c. Half a league from thence we rode in a narrow passage between the mountains, divided by the *Rhosne* on the left hand of us; and passing through a small fort called *Clusa* (where six or seven *French* soldiers keep guard) were examined whence we came, &c. About two leagues thence, we observed the place where the river *Rhosne*, in the winter time, runs under great stones for about half a stone's cast after it passed through a channel three or four yards broad: Half a league further brought us to our lodging at *Chastillon*.

Thursday, July 20. We set forward about four in the morning, and rode mountainous ways, passing by a fall of water called *Pisse Vache*, which *Golnitz* in his itinerary says runs under ground into a lake called *La Bougie*, that was on our left hand. *La Bougie* is divided into two parts by a wall; one part is marshy, belonging to *S. Germain*, the other belongs to *Nantua*, filled with water and stored with fish. We travelled through *Nantua*, a long town with portici like those of the *Rue-bas* at *Geneva*; it is seated at the end of the lake we had on our left hand. This place is noted for good needles. It is three leagues from *Chastillon*. Three leagues further we baited at *Cerdon*, having rode between box-hedges and a hilly way, making a steep descent, just before we arrived at *Cerdon*, where our *chasse-marin* changed his horses. After dinner we ascended a

rocky hill, and then entered a plain which continues to *Lyons*. Two leagues from *Cerdon* we ferried the river *D'Aine*, and three leagues thence lodged at *Verbonne*.

This day we took notice that shepherd's huts were made of straw, and placed on little carts.

July 21. At break of day we mounted, and after two leagues riding, came through a walled place called *Mo-----* and three leagues thence, rode hilly ways till we came to *Lyons*, where we first *Lyons* went through a suburb full of victualling houses. At the gate we received a billet for to lodge in the town; then made a steep descent in a well-paved way, and after weighing of our portmanteaus, we took up our lodging at the *Escu d'or*, or crown of *France*.

This is a very fair city, part situated at the meeting of the *Soane* and *Rhosne*, and part on the other side of the *Soane*; the houses are tall and well built, only defaced by the raggedness of their paper windows. Great merchandizing here, and large shops full of all sorts of wares.

We stayed at *Lyons* till the 25th of *July*, and remarked these particulars.

Maison de la Ville is a very handsome *Maison de la Ville* fabrick, having a fair square piazza before it, with a large fountain. On one side of the piazza is a stately front erecting. In the stair-case of the *Maison de la Ville* is a picture with this inscription on one side.

Una Nox interfuit inter Urbem maximam et nullam. Senec. Ep. 91.

There is also this inscription;

Annus Gallie et toti Europe fortunatissimus dignus omnium gentium christianarum annalibus millesimus sexcentissimus sexagesimus, quo post diuturnum Francos inter et Hispanos bellum, tandem Pax in Vidosi amnis insula Sancita est et jurata à presentib. Regibus Ludovico XIV. Christianissimo et Philippo IV. Catholico atq; in fœderis sanctissimum vinculum nupta Ludovico Maria Theresia Philippi Filia, mox propagata in ceteras gentes, eadem pax conciliavit imperatorem Suecis.

Suecis, eosdem Suecos, Polonis et Danis, deinde Anglis Regem suum restituit: Hunc felicissimum annum gratulari et Posteris tradituri, Administrantibus Lugdunensem Præturam Foriensem et Belljiocensem Prorege Nicolao de Neufoilla Duce Villeregio Pare et Mareschallo Franciæ et Proregis Legato, Camillo de Neufville Archiep. et Comite Lugd. Primata Galliæ. Monumentum hoc erexerunt Præpositus Hugo de Pomey Dominus de Rochefort et des Sauvages Regis à consiliis, ac Consules Jacobus Michel Dominus de la Tour des Champs, Bartholomæus Ferrus Regis Consiliarius in Molinensi Quæstura inspector vestigalium Provincialium, Dominicus de Ponsain-pierre et Romanus Thomæ.

Verfes of *Claudius* the emperor written in brafs. See *Golnitz's Itinerary*.

The rooms we saw here have these names:

La Chambre Consulaire, where the provost and four eschevins sit.

La Chambre de la Conservation, where the merchants sit.

In a fair great hall are the pictures of the 14 *Louis's* kings of *France*. The roof painted.

Another hall, with the pictures of the eschevins. A little chamber for banquets, &c.

S. Nicy. *S. Nicy* is a pretty church.

La Charité. *La Charité* is the hospital; a great building.

N. Dame. *N. Dame de Fourier* is on the other side of the *Saone*, built on the highest ground; where there is a small pyramid erected to the virgin *Mary*. Here we had a full prospect of the city.

Before another is a small pyramid, and thereon inscribed the name of God and Unity and Trinity, in several languages.

Without *S. Just's* gate is a large suburb.

The Carmelites. The *Carmelites* that go barefooted have a pleasant convent, with large gardens, whence a fair view of the town.

The friars in this city are very importunate beggars, coming into strangers chambers.

The feast of *S. James* was kept while we were here; and we saw this procession. First went a great banner, then a great cake or loaf (called *pain benedit*) upon a fellow's head; after that two pipes and a little drum, which made some musick in the interval, between friars singing.

Belle Cour. *Belle Cour* is a spacious wide space, where there is a mell, and a pleasant walk of trees by it.

Mr. Palmer, brother to the earl of *Castlemain*, was at this time in *Lyons* at

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the academy royal, and who lately turned *SKIPPON*. papist.

The protestants are about 2000 families in this city, and have a temple at *S. Romain*, two leagues up the *Saone*. *Monsieur Moze* an apothecary, and a protestant, was civil to us.



The monument of the two lovers is on the other side the *Saone*; it seems to have been some *Roman* building, and is built of great stones. *A B* are two square pillars in the front.

Two forts, *La Pierre Scize*, on the *Two forts* *Soane* side.

For *S. Jean*, on the same side with the body of the city.

The *Saone* is a very slow river, and there are cross it one stone and two wooden bridges. On one of them a customer demands a liard of every one that passes over.

S. Jean is the cathedral, which is large *S. Jean's* and remarkable for a clock, with motions like that at *Strasburg*; every hour a cock on the top claps his wings twice, and crows twice, after that an angel comes out of a door, and salutes the virgin *Mary*, and at the same time the Holy Ghost, and ascends, and God the Father gives the Benediction. The minute motion hath an oval circle, and yet the handle or index always touches the circumference. Invented by *Monsieur Servier*.

We had good luck in seeing *Monsieur M. Servier's* cabinet, his humour being very *Servier's cabinet* difficult. He was a soldier in his younger days; but about 22 years ago he retired hither, and invented many ingenious pieces of clock-work, machines of water, &c. which he hath described with his pen, and bound them up together in a thick folio, and made the models of them in wood with his own hand. These things we took notice of which we had not before seen in *Italy* and *Germany*.

The hand of a minute-watch moved every time the ball springs up in a certain engine.

A lizard creeping up a perpendicular rule, shews the hour of the day.

A mouse creeping upon a rule placed horizontally, doth the like. These are done by magnets.

An hour-glass, that turns of itself when the sand is run out, and at the same time the hour-figure placed over the glass is changed.

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Several hydraulick machines.

An *Atlas* bearing a globe, and upon its equator was shewn the hour of the day.

The clock upon a declining plane, does not go when placed upon an horizontal plane.

A ball put in at the mouth of a winding serpent, runs through it, and afterwards passes up the tail of another placed on a moveable axis, and comes out of his mouth.

A tortoise put into a basin of water, will never stand still till he points to the time of the day.

A balæstra to shoot granada's at a certain distance.

A circle, with the several humours of persons written on it, and if you touch the gnomon or index, it will point to the humour (as is pretended) of him that touches it.

A door that opens both ways.

Two gates, when one shuts the other opens.

Two dials a pretty distance from one another; moving the index of the one turns the index of the other; but when Monsieur *Servier* took a little piece of iron or loadstone (coloured white) out of the point or end of the index that was moved, the other would not stir.

A cannon to shoot downward; it is placed on a declining carriage, an axis with cords winds it backward and forward, and when the cannon comes to the further end, a circle of lead is round the mouth.

We were told that the *Germans* living in *Lyons* have great privileges; that they have distinct courts to judge civil and criminal matters, and when they make harangues to the king, they speak standing.

Upon the clock of the cathedral is inscribed,

Æ.

Horologium istud jam pridem per Hereticorum injuriam omnino mancum et dirutum, illustrissimi ac Venerabiles D. D. Comites Lug. sua munifica pietate non modo redintegrari, sed etiam Elegantius concinnari Curarunt. Anno Domini MVLXI. Opera Gulielmi Nourisson.

Tuesday July 25. Hiring a postilion for a *louis d'or* a man, we left *Lyons*, and rode over a long stone bridge cross the *Rhofne*, and then passed through a large suburb, and entered on a large plain, where we travelled four leagues, and after that rode a pleasant country cast up into hillocks,

and six leagues from *Lyons* dined at *Artas*, having passed through but one village before. After noon we came through *Merieu*, *La Bastie*, *Champier*, and at night lodg'd in *La Frett*, three leagues from *Artas*.

July 26. We rode a good way in a level valley, and at two leagues from *La Frett* went through *Moyran*; a little from thence we entered between the mountains, and travelled a fruitful valley, planted like *Lombardy* with rows of trees, and vines climbing about them: sometimes we mounted stony hills, among them pass'd through *Rives*, a village noted for its iron works; four leagues from *Moyran* we arrived at *Grenoble*, riding by a double pell-mell just before we entered the city. Grenoble.

This night it snowed on the mountains near *Grenoble*.

Grenoble is a large city, situated in a fruitful and pleasant valley near the meeting of the river *Drac* with the *Ysere*. The houses are generally meanly built, and the streets are not handsome. A long street (on the other side of the *Ysere*) joined to the city by a wooden and a stone bridge. On the same side, upon the top of a high hill, is a fort called *La Bastille*; a wall runs up that hill.

The arsenal is another fort, guarded now by about 150 soldiers. The arsenal.

The cathedral is a mean church.

The *Jesuits* are building a neat chapel.

The protestants are here about 5000; their temple is within the walls, and is of an octagonal figure with a tall roof; within are seats for counsellors of parliament, and persons of condition; a little gallery with jealousies or wicker windows, where many times popish gentry, &c. sit *incogniti*. Three ministers.

D. *Lefdiguere's* palace has fine shady walks, and a fair garden.

The bishop of this city is a prince.

Within the palace is a room where the parliament sits; the lacqueys will suffer no swords to be worn here, except you give them a small piece of money,

Antient inscriptions on some of the gates, which are printed in *Golnitz's Itinerary*.

Three liards paid for every horse that passes the bridge with stone arches.

We visited a garden of simples belonging to Monsieur a counsellor of parliament, (who was civil to us) and Monsieur *Bernard*, an apothecary.

Thursday July 27. Paying four crowns for two horses and a guide, we immediately, out of the city, ascended the mountains, and at a league's distance came through a village called *Sapin*, and a league

league and half further pass'd through the valley of *Chartreuse* village. These vallies among the high mountains or *Alps* are well cultivated, having great store of oats and other corn, and meadow grounds. At a narrow passage between two high precipitous rocks, we pass'd over a bridge cross a torrent, and knocking at a gate, were let in by a servant belonging to the monastery of the *Chartreuse*; then we ascend'd a mountainous way above a quarter of a league, till we pass'd by a large building, where persons of all trades live, and who are habited like the fathers of the *Carthusian* order, and work for the convent. A good distance further up we arriv'd at the *Grande Chartreuse*, where the porter ask'd us whence we came, and call'd a lay brother, who introduc'd us into one of the halls appointed to receive strangers in. At the gate we left our swords and pistols. Seven hours riding from *Grenoble* hither.

This convent is seated under one of the highest mountains in these parts, and discovers far and near into the adjacent countries.

As soon as we came into the hall, wine, bread and cheese, were set before us; and one of the fathers, a very intelligent man, visit'd and discours'd some time with us about the news of *Europe*, which he was no stranger to. A boy guided us up into the mountain, and shew'd us a neat chapel dedicated to *S. Maria de Casalibus*, which is prettily adorned with the letters of her name in gold, and with scripture epithets: beyond this we saw *S. Bruno's* chapel built on a rock.

At night we had our supper and beds prepared for us.

We observ'd the friars at evensong bowing their heads, as they sat, at the saying the *Gloria Patri*, &c. Sixty fathers, and as many lay brothers here.

No women but those of the royal blood can enter this cloister. There are two ways more to come to this convent besides that from *Grenoble*, viz. one from *Lyons* and the other from *Chambery*.

In their stable they keep about sixty horses, besides mules and asses.

Friday July 28. We saw their church, a dark and narrow building; before the altar stand four tall brass candlesticks; within the choir the fathers sit, and without sit the lay brothers. The fathers rise to their devotions at midnight, and are in the choir three hours; but then they sleep till seven or eight in the morning, when the masses begin. The cloister is a very long and narrow square; we went into one of their cells, which are not kept so neat as those we saw at *Venice*. At meal-time

several servants bring bread, wine, &c. and open a little window by the side of the cell-door, and there put in the provision. On *Fridays* they fast strictly, and this day we saw what they eat, viz. two or three spoonfuls of cold pease (boil'd) four or five pears, and a few stew'd prunes and raw plums, besides a small pittance of bread and wine, and at night they had no supper.

In the *Refectorium* are two tables, besides the prior's at the upper end; they dine here together only on *Sundays* and great festivals. In the general of the order's lodgings we observ'd the pictures of *S. Martin's* at *Naples*, the *Certrose* of *Pavia*, and the convent nigh *Avignon*, &c. places belonging to this order. In the chapel is an altar-piece of great value. In the chapter-room is a large picture, how seven of this order were executed for treason (they say for religion) in *Henry the VIIIth's* days in *England*. Cardinal *Richelieu* profess'd himself first of this order. The lodgings to entertain princes in are neat; the chapel there is within crusted over with marble.

We gave the cook a quart d'escue, and having eaten our break-fast, and written our names in a book kept by a porter, we mounted and rode back to *Grenoble* the same way we came.

The Saw-Mill at the *Grand Chartreuse*.

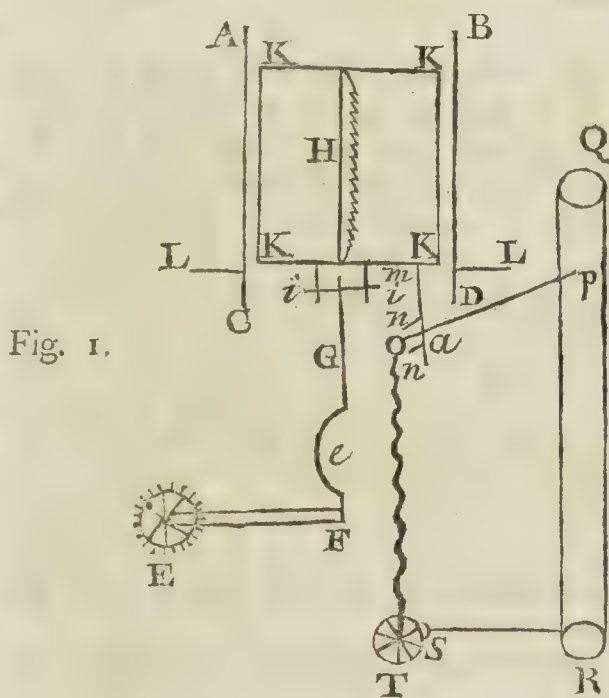


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. ABCD is a frame fixed in the middle of the floor LL; it stands perpendicular, and within it is another frame KKKK with the saw H, which is moved up and down by a perpendicular beam G, that is joined to the bottom of the saw at *ii*, and moved by an iron handle *e*, turned by

SKIPPON. by the water-wheel E and the horizontal axis F; at *m* (one side of the saw-frame) is fastened a piece of wood *ma*, with two short pieces of wood *nn*, between which rests the end of a long piece of wood O P. As the saw goes up and down, *ma* lifts up and down O P, and that moves a long beam (on the side of the mill-floor) Q R; as in

Fig. 2.

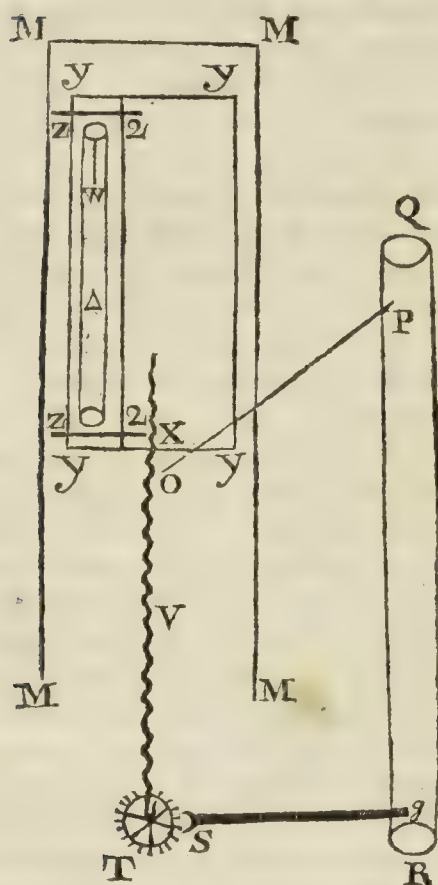


Fig. 2. When O P is lifted up, the long beam or axis Q R being a little moved, an iron *g S* with a crotch *S*, claps into one of the teeth of an iron wheel *T*, which hath a spiral axis of wood *V*, that enters at *X*, the middle of the horizontal frame *y y y y*, which is moved in the floor *M M M M* with a piece of timber *Δ* that lies fastened *y z*, *y z*, two iron screws *z z z z* passing through a long piece of wood *z z*, and the side of the frame *z z*. Suppose the saw begins to cut at *w*, the fore-mentioned spiral thrusts the horizontal frame *y y y y* with the timber every stroke, further and further from the iron wheel *T*.

We stayed in *Grenoble* till *Tuesday August 1*, and one day rode out, and after twice fording the river *Drac* (which makes a great wash) at a league's distance went over *Pont de Clef*, a large arch cross that river, where we paid one sol a man; a league further we passed through a large village called *Vif*, and about a league thence by *S. Bartholomew*, another village, and *Chasteau Bernard*, where we saw flame

breaking out of the side of a bank, which is vulgarly called *La Fontaine qui Brûle*; it is by a small rivulet, and sometimes breaks out in other places; just before our coming other strangers had fried eggs here. The soil hereabouts is full of a black stone like our coal, which perhaps is the continual fuel of this fire.

Tuesday August 1. We took boat for *Orange*, and went down the rivers *Ysere* and the *Rhône*; twenty crowns was given for the boat, and the passengers paid proportionably to the length of their journey, some more, some less. Mr. Ray and I paid four one-half quart d'escu a-piece. After we had left *Grenoble* three or four leagues, we durst not stir from the bank's side, a furious wind arising and stopping us for the space of an hour. Then nine leagues from *Grenoble* we arrived at our lodging in *La Faurie*, a village on the right side of the *Ysere*.

Wednesday August 2. At break of day we entered our boat, and at two leagues distance pass'd under a bridge with stone arches and a wooden penthouse over it; *Romans* a great walled place on the right hand; thence we went three leagues to the meeting of the *Ysere* and the *Rhône*, where we observed for a good space the *Ysere* kept itself unmingled with the *Rhône*, which was of a whitish colour and much troubled, the *Ysere* being much clearer and greenish. A league down the *Rhône* we landed at *Valence*, a poor city and university, situated on the left side of the river; afterwards we went on the *Vivaretz* and *Sevennes*, and passed by *Montlimer* on the left hand and *Viviers* on the right, both walled, tho' mean places: and at fourteen leagues from *La Faurie*, lodged at *Bourg*, a walled town on the right side of the river. Many peages and tolls paid by the boatmen as we came along.

Thursday August 3. After two leagues we came to *Pont S. Esprit*, a stately stone bridge with eighteen great arches, and four little ones; between every arch is a window. *Vide Golnitz's Itinerary*. It is curiously paved with square stones a hand broad; two coaches can go abreast on it; it is not made streight, but bending out against the stream thus:



The town of *S. Esprit* on the right hand is walled; a league further we landed at a peage or toll-place belonging to *Orange* (we might have landed a league nearer to *Orange*) where we gave 35 sols a-piece for a horse to carry our things thither. We walked about two leagues

leagues in a level and fruitful country to
 Orange. In *Valence*, *Bourg*, and other
 places, we observ'd measures of corn cut
 in stone, and little portals to let the corn
 out of them.

Orange is but a small and meanly built
 city, and the walls are not considerable;
 but there are out-works, which if well
 look'd after, would render it very strong,
 by reason of its situation in a plain. The
 castle is built on the highest end of a long
 ridge of a hill; it was formerly of greater
 strength, when it had walled bulwarks
 round about, which the *French* king in this
 prince of *Orange's* minority caused to be
 blown up with gunpowder, when at the
 same instant thirty (all *Roman* Catholics)
 were overwhelmed in the ruins. The go-
 vernor is count *De Dbona*; but his deputy or
 lieutenant is a *Frenchman* and a papist.
 Within the castle were now about an hun-
 dred soldiers, who civilly admitted us into the
 castle, and shewed us many great pieces of
 cannon, and their armory stored with arms
 enough for five thousand men. In the mid-
 dle of the castle is a very deep well of good
 water cut out of the rock.

Antiqui-
 ties.

C. Marius his arch, and *La Torre ronde*,
 are antiquities without the wall; on some
 of the ingravings of the arch was written
 BODVACVS. The *Circus* is a stately ruin
 within the wall. See *Golnitz*, and a little
 pamphlet of the antiquities of this place.

The people here are very civil, and of
 a much better humour than the *French*.
 When the *French* king had the city in
 his possession, many of the gentry turn'd
 papists.

The university is not considerable, ha-
 ving about four professors, and one of them
 is one *Guy* (I think) a *Scotchman*.

The *Roman* Catholics have now the
 use of the cathedral. The inhabitants of
 this principality are at least half Protestants,
 and who were sensible of the change of
 governors. On the tower of the *Maison*
de la Ville we saw many false weights
 nailed to the wall.

The prince hath a parliament here of
 both religions, and hath passed a publick
 amnestia of all offences, wherein he calls
 the king of *England* and the marquiss of
Brandenburg his uncles and tutors.

In a poor woman's house we saw an old
Roman pavement of *Mosaic* work, very cu-
 riously representing a cat with a rat
 in its mouth; round about were
 squares with this figure in the mid-
 dle of them.

Friday, August 4. Giving four livres and
 fifteen sols for three horses and a guide, we
 travelled a stony way two leagues, in a
 country where thyme, lavender, box, &c.
 grew plentifully; many mulberry and olive

trees planted in the fields. We passed by *Chasteau-neuf* on the right hand of us, and
 a league further ferry'd the river *La Nasque*,
 paying for each horse one sol; a league
 thence, riding nigh the *Rhofne*, we entered
Avignon at *Port S. Lazare*, upon which *Avignon*.
 gate was written,

Clave Petri tuta.

Having shewed our bolletins of health
 which we took at *Grenoble*, leaving our fire-
 arms with the guard, and taking a note to
 lodge in the city, we came to a sign of a
 town called *St. Flour*, where we lay till
Monday the 7th of *August*.

In the cathedral, a small church situated
 on the rocks nigh the windmills, we saw an
 ancient monument of *Benedictus XII.* pope,
 a miller's son. The palace is adjoining,
 guarded by soldiers. *Obigi* cardinal *Padrone*
 is legate and governor, and *Monf. Colum-*
nia is vice-legate; who (they said) was sud-
 denly to be removed, because he had given
 some suspicion to the *French* king, by ma-
 king a kind of fort before the palace gate,
 and laying up good store of corn. On the
 outside of the palace, where the prison is,
 are pictured, hanging by the heels, the
 chief of the late rebellion against the pope;
 and in the *Bando* two hundred pistoles are
 promised to any that can bring the head
 of any one of them: these rebels live in
 safety at *Villeneuve*, a place t'other side of the
 bridge, just cross the *Rhône*, which belongs
 to the *French* king, who hath threatened
 to burn alive any that shall offer to lay
 hands on them. *Monsignor Lomellino* is
 the new vice-legate.

The *Dominicans* church is a large build-
 ing of one arch.

The *Cordeliers* church is larger; in the
Sacristia they shewed us a round leaden
 box with a leaden medal, plain on one side,
 and on the other the figure of *Laura*, and
 these letters, M. L. M. I. which is inter-
 preted by some, *Madonna Laura morta jace*.
 This medal, with *Italian* verses on her,
 written by *Petrarch*, in a neat character,
 was found in that box lying at her breast
 when *Francis I.* took up her body, who
 also made verses on her in *French*, which
 are kept with the others. In an obscure
 chapel we saw her tomb-stone.

In *St. Martial's* church we searched for
Casmir king of *Poland's* monument; but
 could not be informed where it was. Nigh
 the altar is a very stately tomb, that reaches
 almost to the top of the church, and below
 lies the figure of a bishop, and over
 him our Saviour and the apostles effigies,
 and so upwards are many handsome marble
 figures.

SKIPPON. The *Celestines* church hath a marble relievo altar, which they say is but of one piece, having many figures in it. The picture of a skeleton drawn by king *Rena-tus*, who gave the altar. In the middle of the choir is a handsome monument of *Cle-mens VII.* pope. In a long chapel adjoining is the legend pictured of *S. Peter of Luxenbourg*, &c. *Vide Golnitz.*

The coining-house is opposite to the palace, and hath a new and fair front.

Jesuits. The *Jesuits* have a pretty chapel, and an indifferent *studium*; in the area of it are dials, with directions to know what it is o'clock in such cities as are under kings, and in such as are under commonwealths; the one is call'd *Horologium Regium*, the other *Aristocraticum*, in which they have placed *Geneva*.

The gate on the *Rhône* side is open every day, but besides that, there is but one more open at a time, and that they change every week. About seven hundred *Italian* soldiers in the city. Here are some palaces and good houses, but the generality of the buildings are mean, and the streets narrow; the inhabitants fear every night the rogues should creep in at their windows.

Monday, August 7. Giving fifteen livres of *France*, we hired three horses and a postilion, who guided us first over the long bridge at *Avignon* cross the *Rhône*, which bridge is intire on the city side, but broke on the side of *France*, and repaired with wood: It seems to have been a *Roman* work, is built of stone, and paved (though now much defaced) like that at *S. Esprit*, and it is more bending against the stream. Some way on the bridge stands a sentinel, and the *Avignon* searchers lodge there, to stop and inquire into merchants goods. When we were almost over the bridge, our postilion paid about one sol a horse. At the end of the bridge is *Villeneuve*, a village; and a little way thence, on the river side *S. André*, a strong place of the *French* king's. Leaving these places behind us, (without entering them) we rode among some vineyards, and then travell'd a stony way over little hills till we came by *Remoulin*, a small wall'd place; about a short *English* mile thence we arriv'd at *Pont du Guard*, a stately antiquity, well design'd by *Dr. Bargrave*, and describ'd in *Golnitz* and *Deyron's* antiquities of *Nismes*. A league from hence we dined at *Sesignan*, a small village, and in the afternoon rode a direct and level way between olive fields, (the olive-trees were much mortified by the extremity of the last winter) and after three leagues riding arrived at the *Lutzenbourg*, a good inn without the city of *Nismes*.

Pont du Guard.

Nismes.

We saw the amphitheatre, the outside whereof is very intire, and is two stories high; the steps or seats are ruin'd, and the *Arena* fill'd with houses: Over the great entrance are two half bulls in stone, and on the outside is a wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*, also a *Triplex Priapus*, or *Penis* wing'd, and the figure of a woman holding by a bridle.

In a private house we saw eagles excellently well made in stone; a double statue of a woman having two bodies and four legs; it was made without a head, but now they have fix'd on it the head of an old man; some will have this to be the statue of *Geryon*, but *Deyron* contradicts it.

A small piazza, call'd *Place de Salamandre*, from a pillar with a salamander upon it.

La Maison Quarre is a fair antiquity within the city, being one pile of building, adorn'd with statues, pillars, &c.

Without the port *De la Couronne* are many old inscriptions, and an ancient statue with his hands upon his head.

A little walk without the town we saw the ruins of the temple of *Diana*, which is under the side of a rock, and close by is *Fons Dianæ*, which first makes a deep pond, and sends water enough to furnish all the gardens of the city; in winter or any rainy season it overflows very much.

La Torre Grande, on the top of a hill, is a ruin'd tower of the old *Roman* wall; in other places are seen the ruins of the old wall.

The circuit of this city was but two thousand paces less than *Rome*, and was built formerly upon seven hills.

The front of the cathedral is adorn'd with ancient carving.

A large plain or level round the town, except on one side, where several hills run along in a hill.

The *Splanade* is an open walk without *Port de la Couronne*, sometimes frequented by a great deal of company.

In the *Maison de la Ville* are kept two or three crocodiles (dead), which are the arms of *Nismes*, and signify their founders came out of *Ægypt*.

A new inscription here to *Chigi*, cardinal *Padrone*,

Felicissimo adventui Eminentissimi Cardinalis Legati Chigii, publicum suæ fidei monumentum Nemausi Nobilis quondam Romanorum Coloniae Consules posuere.

In a court of this *Maison de la Ville* is erected on two pillars against the wall the monument

monument of *Dandolo*, the general of the Protestants.

The Protestants of this city are three parts of four, and they had two temples, but one is lately pull'd down: Every morning they have a sermon, and in the afternoon prayers: On *Sundays* they have four sermons: They have three burying places without the walls; and they had a college and professors, but now the Jesuits are masters: The Protestants have a bell to ring them to church.

We met here with two *English* gentlemen, viz. Mr. *Alred* and Mr. *Parker* of *Montmouthshire*.

Wednesday, Aug. 9. Paying four livres a piece for places in a coach of return, we travell'd four leagues to *Lunelle*, where we dined, and four leagues further arriv'd at *Montpelier*: About a league from the city we had very sandy way, the rest was pretty good, except now and then stony.

Friday, Aug. 11. We took two chambers and paid five crowns a month; and pensioned, i. e. dined at *Madam Mignot's* for ten crowns a month more.

These *Englishmen* were at *Montpelier* while we staid there: My lord *Clinton* the earl of *Lincoln's* son, Mr. *Withers* his governor; Sir *Thomas Crew*, lord *Crew's* son; two Mr. *Harveys*, with one *Spirito Rubatti*, (uncle to him at *Geneva*) Mr. *Peter Vivian*, fellow of *Trinity college* in *Cambridge*; Mr. *Martyn Lyster*, fellow of *St. John's college*, *ibid.* Mr. *Ward*, student of *Christchurch*; Mr. *Whitcombe*, Mr. *Tanner*, Mr. *Spicer*, of the *Temple*; Mr. *Sampson*, formerly fellow of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*; Mr. *Jessop*; earl of *Alisbury*, and lord *Bruce* his eldest son, with a great train, his lady and daughters being with him; Mr. *Havers*, formerly of *Trinity college*; Mr. *Ol. St. John*, formerly lord chief justice, who went by the name of *Monsieur Montagne*, and his lady; Mr. *Ellock*; Mr. *Abdy*; Dr. *Downes*; Mr. *Poley*; Dr. *Croone*; Mr. *Hewlett*; Dr. *Moulins*, a *Scotchman*; Mr. *Norwood*; Mr. *Deane*; Mr. *Dashwood*, and Dr. *Jeanes*.

At *Montpelier* they play at mall in the highways; the players agree first how far to play, and what stone, &c. to touch, which is the usual *terminus* of this sport: *A.* that strikes first, plays the pair, *B.* plays *le plus*, but if *B.* strikes beyond *A.* then *A.* plays *le plus*; if *B.* gets another stroke, *A.* plays at two, and *B.* rests at one, &c.

Verdet or Verdigrase is made here in great quantity, after this manner: They first put wine into the bottom of a great earthen pot, and then fix two or three sticks cross, upon which they lay pieces of copper, and on them grape stalks well sprinkled with vinegar, and so *stratum super*

stratum, and the pot is shut close for five days; then they scrape off the verdet, and sell it for eight sols a pound.

Wednesday, Aug. 30. We rode out four leagues, and dined at *Frontignan*, a little wall'd place situated by the estang or lake, (in the middle of which is an island with the ruins of the bishop of *Montpelier's* house) and in a fertile soil under the hills, (warm'd by the south sun) which afford the noted rich *Moschato* wine of *Frontignan*. Here may sometimes be bought good *Barbary* horses. At a quarter of a league distance from *Frontignan* we forded the estang, and then rode along the beach, between the estang and the sea, to a cape call'd *Monfleti*, (one league from *Frontignan*) where rare plants grow, viz. *Uva marina*, *Alypum M. Ceti*, &c. On this promontory the *French king* is designing a fort to defend vessels in the haven or port. We forded the estang again, and found all along great store of *Androsace Matthioli*; then rode by the shore side, and at night took up our lodgings at the baths of *Balerue*, one league from *M. Ceti*, (vulg. *Cap de Cete*).

Thursday, Aug. 31. We went two small leagues, and dined at the post-house in *Loupian*; and three leagues further cross'd the river *Herault*, by passing a bridge, and towards the evening arriv'd at *Pezenas*, and lodg'd at the charrue.

This is a very pretty city, and well built; three pleasant fountains in the streets, and in the great street a handsome walk in the middle for the citizens to walk in. About 160 Protestants live here, who go to sermon at *Montagnac*. The meeting of the states of *Languedoc* is often at this city, near which the prince of *Conti*, governor of *Languedoc*, hath a pretty grange or country house.

Friday, Sept. 1. We return'd by *Montagnac*, and two leagues from *Pezenas* pass'd by the abbey of *Ville magne*, and came through a town of the same name, and two leagues further dined at *Montbazene*: In the afternoon leaving the hilly and stony way, we had better road two leagues to *Verune*, noted for the making of good butter; and a league thence came back to *Montpelier*.

A league from *Montpelier* we saw a little pond, which is call'd *Bonill d' Eau*, because the water seems to boil up in several places; it has a vitriol taste, and when there is water in the neighbouring ditches, the same taste is in them: This pond did not run over, tho' always in motion.

The *Passerie* or making of raisins was now begun in these parts, which is after this manner: They take a bunch of grapes and

SKIPPOW.

Frontignan.

Montpelier.

Pezenas.

Passerie.

SKIPPON.

and steep them in boiling lixivium till the skins crack, then dip them in cold water, and hang them abroad till they are sufficiently dried: They put oil into the boiling lixivium. *Vide Job. Baubini Hist. Plant.*

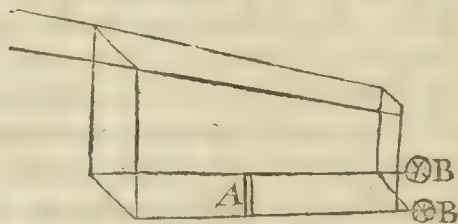
White
wax.

White wax is thus made here: They first take the yellow wax, and melt it over a furnace; then dip in it a conical mould of wood, like a block for a steeple-crown'd hat, (daub'd over with the juice of snails, to keep the wax from sticking to it) and immediately pop it into cold water, which congeals the wax into a conical figure: After this they expose these cones of wax to the weather and hot sun in a pav'd court, for 15 days or a month's space, more or less, sometimes sprinkling water upon it; when 'tis changing to white, they purify it in a second furnace, (the dirt and dregs remaining at the bottom) and then they take it out with a pot that has a spout to pour it withal into cold water, the fellow with his left hand shaping it into



a hollow spiral, like this figure, or rather like the *Bracciale* they play at *Baloone* with: Afterwards they expose it at first to the sun and air, where it is perfectly whitened. Some workmen went into *England* to make white wax, but found that air not agreeable for it. In the summer-time they constantly water the wax, but in the winter, &c. the dews, &c. suffice.

This is a weeding engine in the king's physick garden: At A is a sharp iron that



cuts up grafts, as the engine runs on the wheels BB.

Physick
garden.

The physick garden is well enough describ'd in *Golnitz*; it is divided, for flowers, the sempervirent plants, &c. into several partitions: That wherein the professor shews plants in is long and narrow, having four beds in it, where every plant hath its number, which makes it easy to the learner, when he has the name and the figure where the plant grows. Dr. *Chiquenau* is botanick professor, and chancellor of the university; but Dr. *Magnole*, a young man, is a better herbarist. One *Swecker*, an apothecary's son of *Dantzick*, collected and dried all the plants about *Montpelier*, and was here at this time. About 1300 plants grow hereabouts.

Dr. *Haguenot* is a physician of great practice.

Dr. *Soligniac* is reputed a learned man.

Dr. *Jollie* is a protestant, and a very ingenious person, and civil to the *English*.

Dr. *Berberack* is a good physician.

The winter weather lasts not long, but is pretty sharp for the season: The summer here is very hot: When the wind comes off the hills in the *Sevennes*, which lie northward, they account it wholesome to be abroad in the air; but when it comes from the sea or south, few will stir out of their houses; the reason must be the stagnant waters between *Montpelier* and the sea.

Montpelier is a city bigger than *Geneva*; the streets are generally narrow, but the houses high, some of which are built of stone. No piazza besides two or three small market-places, nigh *Notre Dame*, (an indifferent church); and the street before the *White Horse* inn, is large. The *Canourg* is throng'd every fair summer night with the gentry, &c. it is about the bigness of the trill at *Geneva*; a church was erecting in this very place, as appears by the foundations begun, but it was not brought to perfection, because the king was jealous it might command the town, it being on a high ground.

The poor people about *Montpelier* wear wooden shoes in the winter-time, which they call *Sabou*.

The *Splanade* is a large void space between the town and the citadel, which is not very considerable. The city is seated on a rising ground, and has no river nearer than an *English* mile, (in the road to *Nismes*) at *Castelneuf*.

The number of the inhabitants may be Protestants about 25,000, some said 21,000, according to a late account; 7000 of them are Hugonots or Protestants, who have two temples where they have sermons every morning: *Lord's-days* after dinner little boys answered their catechisms with much confidence. The elders sit about the pulpit, the women in the middle of the church, and the men round about in galleries and other seats. There are very great congregations, that give good attention in sermon-time; but when the chapters are reading before sermon, not a word can be heard by reason of loud talking, and many were so irreverent as to have their hats on while they sung psalms. Before any reading of chapters, if they stay any time, some or other in the congregation will begin and set a psalm, which the rest join in. After sermon the collectors receive peoples charity at the door, the third part whereof belongs to the ministers.

The second of *November* a fast was kept very strictly here, all the Hugonots shutting their shops, and without refreshing themselves at dinner-time, remain'd the whole day in the temples: The people whisperingly

ingly repeat the minister's prayers, not omitting the blessing. The protestants have a burying-place without the city, and bury their dead either betimes in the morning or after sun-set, the king of late years not suffering them to accompany the corpse at any other time; 30 persons is the greatest number that can go along with it; the women are troublesome when they go, because they howl and cry in a strange manner.

By some late edicts of the king, none, upon pain of death, can turn Protestants, that were first Protestants and after that Roman Catholicks. As severe an edict I was told was published against any monk or other ecclesiastick that shall turn Protestant.

The ministers that preach here, are, 1. *Burdeü*, formerly an *Augustine* monk, he preaches after the puritanical way in England, 2. *Bertau*, 3. *Eustace*, 4. *Chouin*, 5. *Carfenac*.

Customs.

Serenades are sets of violins that play in the night under ladies windows, their gallants going along with the fiddlers.

The roots of *Napus Sativus* make good pottage.

In the vintage time the people are very busy early and late, and many presses are at work in the streets; but the grapes are first trodden before they be pressed. Vines in *Languedoc* and *Provence* grow without supporters, in large fields, and the trunks of them are cut pretty close to the ground.

Green olives slit with a knife, and steeped in soap four or five days, then removed into salt and water, are served up to table; the ordinary way is salt and water alone, but those are not so soon fit to eat: Ripe olives are prepared in the same manner.

Many perfumes, essences and confections are made in this city. The queen of *Hungary's* water is spirit of wine distilled with rosemary flowers: Oil of cloves is made *per descensum*, viz. Take a bolt head, and upon that or any other such vessel put a cloth with cloves in it, and over them a brown paper, and then lay a copper plate with coals.

The prices of butchers meat are set by the consuls every two years, and all sorts of fish are sold at set rates, except soles. If one buys a swine, and finds it infected with the measles, he may return it back again, for it is forbid under a great penalty.

The women here are esteemed handsome; but the generality of the people are swarthy, and many of the women paint. The widows of the meaner sort wear a black hat of this shape: 

The language of the vulgar is called *Patois*, very difficult for strangers and those born about *Paris* to understand, being a

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mixture of *French*, *Spanish*, and *Italian*; SKIPPON. as may be observed by the following words and phrases therein;

Peccare! Ah Paura! Ques à quo. A Dieu Seas. Dieus vous le donne. Cavalisco. Pottone. Fullou. Fumée. Fringare. Scarabigliato. Cad. Began.

The *Scholæ Placentinæ* are the law-Scholæ schools. Placentinæ.

The building of the schools is very mean. In one we saw the creation of a doctor of physick; the professor first made a speech, then musick played, after that the new doctor was adorned with a chain, and the girdle, and kissed, &c. then musick again, and the new doctor made his speech, then musick again; then he gave the professors, &c. thanks, and musick played once more: Clapping of hands was the students applause: The new-created doctor had a black gown and purple cap, and the professor had a purple gown and cap: The new doctor went up and down the town with the musick before him, and a beadle with the mace, a professor on each side of him, and a troop of scholars at his heels: In the school or room where he was created hang the pictures of many *Montpelier* physicians; 17 publick exercises must be performed before you attain the decree of a doctor. There were several women present while the solemnity was of creating this doctor.

Every stranger gives 20 sols to see an anatomy. Dr. *Chiquenau* is the present reader.

The anatomy theatre is a building that stands alone in a garden; it hath stone seats, and over the door are stones carved with a lion devouring a woman. They shew here *Rablais's* robe, which is now an old piece of scarlet. Anatomy theatre.

Within the citadel is a large square, built round with soldiers lodgings: It hath four bastions, and but slight ditches. A fair piece of cannon, with *Carolus V.* written on it. Citadel.

Marquis *De Vards*, governor of *Aguej-mortes*, captain of 100 *Switzers*, and formerly nigh the king's person, is now prisoner here, and hath been for above five months; his refusing to take madam *Vernouille*, the king's mistress, to be his wife, being supposed his greatest crime.

We walked a long league to *Villeneuve*, a small walled place, and a little beyond took boat and landed in *Magellone*, a ruined palace, which was formerly the seat of the bishop, who has now his palace at *Montpelier*. The church is still intire; over the entrance into it is represented our Saviour, and the four animals the evangelists

SKIPPOON. are known by, and the figures of S. Peter and S. Paul rudely shaped in basso relievo. These rhymes we found here;

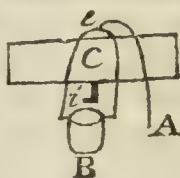
—† *Ad portum Vite Sitientes quique Venite
Has Intrando fores vestros componite mores.
Hic intrans ora tua semper crimina plora
Quicquid peccatur lacrymarum fonte lavatur.*
An. Inc. D. MCLXXVIII. —†

In the *Maison de la Ville* at Montpelier are fair rooms, where are pictures of the consuls made every year, and the king that reigns is drawn in the same picture. In a great room chirurgions are made masters after a solemn manner, with music, &c.

Gilibert's cabinet. The cabinet of Monsieur Gilibert, an apothecary, has several remarkables in it, viz. the skin of a lynx, a mummy, the horn of the ibex, minerals, shells, animals, &c.

Cabinet at the Jesuits college. At the *Jesuits* college is one *Frere Rocket*, apothecary to the society, who shewed us his cabinet, viz. a whole dolphin; fishes, shells, skins, and skeletons of animals; four or five skins of flammands; a model of the strong fort of *Roses*, and the castle *De la Tritat* in *Catalonia*; the true *Balsamum*; a bottle with a narrow top, which had a cock, when turned, would spring water up a great height; a printed picture, which if held obliquely to the light, seemed painted with various colours: He hath a pretty garden of simples. We observed the manner of drawing water out of a well here; a handle turns an axis, the motion whereof is eased by a nut and a wheel with cogs and when the bucket came up to the top, an iron turned the water out into a cistern;

A is the rope fastned at e to the bucket B, which mounting up to the iron i, is turned, and the water falls into the cistern C.



A vine crosses through a chamber, and afterwards branches and bears fruit; a triangular stick, he would have had us believed the hugonots of the *Sevennes* used to force the catholicks into their temples with.

M. Relle. One Monsieur Relle makes good microscopes, thro' which we saw cheesemites, small sand, &c. on polished cylinders we saw the picture of a chair, *Carlo Borromæo*, &c. reflected from the pictures drawn on paper: This man drew with his own hand two very exact terrestrial globes, the biggest as large as both a man's fists: He sells perspectives for three pistoles apiece.

I

Monsieur Baldafti, a chymist, told us M. Baldafti. he could do strange things, which he solemnly attested to be true, viz. That he could prepare a substance that should look like a real fruit, (and be yellow within) about the bigness of a button or tartusle; this afterwards he can digest into a liquor that should breed living serpents: He bragged he could discover the name of any plant only by seeing the fixed salt of it; if 4000 were brought one after another, he could distinguish them: That out of the beams of the sun he could make a substance should at first be a water, then a gum, and at last a crystal, which, if carried in one's pocket in rainy weather, would represent a rainbow, &c. He said that *Petroleum* is the same with the oil of jett: He had an universal liquor which will produce any plant out of its fixed salt.

The *Patoûlle* is a night watch of 40 or 50 townsmen, that walk the streets about midnight.

In *Languedoc* and *Provence* are two ways of setting vines, 1. à l'aguille, i. e. planting the vine upright, which is the more lasting, for sometimes they continue 40, 50, or 60 years; 2. The other way is by putting a vine twig at the middle into the ground, and the two ends of it to lay out; this will bear grapes soonest, but is not of so long continuance as the other.

I had two receipts from Monf. Verchand, apothecary at Montpelier, the translation of which is as follows:

To make grey Cyprus Powder.

Take the moss which grows on the branches of the holm or scarlet oak tree, (in Latin, *ilex coccigera*, or *quercus*) and wash it several times in common water, till the smell of the moss is quite gone: then steep it in equal quantities of rose water, and orange-flower water, and put it to drain in some high place, where the sun does not come, often stirring it; when 'tis very dry, reduce it to a very fine powder, and with every pound weight of the powder mingle a dram of good musk, and half the quantity at least of civit.

N. B. It must be steeped three or four times in the rose water and orange-flower water, and be dried each time.

To make a paste for perfuming chambers.

Take the roots of iris of Florence, cypress and Calamus Aromaticus, of each half an ounce; dried red roses, sweet marjoram, cloves, cinnamon, of each two drams; storax benjamin, and labdanum, of each an ounce; reduce all to a fine powder, except the storax, benjamin, and labdanum, which beat together

ther in a brass mortar made very hot, with an iron pestle; and when these are melted, mix them with the powder formed of the other ingredients, and put the whole mass into a perfuming pan of copper: As for amber, musk, and civet, you may put in what quantity you please.

M. Steno. Monsieur Steno, a Dane, was at this time in Montpelier, and he is very happy in some anatomical discoveries, viz. the *Ductus Salivaris* from the *Parotides* to the middle of the cheek: We were present at his dissection of an ox's head, and observed a blade of grass that was forced up that *Ductus*: In a man the *Ductus* lies streight, but in a beast oblique.

One Monsieur Lort makes counterfeit amethysts, topazes, emeralds and sapphires, which have very good colour, and by some esteemed the best of that kind. At his house we saw the experiment of *atramentum penetrans*, and learnt that yellow oker burnt proves a red bolus: The *Turcois* stone is naturally white, but by fire is turned blue; and by this art a bishop of Cominge got a vast sum of money: *Fluor Smaragdi*, heated in a pan of coals, and afterwards put into a dark place, shines very much: At the same time several other stones were tried, but did not shine.

Dancing
on the
ropes.

We saw here a *Valachian* walk up a sloping rope, then he danced on a streight rope as high as the top of a tennis court; after that he danced with two naked swords, one tied cross the right, and the other cross the left leg; then he had two ropes tied to his feet, and a boy hanging by the middle in those ropes was swung to and fro as he walked up the high streight rope; at last he cut capers, and stood upon his head on the top of a pole as high as the tennis court roof.

A Dutchman danced without a pole in his hand on a lower rope, and three or four times slipt down and straddled the rope, and up again presently on his feet; he also cut high capers.

Another fellow tumbled upon a bending rope.

Another on a scaffold threw himself backward, and lighted on his feet; he threw himself through three hoops which were held up as high as his head, but he had the advantage of a sloping board, which he ran up, before he went through the hoops; he made use of the same advantage when he tumbled over a boy's head, who sat upon a tall fellow's shoulders, the boy's head was higher than he could reach with his hands.

Dec. 7. We began our journey into *Provence*, hiring two horses and a guide for five livres a day while we travelled, and

four livres a day when we rested. On the left hand we had *Castres*, where *Monf. De Castres*, governor of *Montpelier*, hath a house; and three leagues from *Montpelier* passed by *Lunelle Vielle*; and a half league further to *Lunelle Neufe*, a large village; and half a league further we arrived at *Pont Lunelle*, and lay there this night.

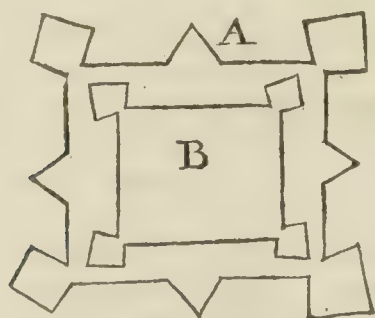
Dec. 8. We passed between *Galliargues* and *Lesmargues*, (*argues* signifies *ager*) and afterwards had *Beauvoizin* on our left hand, and four leagues from *Pont Lunelle* we dined at *S. Gilles*. The first part of our journey in the morning was in a cultivated level country, but the latter part was hilly and full of shrubs. In the afternoon, nigh *S. Gilles*, we ferried the *Petit Rhône*, paying one solmarque and three liards, horse and man; then rode three leagues (crossing the *Camarque*) to *Arles*, where each of us gave one sol for passing the bridge of boats cross the great branch of the *Rhône*. The *Camarque* is an island leagues in compass, belongs to *Arles*, and nigh the city is planted with vines, and is well cultivated: They feed great store of sheep on it: It is much like our fens, and no pebbles or great stones are found in it, which is the more taken notice of, because on the other (*Provence*) side of the river is the *Crau*, or *Campi Lapidei*, covered thick with them: The *Camarque* gets often upon the sea, as appears by the several watch-towers that formerly stood on the shore, and are now within the land.

Dec. 9. Nigh the walls of *Arles* we rode thro' a place where great number of antient christian monuments lay; and beyond them we passed by an aqueduct, which (a little above a furlong from the city) receives water brought in a channel from the river *Durance*, (four or five leagues distance) which runs into the *Rhône* a little below *Avignon*; then we travelled between inclosures, which were planted with vines, olive trees, &c. and dined at *S. Martin de Crau*, (three leagues from *Arles*) an inn that stands alone in the *Crau*, or *Campi Lapidei*: After dinner we went three leagues more in the same stone level, or *Crau*, and near *S. Martin* passed by an ilex wood, and two leagues from our inn rode by *La Tour d'Entrecens*, having some wood about it, and nigh it a small lake of salt water. When we were cross this plain, we mounted a craggy country, and then came down into a narrow valley set with vines, and the sides of the hills planted with olives: We had on our right hand a castle called *Miramas*, seated on a steep rock, and four leagues from *S. Martin de Crau* lodged in *S. Chamas*, a large village, a great part whereof is built

SKIPPON. built on each side of a high and long ridge, many of the houses having rooms within the hills, and chambers quite through; at the bottom of the ridge is a subterraneous passage, or way cut from one side to the other, like the passage through *M. Pausilippus* nigh *Naples*: The earth is of a crumbling substance, and more easily therefore to be cut through than that; so of my ordinary paces long this passage, and broad enough for two carts to go a-breast: One side of this town looks on the *Martiques*, a large branch or *sinus* of sea water.

Dec. 10. We rode on the side of the *Martiques* in a level ground, and ferried the *Larc*, and four leagues from *S. Chamas* dined at the griffin: Thence we mounted to a village on the top of a hill, and afterwards went rocky way, and four leagues from our dining place we arrived at *Marfeilles*; where at our entrance the guard asked our names, and the country we were of.

This city is situated under hills, which are thick built with *Bastides*, or summer-houses, most used by the citizens in plague time; the common report is there are 24000 of them, but on a more modest computation, there are not above 6000. *Marfeilles* is large and well built; the streets handsome, but kept somewhat nastily: A long and broad key, where in clear evenings a multitude of people walk, and all day long is frequented by merchants, seamen, &c. A great number of barks and some ships lay within the port, and 13 *French* gallies lay here. The port is oval, but not large as that at *Messina*, and the entrance is not above four ships breadth, which is shut up by a chain. A new citadel begun five or six years ago is on one side of it, which we were denied entrance into because we were *English*, but we had a full view of it without; it is built of stone, and hath very thick walls.



A the middle building higher than B.

Many workmen are now employed in a work that will line all the entrance into the port; there will be three bastions, one just at the mouth of the port, within it a portico, and lodgings for soldiers, and an

open place to discipline in; below the soldiers chambers they lodge in is a fair vault, where the lower tire of guns are to be placed, and above is another fair platform. From hence they intend to make a passage by a draw-bridge to the other citadel. On that side is a room under an old tower, where the intendants of health sit and examine such as come by sea: All letters and money brought from places suspected to have the plague, are first put into vinegar; but corn and fish may be unladed without staying a quarantine, for we observed a *French* boat newly arrived from *Tunis* unlading of corn. The entrance into this port is bad, and in stormy weather sometimes ships come in so suddenly, that they break the chain before they can have time to draw it up. On the upper part of the city are 18 windmills, and on the same side with the citadel, on the top of a hill, is an old fort. Two gallies and a galliot now building here. Just before the port, and about a league off, are two large islands; 1. *S. Estienne au isle de Ratoneau*; 2. *S. Jean ou isle d'If*: at these islands ships make their quarantine, and two small *English* vessels were now there. The publick houses of office bring much profit to those that rent them. The pilot of the galley royal wears the king's picture in a gold medal.

S. Victor is an old abbey near the city, *S. Victor*, where there is nothing of remark besides a chapel under ground, which *S. Magdalene* hath made famous among the pilgrims. In the cloister they shew the marks of the devil's claws, on a pillar nigh a well he went down into.

About eight years ago the king was here in person, but being much displeased with the town, refused to enter the gates, but commanded a breach to be made in the wall, which is not yet made up, and where at present most people go in and out: At the same time the king gave order for the razing the house of Monsieur *Glandevede Nevizeles*, who was suspected as chief of the discontents, and a pillar of infamy is erected where his house stood. He lives now at *Barcelona*.

Ludov. XIII. &c. Sub cujus Imperio summa Libertas, was inscribed on the gate of the city that is now pulled down. On one side of this city are some suburbs, having an open place under one part of the walls. Few hugonots live here. The great trade of this place is the carrying out five sol pieces, and selling them in the *Levant*, eight or nine for a dollar. They export soap from hence. He that is consul of the *English* nation hath ten dollars every *English* ship that comes into this port, and one *per cent.* for the goods sold here.

Two

English
merchants Two Mr. Warrens, Mr. Long, Mr. Hill,
Mr. Colston, Mr. Williams, Mr. Stanly,
lately arriv'd here from *Alicant*.

Dec. 13. We rode one league and an half in a pleasant and fruitful valley, passing by several paper-mills, and had on our right hands *S. Marcell*. One league and an half further we travell'd in the same valley watered by the river *Vucaune*, and dined at the *Blackmoor's head* in *Aubagne*, whence we had good way for a short league between the craggy tops of hills; then we began to mount stony and steep ascents, riding thro' pine-woods, where we observed the bark of the pines cut off on one side for about the height of a man; and at the bottom of the trees, a hollow made to receive the melted rosin.

Three leagues from *Aubagne* we descended to a solitary inn, call'd *La maison Brûlée*, where we drank good *Vin Cuit*, and had handsome as well as reasonable entertainment.

Dec. 14. We rode about half a league, and came thro' a village called *Bausset*, pass'd a good valley, and then travell'd a pav'd way between steep rocks, where we took a watchman along with us, who conducted us by the walls of *Olliotes*, a place infected some months before with the plague. A good distance beyond the town the watchman left us, and there we saw several watchmen that look'd after such as came to buy and sell, that they should not come too near those of *Olliotes*, who pour'd the oil they sold, thro' long channels of wood. Here are very large and fair olive grounds, and some orange gardens. Capers grow hereabouts, being planted in the sides of ditches and walls, and planted in rows like vines in fields. A short league from hence we arrived at *Toulon*, riding thro' a good country. We rode this day two leagues and an half.

Toulon.

Toulon is a city somewhat bigger than *Leghorn*, situated on a level ground, and strongly defended by bastions towards the land, and hath but two gates. The key is fair, and about a quarter of an *English* mile long, very streight; and all the houses on the key are of an equal height. In the middle of the key is the admiral's lodging. There is a handsome and broad street where markets are kept, and a piazza to sell corn in: another streight street. The inner port is about half the bigness of that at *Marseilles*, and the entrance is narrow and chained. Men of war and ships of great burthen can come in. Without this is another large port or safe bay, surrounded by a ridge of hills, and the entrance into that is commanded by a castle or block-house. At this time

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The port.

almost all the *French* king's ships of war belonging to this (*Mediterranean*) sea, were in port, the duke of *Beaufort* being newly arrived from *Tunis*, where he had concluded a peace, and the report was; he had order to go out again to negotiate the like with those of *Algiers*, or to meet an *English* Squadron sailing into the *Mediterranean*. The men of war belonging to this sea are twenty-two. The admiral named *Philip* carries 72 guns, and hath about 700 men aboard. Six new bottoms were now upon the stilts, and one of them may possibly be launch'd the next summer; but the rest will hardly be finished in some years, unless more workmen be employed. Four or five of these ships are esteem'd able to engage in a battle; but the rest of them, if our *English* seamen may be believ'd, are not considerable. *Chevalier De Paul* is reputed a good soldier, but no skilful seaman. *Marquis De Martel* is another *French* captain; was formerly a slave in *Barbary*, and there learn'd the *Turish* cruelty, which he now exercises on all the prisoners he takes. Some say the *French* on the *Mediterranean* understand little of navigation, and that the best pilots and seamen are fetch'd from west *France*: but others say, that the *Provençals* are the best seamen in *France*.

Strangers are willingly receiv'd into the *French* sea-service, and about eighty *English* seamen were now aboard their men of war; but they hearing of the difference between *England* and *France* are resolv'd not to fight against their countrymen: yet some few have been prevail'd with, by fair persuasions, or by fear of undergoing a little longer the extremities of hunger, &c. to enter into the *French* service. Others seem'd very constant and resolute against all temptations.

The *French* men of war, two months ago, brought in two *English* vessels that were trading with *Tunis*, and sunk another that made resistance, killing twelve or thirteen *Frenchmen*, and wounding about thirty-five. The *English* master and all his men were saved, except two slain outright, and a boy that died afterwards. The master and his men were brought in hither: the ship's name was the *Genoa* merchant of thirty-five guns.

Two ships of *Beaufort's* fleet, with a *English* fire-ship, met also nigh *Tunis*, captain shipstaken by the *French*. *Deacons* in a merchant ship of 28 guns and 40 men, who was in company with a little vessel of *Plymouth*, one *Symmonds* master. The *French* desired *Deacons* to come aboard them, promising on their honour he should be safely return'd into his

SKIPFON. his own ship again. These fair tho' false words, and his ignorance of any quarrel between the two crowns, prevail'd so far as to bring him into one of their vessels, where having sometime discoursed with them about news, he desired leave to return into his own ship, which they perfidiously denied, and told him in a rough manner, He must go along with them to *Toulon*. And because he would not give order for his men to leave their ship, three soldiers threatned violence by presenting their swords points to his breast. The *French* ships perceiving the *English* to make away, presently overtook them (the *English* vessels being laden with currans from *Zant*, and bound for *England*) and forced the men out of them: then the *French* pretending a performance of their solemn promise, sent captain *Deacons* aboard his own ship with forty or fifty *French*, and half a score *English*, who had once thoughts of carrying the ship away when they were out of sight of the rest; but the *French* outnumber'd them too much. *Deacons* said, he had to the value of 3000 *l.* on board belonging to himself. His chaplain was rudely handled, being cut over the head, as well as a seaman who gave no provocation.

He was search'd by the *French* chirurgion whether he was a Jew; and tho' he affirmed he was uncircumcised, the insolent enemy immodestly examined him in publick. Such kind of usage was aggravated by the barbarous welcome they found in *Toulon*, where the poor seamen were set ashore without providing any victuals or lodging for them. Some were beaten on shipboard, and most of them plundered before the ships or goods were adjudged in the admiralty court. Four of our ships they had forced in already, and one more was daily expected. About 70 men belong'd to these *English* vessels. It was observ'd by captain *Deacons*, that the *French* pilots mistook 25 leagues in 50, sailing towards this port. *Beaufort* does not understand navigation. *Symmonds*, the master of the *Plymouth* vessel, was offered a pistole for every *English* seaman he should persuade into the *French* king's ships; which he scornfully refused.

A *Fleming* or *Hollander* is now the master workman in building the new men of war. The materials, oak and fir, are brought four leagues from hence.

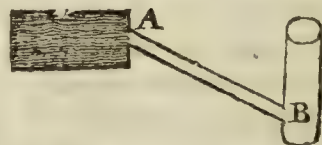
Pickling of capers. We were told, that caper-buds, presently after they are gathered, are dry'd in the shade, then put into vinegar for nine or ten days, and, after that, remov'd into fresh liquor, where they remain for use. They keep best when salt is put to them. If well put up, they will last green three years. They are press'd . . .

N. Dame de bon recontre is a little chapel nigh *Toulon*.

Dec. 15. In the afternoon we took bills of health at the gates of *Toulon*, and pass'd without a watchman by *Olliotes*, and this night lodg'd at *La maison Brûlée*.

Dec. 16. We took a guide, and rode a stony way among rocks and woods in an uninhabited country, till we came to *S. Baulme*, two leagues from *La maison Brûlée*, having first ascended with some difficulty a mountain, at the top whereof we were covered with a cloud or mist, and then we descended a pav'd road in a wood mix'd with oaks and beech, &c. to *S. Baulme*, a small convent built on a rock that jets out of a steep precipice: it is inhabited by eight or ten *Dominican* friars, who are obliged, in this place and at *S. Maximin*, to eat no flesh. Their church is a great cave, where they say *S. Mary Magdalen* did 33 years penance. Behind the high altar lies a fair marble statue of that saint in a sleeping leaning posture; for they have a tradition, that in that very place she used to sleep, and that part of the rock was miraculously raised to serve her as a pillow, which is constantly observed to be dry, whereas all other parts of the cave, they say, is moist, water always distilling from the roof. A spring rises in this cave. See more of this place and *S. Maximin* in the *Abregé de l'hist. de S. Magd.*

After we had dined in an inn closed within the walls of the convent, we descended the remainder of the wood; and when we had rode about half an *English* mile, we had a winding way down the side of another steep hill, and thence had a continual (tho' more easy) descent till we came to *S. Maximin*, where several women came presently to us, and were importunate to sell us variety of beads and medals of saints.



This day I took notice of water falling out of a river into a declining channel of wood *A*, into a round pit (at *B*) made up with a stone wall, and going out thence, drives a mill.

S. Maximin is a small square town well walled about; the church is dedicated to that saint, and is a tall and fair structure, having 16 slender pillars to support it: it is lightfome, and hath no cross building, as in cathedrals. From the middle of the roof hangs a long streamer taken out of a *Turkish* vessel. The relicks of *S.*

S. *Magdalen* are enshrined in a vault in the north side of the church. The adjoining cloister is handsome and large, belonging to about sixty *Jacobins* or *Dominicans*, who have a neat refectory to dine and sup in. Over the place they wash at before meals, they set up *si quis's*. The fathers have their names written in one roll, and pasted on the refectory door. The consuls of the town keep the keys of the relicks in S. *Maximin's* church. Under a cradle is written,

Hæc est Maria speculum Innocentiæ.

Under the picture of S. *Mary Magd.*

Hæc est Maria speculum Pœnitentiæ.

The front of the church is not yet faced with stone.

Dec. 17. We travell'd thro' a village call'd *Porcils*, and about two leagues together rode over little valleys and low hills. We pass'd in sight of *Pournere*, a large village on our right hand, and then rode on a fair causey for about a league and an half. On our left hand we had *Negreola*, another village; and five leagues from S. *Maximin* went thro' S. *Marc*, a small place where they find jasper. We rode a hilly country, and had on our right hand S. *Viçtoire*, a tall mountain; and having journey'd six leagues this day, arriv'd at *Aix*. (*Aquæ sextiæ.*)

Aix.

We went up the cathedral at *Aix*, and had a full prospect of the city, which lies round, and is about the bigness of *Montpelier*; is situated on a rising ground, which ascends almost insensibly from S. *John's* chapel to the cathedral. The streets are large, cleanly, and well pav'd, and the houses handsomely built. The gentlemens palaces are very fair with stately portals; but not placing them in the middle of the front, diminishes the beauty of their outside. A long and broad street called *Orbitello*, because begun and inclosed within the walls at the same time the town of that name in *Italy* was taken by the *French* from the On that side of the city are other new streets and piazza's. When *Orbitello* street is finish'd on both sides, and the two rows of trees are grown up in the middle, this well-built city will be more fam'd for its building, &c. Hills cover'd with olive-trees encompass the town, which wants a good river; the *Larc*, an inconsiderable one, running close by it; therefore it is said, *Aix la plus belle Ville en France sans riviere*, i. e. *Aix*, the fairest town in *France*, without a river. I think

no city in *Italy* exceeds it for handsomeness. SKIPPOON.

The river *Durance* is two leagues off. The cathedral is but indifferent, and the *Baptisterium* is a small octagon supported by eight tall pillars, each pillar of one stone. Nigh the altar is the monument of *Car. II.* king of *Sicily*: His marble figure lies on the lower part of the monument, and above is crown'd by two other figures. See the epitaph in *Golnitz*. Cathedral.

A chapel here called *Nostre Dame de bonne Esperance*; and without the city is a small oratory call'd *N. Dame de bonne Voyage*.

Cardinal *Grimaldi* is archbishop of *Aix*, who with the canons, once a year, sit on stone seats erected in the church-yard, where the archbishop blesses the people.

S. *Maria* . . . will be a pretty church S. Maria. and fine when the altar ornaments are finish'd.

The *Oratorians* have a very neat church.

The baths (which gave name to this Baths. city) are somewhat neglected. The water is hot near the spring-head, which is plentiful. It is used by washers and dyers.

About 200 gentlemens coaches in this city.

La maison de la Ville will have a stately front when it is finish'd.

The palace is a great pile of building, Palace. with a strong stone tower in it that is used for a prison. Below are several shops, and above stairs we saw the great hall. The chamber of audience is like that at *Grenoble*: in the roof of it are painted all the kings of *France*, and in a corner is the king's seat. Here pleadings are heard.

La chambre Tournelle or *Criminelle*, &c. See description of governments.

Before the palace is a large piazza, where is a pair of iron gallows erected and walled about.

We visited Monsieur *Borell's* cabinet, Borell's cabinet. and observed these curiosities, viz. *Spina Delphini*; *Diabie de la mer*; *Laisa piscis*; a thunder-bolt that fell in *Provence*, which weigh'd 54 lib. *Coutela de la mer*; a glass urn in a leaden case; another glass urn with ansæ or handles; an *Indian* colours, which was like a washing mop, having on the head feathers twisted together into little cords; old heads of *Trajan*, *Cybele*, and *Brutus*; the statues of *Livia* and *Æsculapius*; three skeletons made of *terra Cotta* by *M. Angelo*; crystal with grass in it; a cross of *lignum Rhodium* very curiously wrought with the history of our Saviour; a brass pottinger with *Arabick* prayers; a fish well represented in a stone; a circumcision knife of stone; a

cocca

SKIPPOON. cocoa bottle neatly channell'd on the outside ; the picture of *Ignatius* in feathers ; a landskip made of silk needle-work ; an antient ring with *ino* written on it ; the four seasons of the year painted by *Foguere* ; a cup made of a rhinoceros's horn curiously carv'd ; a long earthen urn with handles ; the head of *Seneca* in a small stone ; a rare collection of modern coins, both gold and silver, among which one very large in memory of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and his being kill'd at the battle of *Leipsich* ; a piece of silver coined by *Lewis XIII.* which had mill'd round the edges *Perennitati justissimi Regis* ; compleat series of the *Roman* emperors in gold and silver ; a great urn channell'd on the outside. This king *Lewis XIV.* when *Borelli's* father was alive, saw this cabinet, and then gave him the sword girdle, or *La Banderie*, consecrated at his coronation ; it is all silver, with gold buckles ; and as a further favour, gave leave it might be put into his coat of arms, which we saw painted so in the glass window, and a crown over it. Pictures made by the famous *Italian* and *Flemish* masters ; great store of other antiquities, as idols, sacrificing instruments, &c.

Dec. 19. We rode by *S. Mytre's* chapel, who carry'd his head in his hand. One league from *Aix* we rode by *Aguilles* on the left hand, and then travell'd a hilly country, and observed many almond-trees and olive grounds which were the last winter almost quite destroy'd by the weather, which was a very great loss to the country. We had good way on a causey, which probably was made by the old *Romans*. After three leagues riding from *Aix*, we had a pine wood on our right hand, and a league further saw *Pellisane*, a village on the same hand ; then pass'd over a small river about half a league before we entred *Salon*, a large rambling town walled about.

The great church is tall, and indifferently handsome.

Tomb of N. Damus At the *Cordeliers* church is *Nostradamus's* tomb, placed within the church wall, which, they say, none dare open, because he prophesy'd, that that man should die within a year after such an attempt. His picture over it makes him a venerable person. On his monument is this inscription,

D. M.

Clariss. ossa M. Nostradami unius omnium mortalium judicio digni cujus penè divino calamo totius orbis ex astrorum influxu futuri eventus conscriberentur. Vixit annis 62. m. 6. d. 10. Obiit Salo. MDLXVI. Quietem posteri ne invidete. Anna Pontia Gemella Salonia Conjugi opt. V. F.

Monseigneur De Grignan, archbishop of *Arles*, is spiritual and temporal lord of this town.

Here we were inform'd what that firing Mute, a is they call *Mute*, viz. the oil being press'd out, the remaining part of the olives is made up with water into a paste, then squeez'd into round moulds like thick cheese-fats ; and when they are dry'd in the sun, they are good firing like turfs.

Dec. 20. We travell'd four leagues in a strait line upon the *Crau*, till we baited at *S. Martin*. Half way is erected a cross. After dinner, at three leagues distance, we arrived at *Arles*, which was antiently a kingdom, and the jurisdiction of it is still call'd a *Royaute*, comprehending fifty or sixty leagues : the *Crau* and the *Camarague* belong to it, and they get every day upon the sea.

When the *French* king was last here, he would be guarded only by those of the city, which is placed on a rising ground. From the tower of the town-house we took a view of it, and observ'd it to be larger and thicker built than *Aix*. The streets are narrow and unhandsome. On the upper part of the town are a great number of windmills. The walls are well built after the old fashion ; and round a good part of the outside of the wall is the mall, which hath on the outside another wall of a little height.

The town house was pulling down, and a new one a building. Here we saw the statue of *Jupiter*, and another of *Diana*, an excellent statue, found without her right arm about 12 years ago, when they were digging a cistern under the temple of *Diana*, where at present remains an old arch and two tall pillars of marble. The amphitheatre hath two porticos that at *Nismes*. No seats are remaining, and the houses within and without much obscure the sight of it. Underneath at the great entrance is a large cave.

The key by the river *Rhône* is but narrow, tho' of good length, where in summer evenings the citizens make their *Pourmenade* or walk.

S. Honoratus is an old church without the town, where, in a cave under the high altar, we saw stone monuments of six or seven archbishops of *Arles*. Three or four are laid one upon another, and in the middle is that of *S. Trophimus*, whose bones are still there ; and in another there is always water, sometimes more and sometimes less, and those above and below are always dry (probably a cheat of the monks and priests.) A great many such tombs stand abroad, with inscriptions made by the antient Christians, and most of them are like those we saw

at Modena. One inscription I transcribed, viz.

*Julia Su Filia Tyranniae
Vixit ann. xx. M. viii.
Que moribus, artibus et
Disciplina cæteris feminis
Exemplo fuit. Autarctus
Nurui et Laurentius uxori.*

The monument of the first duke of Savoy is at the entrance into this church. It was opened by Carol. Eman. and the bones carried into Piedmont.

Much antient sculpture about this church. A convent of Minims here.

Monsieur Agar's cabinet we could not see, his father being newly dead.

We drank a good red claret in this city; and we observed that here and in other parts of Provence they drink a whitish and sweet wine they also call claret.

Dec. 22. We crossed the Rhosne over a bridge of boats, and then rode four leagues in the Camargue, and came to La Baron, a very small village on the side of the Petit Rhosne; and after we had travelled one league more on the river's bank, we baited at the ferry, and paid three sols for our passage over; then had two leagues in a level, and a pine-wood on our right hand, a little before we came to Aguesmortes, where we were examined by soldiers, and left our pistols at the gates. This place is garrisoned by about 300 soldiers, and is a long square town with tall and strong walls after the old fashion; and without the walls are half-moons cast up of earth. They keep open but one gate, and nigh it is a round stone tower called La Torre de Constance. A little channel brings boats to this town. The houses are low; for without the town nothing can be seen but walls. The streets are indifferently broad and handsome. In the piazza is a long open portico for the market people, which also serves for a walk. Half the inhabitants are of the reformed religion, who have a temple within the town. Nigh this place the soil is very good.

Dec. 23. About half a league from Aguesmortes we rode under a tower in a marshy ground, which was guarded by two or three soldiers: on the top several small pieces of cannon are mounted. Here we paid six liards, and then rode over many small bridges, and, a long league from Aguesmortes, came to S. Laurence, a village, and a little beyond that forded the river after that had Marfilliargues on our right hand; and, a

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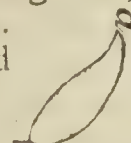
league from S. Laurence passed thro' Lu-Skippon; and, four leagues thence arrived in safety at Montpellier, meeting in the Montpelway foot soldiers newly levyed, and marching towards Paris.

Feb. 26. Stilo Novo, the French king joining with the Dutch, commanded all the English out of his country; and Mr. Peter Vivian, Mr. Ward, Mr. Tanner, Mr. Ray, and myself came from Montpellier together, hiring horses of John de Guant. We dined at Pont Lunelle, and in the afternoon had a very stormy wind in our faces. At night we arrived at the pomme rouge in Nismes, and there found Monsieur Du Moulin of Aberdeen, who shewed us a large testimony under the hands of the ministers, deacons, and elders of the protestants in Nismes, signifying his kindness to them in O. Cromwell's time.

The ministers names are Bruguiere, Cheiron, Arbussi, and Roure.

We gave 30 sols a horse, and 40 sols to the vitturine for our journey to Avignon from Nismes.

We visited here Monsieur Geyran, a counsellor, well skilled in Roman antiquities, and saw in his cabinet three folios of his own writing in Latin, 1. Treats of old buildings; 2. Inscriptions; 3. Medals. He is a great adversary to Monsieur Deyron, who hath published the antiquities of Nismes in 4to. Monsieur Geyran seems to be a careless man, not having his things in any order. He hath almost all the books about medals, inscriptions, &c. We took notice of *Lozii hist. commemorations*; *Savot Comment sur des medailles antiques*; *P. Petavii Veterum nummorum gnorisma*, 4to. *Hulsi Impp. R. Series*; *Ant. le Pois discours sur des medailles antiques*; *Glandorfus*; *Dictionarium familiarum R. Menestrier sur des medailles*. He shewed us many lamps and lachrymal urns; a glass candlestick used by the Romans at Nismes only, of this fashion; a little lamp to be placed on an iron standard thus: stopples at the lachrymal urns, which were made of a cement; a vessel of *terra sigillata*, like a pottinger with which they poured milk on childrens bones after they were burnt; on mens bones they poured wine; *Penates*; a strigil; a spoon to receive the tears, and pour them into the lachrymal urns; a *Patera*; an old buckle of the Romans made long thus, At a there is a spring that opens. He shewed us a model of old Nismes.



SKIPPON.

These inscriptions here.

A. IVLIVS LEONAS. DO
NVM. QVOD PROMI
SERAT ANVBIACIS DO
MESTICA LIBERT. D. S. P.

L. BAEBI SECVND
IBI MANES
IACENT

EROTIS
L. IVLII IVLIANI
TERPINII
CONTVBERNALIS

I
L. ET INNONI B. OP.
IMPER. PONI
NEMAVSENSES

The first line of this is to be read
Libero et Junoni bene opitulanti

This was on a stone placed by the an-
tients, where a thunderbolt fell, to give
notice none should pass that way.

FVLGVR
DIVOM

March 1. We passed by *S. Gervais*,
Bezous, *S. Bonnet*, and walked on the top
of *Pont du Guard*, which is broad enough
for a coach to pass. In several places are
ruins of that aqueduct, which began at
Uzes, two leagues from the bridge, and
was continued to *Nismes*.

We dined at *Romolin*, and in the after-
noon reached *Avignon*.

Carthu-
sians.

Over the *Rhofne* we visited the *Carthu-
sians* cloister in *Villeneuve les Avignon*. This
cloister is dedicated by *Innocent VI.* to
S. M. Vallis Benedictionis. There are two
or three handsome courts and about 60
fathers and lay-brothers. There is a fair
refectory vaulted with timber. In the
church hang up two excellent pictures of
the shepherds and the three kings visiting
our Saviour. The salutation is drawn by
Guido Reni: three other pictures by *Mig-
nard* of *Paris*: another picture by *Renatus*
king of *Sicily*, which is the crowning of
the virgin *Mary*. In two chapels are the
monuments of *Innocent VI.* and *Petrus*
Cardin. Pampilonensis, nephew to that pope:
three pictures describing the execution of
some *Carthusian* friars in *England* in *Hen-
ry VIII's* time.

One Monsieur *Le Brun*, a physician,
was very civil to us on Mr. *Moulin's* ac-
count; and Monsieur *Giffoni*, an inge-
nious scholar who had lived in *England*,
came and visited us.

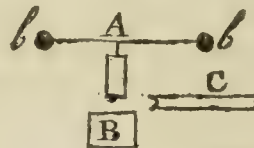
All the river and bridge at *Avignon*
belongs to the *French* king.

Lomellino is now vice-legate here. He
has pulled down the wall that *Chigi*, for-
mer vice-legate, built before the palace,
and instead of it is making a ditch.

One *Belkley* and seven or eight *English*
Roman catholicks weave silk stockings here.

At the mint we saw great store of *cing* Mint.
fol pieces coined, having cardinal *Chigi*
the legate's picture on one side. These
pieces are sold in the *Levant*.

The silver is first melted into broad
plates; after that it is cut into long *la-
mina*, and then put between two iron cy-
linders, which are turned by a wheel
moved by two horses. The silver, by
being thus pressed, is lengthened out,
then they soften the plates in the fire, and
return them to the cylinders, and a se-
cond time put them into the fire, and
again between the cylinders; and after
a third time's passing between the cylin-
ders, and softening in the fire, the plate
is cut by the stamp into round pieces,
which, if good weight, are boiled, and
so whitened in tartar, and at last minted
after this manner,



A is the stamp with two weights of
lead *bb*, which being turned about, comes
down upon the anvil B, and cuts, at the
same time the impresson is made, a
piece out of the plate C.

March 4. We hired, at 12 *lb.* 10 *fol*s,
a horse for *Lions*, and rode three leagues
to the paper-mills at *Sorga*, a little walled
town where *Ferrante Pallavicino* was be-
trayed and apprehended by the pope's
command; a league further we arrived
at *Orange*, and there visited M. *Guip*, pro-
fessor, and Mr. *Trelawny*. Two protestant
temples and three ministers here. Mr.
Wood, called Monsieur *Sylvius*, a *Scotsman*,
is a minister here. We had a very strong
wind in our faces all day.

March 5. We passed thro' *La Palus*,
Montedragone, and two or three villages
more before we dined at the golden cha-
riot in *Pierre latte*, five leagues from
Orange. In the afternoon we went thro'
Donzerre, infamous for the murder of a
Dutchman who lodged at the *Croix d'or*.
Four leagues from *Pierre latte* we lodged
at *Montlimart*, a large walled town, where
the hugonots have a temple. The wind
was very blustering, and in our faces all
this day.

March

March 6. We journey'd five leagues to Laureole, a little village, and dined at the golden crofs. Four leagues thence we came to Valence, where we lodged.

Valence. At the Jacobins we faw Pere Perreufe, a very ingenious and civil man. On the wall of their cloifter is the fkeleton of a giant painted, and thefe infcriptions over it.

Picture of a giant's fkeleton.

Hæc eft effigies Gigantis Bernardi Vivarienfis tyranni ftatura 15 Cubitorum à Cabellonenfi Comite occifi anno cujus offa in monte Cruffeoli recondita à Dominicano Religiofo inventa prope rivum Merderii 1456 variisq; locis difperfa, hæc ad nos ufq; pervenerunt. Hoc monumentum P.S.D.M. Conf. Reg. in fede præfid. 1648.

*Ce corps dont fe Voit le Schelete
Nacquit au nombre de Geans
Chreftien Croy gue la mort arreffe
Le plus petits & les plus grands.*

On the other fide of the river is the tower of a caſtle which was formerly defended by the proteſtants.

No olive trees grow more northward than this city of Valence.

On one fide of Valence, upon the higheſt ground, is a double wall, and ſome old earth-works.

The wind extraordinary high this day.

March 7. We went through Thein, three leagues from Valence, and juſt oppoſite to Tournon, where the Jeſuits have a ſtately college. Two leagues further we dined at the Lion d'or in S. Valie, where gentlewomen begged for the hoſpital. Two leagues thence we rode through S. Rombert, and two leagues further lodged at the angel in the Peage de Roſſillon.

The wind continued very high this day.

We * forded a league and an half off Valence, the river Rfere, and gave two ſols marqués a man. Near Thein is a rock in the Rhône, called La Table du Roy, becauſe this French king once dined upon it, and not far from Thein is an hermitage where excellent wine is made.

SKIPPOW.
* Ferried.

March 8. After three leagues, we dined at the red crofs in Vienne. Juſt before we entred this city, in a corn field, we faw Pilate's pyramid made of ſeveral ſtones, and erected upon four pillars, thus :



Vienne.

The ſituation of Vienne is on the ſide of the hills, and part of the town is on the other ſide of the Rhône, over which was a wooden bridge, which is now ſome-what ruined by the violent ſtream.

S. Maurice is the cathedral church, a ſtately building, the front of it adorned with the figures of ſaints, and hath a noble aſcent to it of 32 ſteps.

In S. Peter's church-yard are ſtone ſtatues of two lions. Vide Golnitz.

Two or three Roman gates are ſtill remaining in this city, and over one is placed a large human head of marble.

The church dedicated to the virgin Mary was a Romiſh tribunal, and is like the maiſon quarreé at Niſmes, only that is longer and broader.

The amphitheatre was partly on the ſide of a hill, where ſome of the Caveæ are yet to be ſeen.

La Gierre is a little river here, that runs into the Rhône, and is uſeful to their mills, where they make ſwords, &c. They ſaid many anchors and coutlaces were making now for Beaufort's fleet, and they counterfeit Olinda blades.

The manner of blowing the bellows, uſing the hammer, and grinding,

Grinding of ſwords, &c.

Fig. 1.

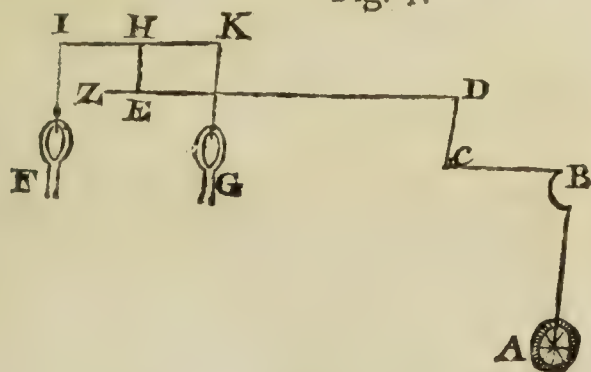


Fig. 2.

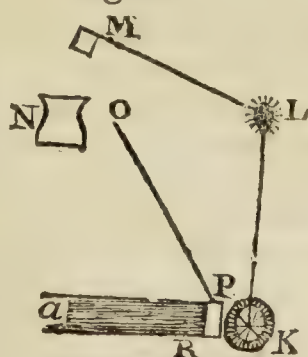
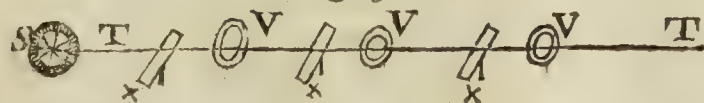


Fig. 3.



SKIPPON.

Fig. 1. the water-wheel A turns about the handle B, that brings backwards and forwards a beam B C, and that again moves another beam C D, which communicates to a long beam D E placed horizontally, which when moved forward towards I F, or brings E to Z, and the perpendicular piece of wood along with it, and this motion lifts up the bellows F, and depresses the bellows G, so *vice versa*, the beam I K rising and falling, being moveable at H, and the weight of stones on each bellows helping to depress them.

Fig. 2. the water-wheel K turns the axis K L; at L are cogs that lift up a great hammer L, which knocks the iron held on the anvil N. The workman can make the hammer beat faster or slower, as he opens the sluice P by the handle O, which can also force down the sluice or flood-gate. a R is the water.

Fig. 3. V V V are grind-stones, passed through by an iron beam T T, moved by the water wheel S. When the workmen grind their swords, &c. they lie all along on the sloping boards x x x. After their swords are beaten thin enough by the hammer M, [Fig. 2.] then they grind them here.

In the afternoon we travelled two leagues, and passed through *S. Saforin*, and rode hilly way, but went over a plain about a league before we entered *Lyons*.

Lyons.

At the gates we took a billet to lodge in the city, and gave a piece of money to the searchers, who were desirous to see what we had in our portmanteaus.

This day the wind was more favourable. It sometimes lasts with great violence a fortnight or three weeks, and always in the same corner.

At *Lyons* we met with Mr. *James Palmer*, lately turned Papist, and the earl of *Castlemain's* brother, the lord *Clinton*. Mr. *Montagne* (Mr. *Oliver St. John*) and his lady; Mr. *Sampson*; Mr. *Jessop*; (Mr. *Withers*, and Monf. *Garzin*, who attended on the lord *Clinton*) Mr. *Elcock*; Mr. *Lifter*; Mr. *Abdy*; Dr. *Downs*; Sir *Tho. Crew*; Mr. *Poly*; Mr. *Scot*, a *Scotchman*; Sir *Cha. Berkley*, and Dr. *Smith*. One *John Anford*, a stocken-maker who lives at *Turin*, was now here, going post for *England*, being sent thither by the duke of *Savoy*.

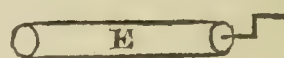
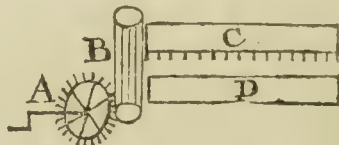
March 9. being *Shrove Tuesday*, N. S. in *Bell-Cour* were many masquers on horseback, who had mallets with little hatchets fastened to them, with which they struck at a wooden cage, wherein was inclosed a lamb; and he that first broke the cage and killed the lamb, was adjudged king; then the trumpets sounded, and he at the head of the rest rode up and down

the streets. The carnival seemed very mean.

We were told here how *Papier marbre* Marble is made; first they pour oil upon water, Paper. and on the oil are laid several colours; then the paper is laid over them, and the vessel those liquors are in is moved to and fro, which is the reason the paper is painted with undulated lines.

We observed an engine that raises a nap on cloth;

An engine to raise a nap on cloth.



The wheel A turns about the nut B, and that moves the board C (fastened to the top of the room by pieces of wood) to and fro, which underneath hath little iron teeth, and is lifted up and down, that it may pass over another board D, and be wound off on the axis E.

March 6. O. S. we gave 45 livres a man, for horses, to a messenger, who for that money did also nourish us from *Lyons* to *Paris*, and allowed him five sols a pound for every pound our portmantous weighed, above 6 lb. which he carried in a sumpter-horse. By the *Coché d'eau*, a conveyance by the river *Soane*, we sent some of our things, and paid but three sols per lb. Dr. *Moulins*, Mr. *Lifter*, Mr. *Ray* and myself, were in company this journey with some *Frenchmen*.

Journey from Lyons to Paris.

We went very stony way, and passed over hills, and three leagues from *Lyons* passed through *La Brelle*, and three leagues further brought us to our lodgings in *Tarrara*.

This day we observed oxen shod with iron.

March 7. We mounted before day, and rode over the mountain of *Tarrara*, where we found snow. After three leagues riding we came through *S. Savorin*, and thereabouts observed a perpendicular stone moved by water to bruise hemp, held underneath by two boys. Three leagues further we dined at *S. Nicolas* in *Roanne*, and there ferried over the *Loire*, each giving two sols marqué. We passed a pleasant valley, and four leagues from our baiting place lodged in *Pasquandiere*, a small village.

March 8. We rode for the most part of four leagues hilly way, and dined at *L'Efeu de France*, in *Palisse*, where the count *De S. Geran* hath a house. The present count came thus to his estate; his uncle being

being next presumptive heir, made a compact with a midwife, who delivered the present count's mother; but by casting her into a sleep, the midwife persuaded her into a belief she was delivered of a dead child, when the midwife conveyed away the little infant, who was bred up by a country woman, and being grown to some years the countess desired, and took him for her page, on whom she bestowed very good breeding; and in the meantime the midwife, on her death-bed, confessed the cheat, and declared the page to be the countess's true son. This discovery occasioned a great suit between the uncle and the young heir, but at last it was determined by the parliament of *Paris* in favour of the heir the countess's son, who is now count *De S. Geran*.

Four leagues from *Palisse*, having travelled good way in a pleasant country, we lodged at the *S. George*, without the walls of *Varene*, a small town.

March 9. We travelled seven short leagues, and dined at the three *Moors* in *Moulins*, where many women came to us to sell their scissars, knives, &c. *Moulins* is an indifferent city, which afforded us little of remark, besides the stately monument of *Montmorency*, who was beheaded in the *Maison de Ville* at *Toulouse*. The white marble statues of the duke and his lady lay on a tomb of black marble; a fair marble statue is on each side, and over them a marble urn, and other ornaments.

We rode seven leagues from *Moulins* in very good way (as we did in the morning) and lodged this night without the walls of *S. Pierre de Montier*. Hereabouts began stony causeys.

March 10. We rode five leagues, passed a stone bridge over the river *Loire*, and dined at the *Flower de lys* in *Nevers*, where the poor people desired us to buy their bagatells of glass. This city is meanly built nigh the *Loire*, on a rising ground, and hath an indifferent fair cathedral, where are several marble monuments; the steeple of this cathedral is handsomely adorned with statues.

After dinner we journeyed about two leagues and an half, and tasted of an acid water springing up plentifully in the middle of a court walled about. This water is much drank in *August*, and is reputed for curing the stone, &c. it is near *Pougue*, a village. This medicinal well rises in the level of a valley. Two leagues and an half further we reached *La Charité*, a walled place situated upon the *Loire*; over the gate we entred at is written,

In Varietate Securitas sub Lilio.

VOL. VI.

Our inn was handsome, the sign of the *Groix d'or*.

March 11. We took horse about four in the morning, and rode three leagues to *Pouilly*, where we drank wine that place is noted for. Four leagues thence we dined at *Cosne*, a walled place, reputed for dog-skin gloves. In the afternoon we travelled five leagues to *Bony*, and one league and an half further lodged in *Briare*, a small walled town. At this place begins a channel cut from the *Loire* to the *Seine*, the water being kept up by locks or sluices.

On the other side of the *Loire*, in *Berry*, and about two leagues from *Cosne*, is *Sancerre*, a town situated upon a hill, formerly a strong place, and well defended by the Protestants about 90 years ago: they held out so long that they underwent the greatest miseries of famine, some women digging up their children they buried three or four days before. See *Thuan. Hist. l. 55. Anno 1572. p. 915, &c.*

We met on the road many *Savoyards*, who were chimney-sweepers at *Paris*, &c. They come off the mountains of *Savoy* in the beginning of winter, and return in the spring.

March 12. We rode four leagues, and dined at the *Escu de France* in *La Busiere*, a small village. Seven leagues further we lodged in *Montargis*, a city where we saw nothing worth our observation. *Angis*. indifferent castle stands here on a hill; archbishop of this city and the king send a governor.

In the road we took notice of many thatch'd houses, and pretty country houses, with high and steep roofs covered with slate.

March 13. We travelled about five leagues, and had on our right hand *Pont a Gasson*, a walled town, and a league thence dined at *The Angel*, or *Maison rouge*, a house that stands in the open fields. In the afternoon we went over a plain sowed with corn, and five leagues from our bait passed by *Milly*, a large walled place on our left hand, and one short league thence arrived at *Corrance*, where we lodged.

This afternoon we saw on our right hand the wood of *Fountain Bleau*.

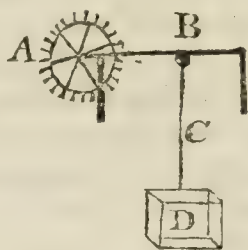
March 14. We rode about a league, and passed among rocks, where travellers are often robbed. About two or three leagues further we saw on our right hand *Corbilly*, a city in a valley, with many villages round it. Seven leagues from *Corrance* we dined at *Juvissii*, at the sign of *The Golden Lion*. Three leagues thence we passed through *Ville Juifue*, and there on the top of a hill had a prospect of *Paris*, where we safely arrived after we had travelled two leagues more.

SKIPPON.

On our left hand we had a fair hospital; from *Corbilly* to *Paris* is a causeway in a strait line, and well paved with square pebbles.

Stone quarries.

Nigh *Paris* we observed several stone quarries, where the workmen hoist up stones after this manner.



A fellow steps up the cogs of the wheel A, and turns the axis B, which winds up the cord C that is fastened to the stone D.

This stone is of very great advantage to the city of *Paris*, for were it not thus plentiful, the buildings would be but indifferent.

We staid in this city till April 1, 1666. too short a time for so great and remarkable a place; but the *French* king's declaration of war against *England*, commanded us out of *France* within three months after the proclamation thereof, which was on the first of *February*, N. S.

What I could observe during my stay here, I hastily put in writing, viz.

Every *Wednesday* is a horse-market in *Fauxbourg S. Victor*, and every *Saturday* at port *Richelieu*.

At *Mont Martre* is made the plaister call'd plaister of *Paris*, and they have this saying about it; *Il y a plus de M. Martre à Paris, que de Paris à M. Martre*.

College of four nations.

Cardinal *Mazarin* left a great legacy to build the college of four nations; *Italian*, *French*, *Spanish* and *German*; a good part of it was now finished, the front is stately made like a theatre, and it fronts towards the *Louvre*, being placed on the opposite side of the river *Seine*.

Sorbonne.

The *Sorbonne* college is a magnificent structure. The doctors wear black gowns, and when exercises are performed they wear a white furr which hangs thwart the breast.

Another college call'd college De . . . where youth are instructed by the doctors of *Sorbonne*. It is near *Clermont* college.

L'hôtel de Ville.

L'hôtel de Ville en la place de *Grave* is an old and fair building.

Pont Neuf

Pont Neuf in the middle is joined to the island *Notre Dame* church stands in. The brass statue of *Hen. IV.* on horseback, made by *Bologna* (who is buried at the *Annunciata* in *Florence*) stands in the middle of the bridge, having inscriptions

and *bassi relievi* about describing his victories, &c.

Place Dauphine is a triangular piazza, ^{Place Dauphine.} built very uniform, and just in sight of *Hen. IVth's* statue; *Rue de Harlay* is behind that piazza, where all the houses are of the same building.

Place Royale is an uniform square, very ^{Place Roy.} neat, having a green court railed about, alle. and a small portico under all the houses. In the middle stands the *Statua Equestris* of *Lewis XIII.* I transcribed one of the inscriptions in *French*, viz.

Pour le Just. Sonnet.

Que ne peut la Vertu, que ne peut la Courage
J'ay domtè pour jamais l'heresie en son port
Du Tage impieux, j'ay fait trembler le Bord
Et du Rhin jusqu' a l'Ebre acreu mon heritage
J'ay sauve par mon bras l'Europe d'Esclavage
Et si tant de Travaux n'eussent bastè mon sort
J'eussè attaquè l'Asie et d'un pieux effort
J'eusse du saint tombeau vangè le long servage.
Armand, le grand Armand, l'ame de mes Exploits
Porta de toutes partes mes armes & mes lois
Donna toute l'esclat aux rayons de ma gloire
Enfin il m'esleva ce pompeux monument
Ou pour rendre a son nom memoire pour memoire
Je Veux qu'avec le mien il vive incessamment.

Notre Dame is a fair church, with a *N. Dame* handsome front, adorned with statues, and two flat steeples, from which is a good prospect of the city. Several colours hang up in this church, two of them were taken from the *English*.

The *Bastille* is like the tower at *London Bastille*. for prisoners of state, where the king gives them allowance. It is near port *S. Antoine*.

The *Arsenal* consists of many courts, and *Arsenal* has fair walks in a garden nigh the city-wall.

S. Germain Auxerrois is a pretty church *S. Germain Auxerrois.* nigh the *Louvre*, and is called the king's parish-church.

The *Tuilleries* is the garden belonging to the *Louvre*, which they would permit no strangers to see at this time.

The *Louvre* gallery is 900 feet long; under half the length of it are stables.

Before the *Louvre* gallery, not far from *Pont des Thuilleries*, stood an old tower call'd *La Tour des Anglois*, which was thrown down the last year. Some say the preceding kings durst not throw it down, because of a prophecy that *France* should then be conquered. The *Louvre* will be a vast place when it is finished, that side towards the river, and the end towards the *Thuilleries* is already built.

Donc totum impleat orbem, and, *Virtuti Regis invictissimi*, inscribed on several parts of the *Chasteau de Louvre*.

In

Jesuits
church.

In the Jesuits church, *Rue S. Antboine*, is *Lewis XIII*'s heart kept in a golden case held up by two silver angels. In the same church is a fair altar, with about four brass figures or statues, being the monument of this prince of *Conde*'s father.

S. Clou.

I rode out of the city two leagues to *S. Clou*, where Madame *Henrietta* duchess of *Orleans*, our king *Charles II*'s sister, hath a palace and gardens. In the parish church of *S. Clou* is a spiral marble pillar, and inscriptions to *Hen. III.* whose heart is kept here. In a chapel under the choir is the old monument of *S. Clou*.

Versailles.

Two leagues thence we came to *Versailles*, a pretty pleasure-house built by Monsieur *Fouquet*. Here rare birds and other animals are kept, but the *Concierge* would not let us see them, or the rooms of the house, because we had no ticket from Monsieur In the rooms they say are cabinets and looking-glasses, &c. curiously adorned with silver filligree work. Here I saw *Lewis XIV.* and his queen, attended by a foot company of *Swiss*, armed with back, breast and head-piece, a company of *Swiss*, with halberds, and a company of *French* foot, besides his guard in livery on horse-back, arm'd with carbines. The king hath also a guard of younger brothers, who serve him voluntarily, and wear whitish coats with silver lace; they carry muskets. Out of these the king oftentimes chooses his officers.

The lord *Dowglas* was formerly the *French* king's page, who at this time commanded a regiment of *Scots*, which the king of *England* sent for over upon the declaration of war between *France* and *England*.

Every *Monday* comes out the journal *Des Sçavans*, a pamphlet written by one *Galloyer* a *Parisian*, and but a young man.

Monsieur
Jonquet.

Monsieur *Jonquet* is professor in the king's garden, which is a handsome large place, but that at *Montpellier* is bigger and more pleasant.

Monsieur
Marchand

Monsieur *Marchand*, formerly an apothecary, hath travell'd some parts of the *Levant*, and is very skilful in herbs; he hath the best *hortus Siccus* that we ever saw, the plants being neatly fastned on with a glew, which he freely told us was thus made, *viz.* Take of *Ichthyocolla* and *Ξυκολλα* ana, cut these small, and then boil them with *Colocynth*e, and afterwards dissolve all in vinegar. Among the dry'd plants *Medica Ciliaris* & *ferrum equinum siliqua multiplici*, are most remarkable.

We met accidentally with one Monsieur *Crock*, a physician in *Amiens*, who seemed to be a very ingenious person.

In a dirty narrow street, call'd *Rue de la Ferranerie*, we saw the well which *Ravillac* stood against when he stabb'd *Hen. IV.* the king's footmen going through *S. Innocent's* church-yard, which is just by.

S. Innocent's church-yard hath many charnell houses round about, and it is observable that none of the graves there are digg'd much above one foot and an half deep, and yet the flesh of the dead bodies is suddenly consumed by the earth, which is of a chalky nature. When they make new graves, they sometimes meet with whole coffins, but the flesh quite consumed within them.

In *Lent* time no butchers can sell flesh, the hospital having the gain of all the flesh that is eaten at *Paris* in this season, which must be a considerable profit, if they always, as they did this *Lent*, sell beef at eight sols per lb.

Jan. 26. N. S. The *French* king declared war against *England*, and had this expression in his declaration, commanding his subjects *De Courre Sus les Anglois*, which made most of us then in his country apprehend danger, as was represented by the lord ambassador *Hollis*, in a letter, after two messages to the *French* king's minister of state. Whereupon a second declaration was publish'd *Feb. 1.* commanding us to retire out of *France* within three months.

While we were at *Paris* the *French* king forbad, in a printed paper (fixed up in several parts of the city) all commerce with the *English*.

S. Eustace is a fair and large church. *S. Eustace.*

Valdegrace is a new church, building at the expence of the late queen-mother of *France*; it hath a handsome ascent up to it by several stone steps, which lead into a portico in the front of the church; it is made after the *Italian* fashion, and hath a cupola between the choir and the nave. That queen's heart is buried here.

The *Carthusians* have a great cloister in the *Fauxbourg S. Germain*, and have large walks. *Carthusians.*

Luxembourg is a stately palace, and very uniformly built; it hath fair and large walks like those of the *Roman Villa*, where all persons may walk with freedom. Mademoiselle princess of *Dom*, the prince of *Conde*'s sister, lives here.

Every hour of the day there passes a hackney coach from the *Place Royale* to *Luxembourg House*, and another coach goes from *Rue S. Honore* to *Rue S. Jaques*, where the booksellers live. Every one pays five sols for his place, but goes with other company, and for that reason it is not usual for persons of any quality to go in them.

SKIPPON. *Palais Cardinal* is a fair palace with handsome walks. Here Madame *Henrietta* the duchess of *Orleans* lives. At one side of this house is a publick stage where the *Italian* and *French* comedians act by turns.

Comedies. I saw here *Il marifaggio d'una Statua*, a merry play, where the famous buffoon *Scaramuccio* acted. Three antick dances pleased the spectators. The *Quattre Scaramuccie* was another pleasant *Italian* comedy. We stood in the *parterre*, or pit, and paid 30 sols apiece for seeing the first, and but 15 sols for the last.

We saw a *French* comedy intituled, *L'estourdie*, which was better acted than we expected. We paid for seeing this, and standing in the pit, 15 sols a man.

In the *Marais du Temple* are another company of *French* actors, who have machines to move their scenes.

Monsieur *Le Dauphin* hath his company of boys, who they say act very well.

Sale des Machines. The *Sale des Machines* in the *Louvre* is made like that at *Modena*, and by the same workman *Gaspar Vigarini*; this is larger, and the roof of the theatre richer gilt; they say it will hold 5000 people, and that at *Modena* but 3000; one of the machines moves a hall, with the king and courtiers. The sea is well represented in one machine.

Noblemens houses are called *Hôtels*, and over their gates are always written the names of them, as *Hostel des Ambassadeurs* near the *Luxembourg*; *Hostel de Sully* is in *Rue S. Antoine*; *Hostel de Vendôme* in *Rue S. Honoré*.

Mathurins The *Mathurins* are the *Padri di Rischatto*, and are thus call'd in *Paris* because *S. Mathurin's* body was formerly kept here, which is since carried to the place where he was born, called *Archant*, a village in *Gastinois*. In the cloister here is a tombstone, with a sphere on it, and round about it this inscription;

*De Sacrobosco qui computista Joannes
Tempora discrevit jacet, hic a tempore raptus
Tempore qui sequeris memor esto quod morieris
Si miser es plora, miserans pro me precor ora.*

Clermont college. *Clermont* college is a fair square and tall building that belongs to the *Jesuits*, who teach here in several schools about 2000 boys, many of which are gentlemen's sons pension'd here, having several halls to dine in, and long chambers to lodge in; they say about 400 boys live here in this manner, and are not suffered to go out of the gate without leave. Many of the scholars wear colour'd gowns, fashion'd like the sophisters in *Cambridge*, and they have large velvet (round) caps when they learn logick, and square caps

when they read philosophy. At a dispute we saw the duke of *Guise*, a young lad. One father a *Scotchman*, procured us the sight of the machines describing excellently well the motions of the planets, according to the systems of *Ptolomy*, *Tycho Brahe*, *Copernicus*, and the *Semi Copernicans*. Several sorts of clock-dials for a day, month, year, and one for the *Platonick* year, which were all moved by one and the same machine that moves the forementioned spheres of *Ptolomy*, &c. invented by father *D'Arrouis*.

Le Palais is in the same isle with *Notre Dame*, where the courts of judicature sit; the lawyers wear black gowns and square caps. In the hall are many shops and galleries. One *Varennés* is the only Protestant bookseller here, who, to signify whether mass is said or not, hangs out a pastboard having on one side the letter *N.* and on the other the letter *O.* for *No* and *Ouy*, i. e. *Yes*. This is taken notice of by the Protestants that come to the hall, that they may avoid the elevation of the host.

Eschelle du Temple is a great ladder that stands in the corner of a street not far from the place where the *Templars* formerly lived.

The chief streets are; 1. *Rue S. Jacques*; 2. *Rue S. Martin*; 3. *Rue Montmartre*; 4. *Rue S. Denis*; 5. *Rue S. Honore*.

There are 10 *Fauxbourgs*, or suburbs; 20 gates; 11 bridges; 600 streets in the city and suburbs; more than 32000 houses; and above 100 religious houses, or convents.

At the *Gobelins* is a house where tapestry is made.

Nigh port *S. Honoré* the lord *Hollis*, English ambassador, dwelt.

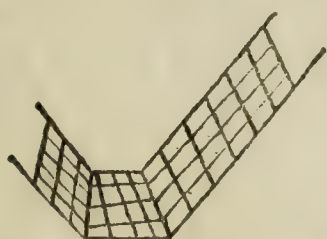
Englishmen at this time in *Paris*; earl of *Bedford's* sons; earl of *Alisbury* and his lady, and lord *Bruce* and family; the earl of *Essex* and his lady; lord *George Berkly* and his lady; lord *Wharton's* two sons; Mr. *Clifford* their governor; lord *Neuport's* two sons; Mr. *Lany*, born in *France*; Mr. *John Palmer*; Mr. *Dashwood*; Dr. *Jeanes*; colonel *Doughty*, who was projecting about the tanning trade; Mr. *Henchman*; Mr. *Gosnall*; Mr. *Cage*, Ro. C. who belongs to the queen-mother of *England*; major *Carter*, a *Roman* Catholick, and his wife, nurse to the princess *Henrietta*; Sir *Tho. Arby* and his son, Ro. C. Colonel *Napier*, his lady and son, Ro. C. Sir *Tho. Lyddall* and his lady, sister to the late Sir *Henry Vane*; Sir *Tho. Crew*; Dr. *Ward*; Mr. *Howlett*; Mr. *Abdy*; Dr. *Downes*; Mr. *Havers*; lord *Mobun*; Mr. *Drury*, who wrote the *French* news book in *Oliver Cromwell's* time;

time; Mr. *Honywood*, and Mr. *Wildegoose*, merchants; Sir *Colladon*, doctor of physick, his lady, son, and daughters.

One *Lesly*, who built the tavern-boat on the *Thames*, was projecting how to cleanse *Paris* streets.

Few or no beggars in *Paris*.

The porters are called *Crocheteers*, who have this wooden device to carry things on their back.



Charenton.

At *Charenton*, one *Sunday*, we heard Monsieur *Morus*, and Monsieur preach.

Their temple is a long square building of stone, tall roof'd and lightsome, double galleries round. Here we saw Marshal *De Turenne*, and Monsieur *Rouigny*, who is delegate from the *French* Protestants to the court, where they say he is a favourite. Madame is to be conducted by him, *i. e.* *Rouigny*, into *Portugal*, being designed queen of *Portugal*.

The ministers that preach at *Charenton*, are, 1. Monf. *Daillie*; 2. Monf. *Derilincourt*; 3. Monf. *Morus*.

They preach every *Thursday*, unless there be a holiday in the week, and then they take that instead of *Thursday*, to preach on.

La Charité

La Charité is a fair hospital for men in *Fauxbourg S. Germain*.

The *Cordeliers* have a long church nigh port *S. Germain*.

The fair of S. Germain.

The fair of *S. Germain* begins the third of *February* and holds all the *Lent*; the place the fair is kept in, is a large square house with six or seven rows of shops, where customers play at dice when they come to buy things; the commodity is first bought, and then they play who shall pay for it. After candle-lighting is the greatest gaming, sometimes the king comes and dices. Here we saw the picture of our Saviour's ascension, *S. Peter*, *S. Paul*, and two angels; it was made by *Antonio Moro*, who lived in *Charles V.*'s time; it is valued at 200 pistoles. The frame is curiously carved, and very richly gilt.

Theatins.

The *Theatins* have a fair church and cloister, a building by the river's side, some distance below the college of four nations; cardinal *Mazarin* gave a legacy for the erecting this convent.

Bridges.

1. *Pont S. Michel*. 2. *Pont aux Change*. 3. *Pont Notre Dame*; and 4. *Petit Pont*
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have shops on each side. The *Pont Notre Dame* is a very uniform street. 5. *Pont* some years ago had many of its houses at one end, tumbled down in the night by a violent stream of the river. Every one without a sword pays two livres that passes over. 6. *Pont de Bois*, which joins the isle *Notre Dame* church stands in to isle *Notre Dame*, where are new and handsome streets.

An *English* boat rowed by 12 men (two of them *English*) in this river, and belongs to Madame the duchess of *Orleans*. The king hath one or two pleasure boats.

Cross several streets of *Paris*, hang little bells and chains, which are rung when thieves break into houses in the night-time.

At the dancing on the rope we saw a woman for a quarter of an hour turn round and round on her feet, having two naked swords in her hands, which she placed in several postures as she turn'd about; when she had done, she made a low curtesy without any staggering, and walk'd off the stage very steadily, and without the least reeling.

The *Chastelet* is a prison not far from *Chastelet*. *Pont aux Change*, where men are clapt up for debt, and sometimes criminal matters. Such as are found murder'd in the streets are brought hither, and expos'd to view that they may be known.

Vade in Pace is a close prison in convents, where they keep such as have been profess'd of their order, and are turn'd Protestants: They feed them with bread and water, and there let them lie sometimes all their days: It is like a dungeon, having only some light from the top, whence their meat is let down.

A *Frenchman* at the first sight will be very civil and familiar, and presently will forget his acquaintance with you; they will ask whether you are of the religion, *i. e.* Protestant; or of the *Eglise*, *i. e.* Roman Catholick religion, the first time you fall into their company; and inquire where you made your cloaths, what they cost, &c.

If you employ a porter, &c. and not agree with him beforehand what he shall have, he will go away grumbling tho' you give him more than he could have expected, a bargain first made.

None but gentlemen, or such as have been officers in the army, can wear swords, &c. when they travel.

The *French* women are generally bad housewives, minding their cloaths and dressing most, which they will have in fashion; and the humour of observing modes must be satisfied, in both sexes, tho' their bellies pinch for it, for in most families their diet is both coarse and slender.

SKIPPOX. slender. The women drink usually water, and sometimes a little wine; they have a breeding so free, that in *England* we should esteem it immodest; the Hugonot as well as Popish ladies, spot and paint their faces, (which some of their ministers do not approve of) and in a word, they agree too much in their morals.

Swearing and cursing, with the addition of obscene words, are customary in both sexes. Yet there are some men and women among the Hugonots that are truly religious.

Look on a *French* woman, and you shall see her stare you in the face, which is a confidence that better becomes the men, who seldom or never are put out of countenance.

The *French* are strangely impatient at all games, especially at cards, which transports some that lose into a rage, and they make a dreadful noise with blaspheming, cursing and swearing in a horrid manner.

At this time most people complained of their king's imposing taxes, &c. yet they seemed to boast of him, and were proud to think themselves subjects to an absolute monarchy.

Shirking is as (or more) natural to a *Frenchman* as his oaths, and tho' his carriage be free, yet he is stingy enough of his purse, and will sooner lose a friend than a solmarque, and small interests will govern his affections, *Exceptis excipien- dis.*

Malefactors receive their sentences on their knees, which pronounced, the hangman presently ties a rope about their necks, and conveys them to the prison, whence, after confession, they are immediately hauled to the gallows; so that sometimes they are condemned in the morning and hanged before night. If one hath endeavoured to kill another, and that the assaulted person lives, yet the justice of *France* (they say) will condemn the other to die, taking the will for the deed.

The marquiss *De L'Ange* a protestant, and reputed a stout man, was divorced not long since from his wife, a very handsome and virtuous woman. She, after some years, complained to her friends, that the marquiss was not able to get her with child: This made some disturbance among the relations; but at last (when physicians, &c. had given in their testimonies, they could perceive no external fault in either) it was agreed by both parties, they should prepare themselves, and a day was appointed for the physicians to be not far off; but notwithstanding all the endeavours of the

marquiss, it was concluded by a decree of parliament, that they might be divorced. The lady is since married to another, and hath children by him, and the marquiss hath another wife, and hath got her often with child.

April 7. S. N. After dinner, and just as Mr. *Howlet*, Dr. *Ward*, Mr. *Wray*, Dr. *Moulins*, Mr. *Lifter* and myself, were going out of our lodging, towards the *Chasse Marée* (a kind of a cart, that fetches fish from *Calais*) one of the *French* king's officers, a captain *De Guet*, asked for Monsieur *Moulins*, and while he exchanged two or three words with him, he set his baston (which he had under his cloak, in two or three pieces) together, and presently came in eight or ten musqueteers, who seized on Dr. *Moulins*, and hurried him away in a sedan to the *Bastille*: the captain first read the order or warrant commanding him to apprehend one *Moulins*, wheresoever he could find him.

Dr. Moulins's imprisonment.

Mr. *Howlet*, Dr. *Ward* and Mr. *Ray*, went away this day for *England*; but Mr. *Lifter* and myself, not liking that way of travelling by the *Chasse Marée*, staid a little longer in *Paris*; in which time we could not learn any thing concerning the imprisonment of Dr. *Moulins*; only guesses were made that his chief crime was, he had lived too long among the *French* Protestants at *Languedoc*; and that the *French* king suspected he might discover the present inclinations of that party after his arrival in *England*, he being very intimate with some of good quality that were discontented with the present manage of affairs in *France*.

When O. C. was protector, there happened this accident at *Nismes*; the Protestants having a right to chuse magistrates, the popish party were resolved to hinder them by force on the day of election, and had some of the king's guards, and all the papists, in arms, standing ready about the town-house; the Protestants, they also armed in great numbers, and one Protestant gentleman being nigh the door that led into the *Maison de Ville*, had a pistol in his hand, and being demanded why he stood in that posture, answered to defend their privileges; then they commanded him to deliver up his arms, which he refusing, the guard shot him dead, which gave such an alarm to the Protestants, that they immediately fired at the guard and others, and killed the bishop of *Nismes's* nephew, and then turn'd the guards and the rest of the Papists out of the city; after that they began to fortify, and had many

many of their friends come in daily to their assistance from the *Severnes*, &c. But some more considerate persons consulting what was to be done, at last resolved to send Dr. *Moulins*, then in *Nismes*, into *England*, and acquaint the protector with it, and to desire his intercession with the court of *France*; so Dr. *Moulins* immediately and privately rode away for *Lyons*, in bitter snowy weather, and in eight days arrived in *England*, having first waited upon lord *Lockhart* the *English* ambassador.

In this journey Dr. *Moulins* rode post with a *Frenchman*, that seeing the post-boy fall down dead with the extremity of cold, opened his codpiece, and rub'd his *Membrum virile* with snow, till he recovered him, which he did in a little time, and the boy was able again to ride post.

Dr. *Moulins* stay'd but a very short time at *London*, and then returned with secretary *Turblo's* letters to the *English* ambassador and cardinal *Mazarine*; the postscript of the letter to cardinal *Mazarin*, was written with the protector's own hand; the words were to this effect; *As you shew kindness to the Protestants, so you have me your friend or your foe.*

Dr. *Moulins* upon his arrival at *Paris*, delivered the letters to the ambassador, within a short time; he attended on the ambassador to the cardinal's, who read the letter, and then had some private conference with *Lockhart*, and then *Moulins* was called in who heard the cardinal promise to the ambassador, the Protestants at *Nismes* should not be meddled with, and added, Mr. Ambassador, *You know France is not in a condition to deny England any thing.* Accordingly orders were sent express to stop the troops which were marching against *Nismes*, and within a day's march of the place when they received the orders.

Dr. *Moulins* sent a note for some linen to our lodging, and Mr. *Lifter* returned by the messenger a little billet, which only condoled his misfortune, but the captain of the guard at the *Bastile* tore it in pieces. All this while we heard no crime laid to his charge. He was kept a prisoner at the king's charge, and well dieted.

After the city of *London* was burnt, the *French* king sent a courtier, I think *Romingny*, to *Moulins*, to acquaint him he should make any province in *France* his prison, if he would give security of a great sum of money, not to go out of it, which he said he was not able to give. Some time after, the king offered him all *France* for his prison upon the said security; to which he answered as before. At last the king sent for him, and told him he had done him no wrong, and then

bid him begone out of *France* within a fortnight. SKIPPON.

This relation I had from Dr. *Moulins* after his coming into *England*.

The *Romish Gallican* church consists at present of 14 archbishopricks, which are, The state of the Revenue of the church of France.
 1. *Lyons*. 2. *Ambrun*. 3. *Auchs*. 4. *Arles*. 5. *Tours*. 6. *Rheims*. 7. *Bordeaux*. 8. *Toulouse*. 9. *Bourges*. 10. *Narbonne*. 11. *Aix*. 12. *Vienne*. 13. *Rouen*. 14. *Paris*.

Under these archbishopricks are 85 suffragan bishopricks, which contain 7000 parsonages, priories, and parishes, above 1140 commanderies of *Malta*, 157000 chapels, besides 557 abbeys of friers, and above 700 convents of *Cordeliers*, exclusive of the *Carmelites*, *Jacobins*, *Augustines*, *Carthusians*, *Cælestines*, *Jesuits*, *Minims*, and other religious orders, who possess 14077 convents.

To these clergy belong 259000 farms, and 17000 acres of vineyards, which are by them leased out in *France*, not reckoning 3000 acres, from which they take the third and the fourth.

The revenue of the said church is estimated at 920000 crowns per annum, exclusive of the reservations in their leases, which amount to 120000 crowns, consisting of three pieces each.

The said calculation was made by order of the assembly of the clergy of *France*, held in the *Augustines* convent, at the end of *Pont-Neuf* in *Paris*, the 16th of November 1635.

April $\frac{1}{11}$ Mr. *Poley*, Mr. *Lifter*, and myself, gave 18 livres a man, for our places in a coach waggon that will hold eight persons. We had in the coach with us one of *Geneva* (a *Genevrite*, as they vulgarly call them) who had lived many years, and married a wife in *Venice*; but the last year the inquisition took notice of some that were privately Protestants, and clap'd two into prison. This man had knowledge of their design, and therefore presently retired out of *Venice*, and undertook a journey for *London*, where he resolved to end his days.

We had also in the coach a stout young *Swedish* soldier, who had stolen away a wench, and that morning we set forward, three *Frenchmen*, pretending themselves the king's officers, attempted to get her away, and carry him to prison, because he had habited the wench (which he sometimes called his wife) in mens clothes; but the *Swede* outvapour'd them, and turn'd them down stairs, and went after them, hectoring them all the way to the inn-gate. When he came to *London*, I met with this *Swede*, and asked him in *Italian* where was his *Bella Donna*, he replied he had dismiss'd her

SKIPTON. her, and said, *Io tengo una piu bella, i. e.*
I have got a handsomer.

This day we rode thro' *S. Dennis*, four leagues from *Paris*, and four leagues further
Beaumont. lodg'd in *Beaumont*, a little town situated by the river *Loazze*.

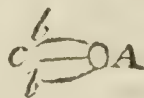
We observed some few vineyards this day.

April 2. We travell'd five leagues, and dined at the *White Cross* in *Tilliar*, and
Beauvais. three leagues further lodg'd in *Beauvais*, a large town, but the houses low and built of wood.

The royal manufacture here employs 400 or 500 men in weaving tapestry, having several looms in long chambers, and painters are invited hither, to draw the pictures that are to be woven. We observed those that weave, have the picture they work just underneath the tapestry they are weaving.

The cathedral in this city is not finished; the choir is built like those in *England*, very high and handsome, both within and without.

A large piazza in this town.



The ordinary women in these parts, have an odd head dress. *A* is a kind of rowl behind their heads, *b b* are wires covered with linen, that go on each side, *c* another wire that comes over the top of the head to the forehead.

St. Puy. April 3. After six leagues riding, we dined at *S. Puy*, then three leagues brought us to *Pois*, a village where the duke of *Crecqui* hath a castle.

Abbeville. April 4. We went five leagues, and dined in *Airaines* a great village, and after dinner rode four leagues more to *Abbeville*, a large town built with wooden houses. Good guns and pistols made in this city.

Three or four large piazza's here.

S. Ulfranc is the chief church, a tall stone building not yet finished.

The river *Somme* crosses the city in three places; little vessels of eighty tuns come up hither, the sea being but three leagues off.

Between *Airaines* and *Abbeville* we pass'd by a fort called *Oudenaerd*.

Montreuil. April 5. We rode five leagues, and dined in *Berneil*, a village five leagues thence, and lodged in *Montreuil*, a garrison town, indifferently built, but well paved and fortified; where we entered, there was a treble wall and good ditches, and where we went out, was a steep descent into a marshy ground.

April 6. We travelled two leagues very bad way to *Fran*, a small village, and

after dinner rode hilly way, five leagues to *Bologne*, a city built on a hill. The suburb *Bologne* is called the *Basse Ville*, where we lodged. A little sea port here.

All the way in this journey from *Paris*, we bargain'd for our meat before meals, and at night did the like, or else bought it out of the cooks shops, paying only for our lodging, use of table-linen, &c. in the inn.

Picardy is a great corn country.

April 7, Saturday. We rode bad hilly way, three leagues to *Marquise*, a village, and four leagues further to *Calais*. Half a league before we came into the town, we descended into the fenny country about it. We pass'd also by a strong citadel, and among many little cottages which are used (as some told us) for pest-houses in time of infection. Entering *Calais*, the guards only examined how many *English* and *French* we were in the coach.

April 8. After taking a passport from the *Juge-major*, and our things search'd, we delivered our passport without the gate, and entering the *English* packet-boat, sail'd two hours S. W. to gain the wind, and in three hours, without once changing board, we safely arrived at *Dover*; a boat fetching us ashore.

My lord marquis of *Douglafs* and many *Scots* came over in the same packet-boat with us.

A searcher and a fellow that took our names at *Dover*, had their fees.

Monday, April 9. I took post with colonel *Napier* his son, and my lord *Napier*, and rode 15 miles to *Canterbury*, where we saw the cathedral, which is a fair building; steps lead up into the choir, and other steps up to the altar; and behind that are two or three ascents to the upper end. We were shewn the place *Thomas Becket* was thrown down, and the stones coloured, as the Papists say, with his blood. The church under the choir is used by the *Walloons*, who are considerable in this city. The window in the north wing of the church was curiously painted. There is old painting on wood, which represents the manner how *Thomas Becket* was killed: The stones where his shrine was, are worn away, they say, with peoples kneeling. About twenty-two bishops are buried in this church. I observed the monument of Sir *Thomas Thornhurst*, killed at the isle of *Red*. Bishop *Chicheley*, who is represented by his figure in episcopal habit, and by a stone skeleton very well made. *Henry IV.* and his queen, lay on a fair tomb. *Nicholas Wotton*, the first Protestant dean. A plain monument, without any inscription, said to be cardinal *Chastillon's*

Chastillon's. Depositum Poli. Bishop Court-
ney's, and bishop Theorbo's monuments.
The black prince's brass figure on a tomb.
William Prudas, esquire, who died at *Mae-*
stricht 1632. Sir *James Hales*, buried in
the sea, as he was going ambassador to
Portugal, 1596. The monument of
duke of *Clarence*, earl of *Somerset*, second
son to *Henry IV.*

At *Canterbury* we took fresh horses for
Sittingbourne; and from thence I took a

fresh horse, with a post-boy, and rode *SKIPPO*.
through *Hollingbourne*, and nine miles from
Sittingbourne arrived in safety at *Leeds-*
Abbey, Sir *William Meredith's* house, whence
I began my travels, *Friday April 16, 1663.*

DEO
OMNIPOTENTI
MAXIMAS REDDIT
GRATIAS
P. S.

We shall fill up this vacant place with the following curious piece, which we had
otherwise thoughts of omitting, because of the observation of its being imperfect, ac-
cording to the subsequent note indorsed on the copy by our author, viz. "This was
"transcribed faultily by the library-keeper, and by his copy I wrote this out at *Venice*,
"1663."

Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστῳ Ἀχιμῷ ἀρχόντῳ γαμηλίῳ δεκάτῃ ἰσαμένῃ
ἐκκλησίᾳ κυριεύοντῳ ἐκκλησίας Τηγεῖα Μενάνδρῳ Μενάνδρῳ
Μελίῳ. Ἐπειδ' Εὐβολῷ Δημητρίῳ Μαραθώνιῳ ἐν τε
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔφθασε ἑχειροτονηθῆ καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως
ἀλλετρεῖται ἀρέθῃσιν μετὰ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνθέσεων
παντακαλῶς καὶ περὶ πύλῳ βραβεύσας τότε πρῶτον Παναθη-
ναίοις ἐποίησα τὸν δημόσιον Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν δήλῳ ἐτιμῆθη,
καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀναγορευμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἵεναι Θεάτρῳ
πρεσβύσας τῷ πλεονάκῃ, καὶ ἀγωνισάμενος ἐκτενῶς πολλὰ
τῶν χρησίων Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς ἐν δήλῳ ἐπεριεποίησε ἱερεῦς
τε γενόμενος τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ πάλιν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ
καὶ πάλιν αἰεσθῆναι ὑπὸ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λαχόντος τῷ Διονύσῳ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μεγάλας δαπανήσας πομπὰς καὶ τὰς
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅμα δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων καλλῶς καὶ ἱεροπρεπῶς
συντέλεισεν οὕτω συνόδῳ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς εὐχρίσιν ἀναξίας
ἀποδόχῳ χάριτας ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, οἱ δὲ Δοχολῶτα βαλὴ τῷ
ἐλάχοντος τὰς προέδρας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπίστασαν ἐχρημάτισεν
Τηρίτου τῶν ἐν τῇ κοινῇ βαλὴ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὃ τὸ δοκεῖ
τῇ βαλὴ στεφανῶσαι Εὐβόλῳ Δημητρίῳ Μαραθώνιῳ τῷ
ἱερῷ τῷ θεῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐδίας εἰς τὸν
δῆμον χειροτονῆσαι δέκα πρεσβεῖς ἡδὲ κρείστοις τινὲς
ἐπέλθοιεν εἰς τὸν Ἀθήνης συμβαλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν
παρακαλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον συνεπιχορῆσαι τοῖς ἐψηφισμέ-
νοις Εὐβόλῳ φιλανθρώποις ἀναγράψαι τότε τὸ ψηφισ-
μα καὶ εἰς τὴν εἴλην λιθίνην γῆσαι ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ
οἱ πρεσβεῖς τῆς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὸ ψηφισμα ἡδὲ καὶ
χειρολόνται ἀνθεστηρίαν ἐμμήριον τις ἐνόφιλον ἢ νεῖον
Δημητρίῳ Μαραθώνιῳ ἐπεψηφίσθαι καὶ Ἀθήνησιν
εὐβόλῳ Κλιόδημῳ ἱερεῦς Διονύσῳ.
ἱερεῦς Ἑλληνικός. ἱερεῦς Κλιόδημῳ. μετὰ ἄλλων.
λίθῳ μαρμόρεῳ συνιστάμενῳ εἰς μνημόσινον θειάμβῃ
Μενάνδρῳ ψηφίσματι βελευσίῃ.

Regnante Aristo Æchimo decimo die Ja-
nuarii in consilio dominante Menandro
Terii consilium Menandri ex Melita.
Postquam Eubolus Demetrius Marathonus
pervenit ad Magistratus et dominia hono-
rificè consecratus et electus gloriosè cum
filio et sociis aliis omnibus bene et ad
modum decenter superatis, præcipuè in
Panathanæo cum Respub. Athenarum ita
se præclarè gessit cum aliis qui in Milo
reperiebantur aurea corona in publico The-
atro acclamatus, frequentibus perfunctus
legationibus, ac in prælio per longum tem-
pus non minore utilitate dimicavit, Athe-
nienfium in Delo commorantium et maxi-
morum electus Deorum sacerdos. Dein
rursus Æsculapii et à populo acclamatus,
fortunâ favente, sacerdos Bacchi, et ex
propriis nullis consumptis et Græcorum
Romanorum optime et sacrè quacunq;
executus, ut plebeius videretur benignita-
tem apud indignos, patentibus gratiis et
optimo omine impertito Docholite vero con-
sulente electo ad præsentis munus, qui in
futurum censoriâ dignitate fuit donatus, à
populo consilium ceperunt, ut in coronato-
rum cætu Eubolus Demetrius Marathonus
in posterum Deorum corona ob benevolen-
tiam in populum decoraretur, qua de causa
decem nuntii fuerunt nominati ac nescio qui
in senatu Atheniensium interpretes ut à po-
pulo annuente peterent, ut starent decretis.

Pro Eubolo et captam partem subscriberent, et in columnâ marmoreâ reponerent in Herculis
templo, Nuntii Athenarum hoc mense Decembris statutum decreverunt advenarum Amator,
Felix Demetrius Marathonus et Athenis confirmabit consilium.

In Sex Coronis sunt nomina testium.

In Consilio Clidemus. Sacerdos Bacchi

Sacerdos Græcus. Sacerdos Clidemus.

Cum aliis.

Lapis marmoreus in memoriam triumphi votis consilii positus.

T H E

S U P P L E M E N T See Vol. I.
page 311.

T O

Navarette's Account of CHINA.

C H A P. I.

Some things added relating to what has been already-writ.

1. **A**FTER putting an end to my travels, I have remember'd some passages that will suffice to make up another chapter; and I doubt not but if I would give myself time to reflect upon what I have seen, I might find matter to dilate further upon.

2. In the first and last books I spoke something of the civility, modesty and good behaviour of the *Chinese* soldiery; and considering the experience I had of it, I might well have enlarged upon the subject. Methinks the *Chinese* observe what the emperor *Aurelianus* writ to one of his lieutenants, *Vopiscus in Aurel.* sets it down; Friend, says he, if you would be a good commander, and desire to live, keep your soldiers within bounds: I will not have the countryman complain, that a chicken or a bunch of grapes is forcibly taken from him; I will call them to account for a grain of salt, or drop of oil, they have unjustly made use of. I will have my soldiers grow rich with the spoils of their enemies, not with the tears and sweat of my subjects. I will have them wear their riches on their backs, not lavish them in taverns; I will have them chaste in their quarters, and no complaints come against them. *S. Lewis* king of *France* could not have given better instructions to those that serv'd in his armies. No body will have cause to admire what *Marcus Scaurus* writes, that he saw num-

bers of soldiers lying under a great tree loaded with fruit, and none of them stretch'd out his hand to gather an apple. Nor will that be thought strange which *Lampridius* writes of *Alexander Severus*, that the soldiers march'd to the *Persian* war as if Soldiers. they had been senators; and that the country people lov'd them as if they had been their brothers, and honour'd the emperor as a god. All this I saw in effect practis'd in *China*; when five or six or more companies come into a town, it is no otherwise than if half a dozen honest known guests were coming; no man is disturbed, no body is in a consternation, or hides, as we see they do in other parts where they are under greater ties. Many men seem to persuade themselves, that the day they are lifted and appear in arms, they are to lay aside all Christianity; this we daily see, there is no denying of it.

3. That brave and renowned general *Belisarius* behav'd himself much better, as *Procopius de Bello Vand.* writes: he order'd two soldiers to be impal'd for some crimes, and being inform'd that the rest mutter'd, he said to them, Know that I am come to fight with the arms of religion and justice, without which no victory or happiness is to be expected. I will have my soldiers keep their hands clean to kill the enemy. I will never suffer that man in my army whose fingers are stain'd with blood, though he be a *Mars* in war. Force without justice

NAVA-
RETTE.

justice and equity, is cowardice, not valour. Read what *Oleaster* observes in *Deut. ii. You shall buy meat of them for money*. All Catholics who serve, especially officers, ought to have these words engrav'd on their arms. Punishment is very material, every man trembles when he knows for certain there is no pardon. The Discipline. *Chinese*s make good use of this method. Complaint was made at *Fo Ngan*, that some soldiers had stole a hen; the captain who lived near the church, inquir'd into the matter, and gave the signal that he would sit to try it. I presently went up into a garret, the window whereof overlooked all the court-yard, and part of the room where he sat in judgment; I stood a while to observe what was done, though somewhat back that I might not be seen: there was no hearing what they said, but the result of it was, that they stretch'd out a soldier upon his face in the court-yard, and laying his thighs bare, began to bastinado him with thick cudgels, that I wonder they did not kill him: It made my heart ake, and I observed that after one blow was given, till the other fell, that wretch's flesh shook so that it was terrible to behold. I went down immediately, having no heart to see that cruel execution. Who will dare to offend, seeing such punishments? But the other was more severe, when as I writ before, a soldier was beheaded for paying a half-penny short. *S. Thomas* writes much to this purpose in *Opusc. de Erudit. Princip*. And in his sixth book he makes a special chapter of the mischiefs of war.

Winds.

Tufon.

4. It is usual about the beginning of *August* to have a terrible storm of east-winds on the coast of *China*, which the *Portugueses* and others call *Tufon*, a corruption of the *Chinese* name *Tung fung*, that is, easterly wind. The seamen dread it, and always endeavour to get into harbour before it comes. It sometimes reaches as far as *Manila*, the *Indians* call it *Bagio*: I have felt it, and indeed it is terrible, and does much hurt among buildings, sugar canes, and other product of the earth. I have read that of late years they have declin'd, but they know nothing of it in those parts; for I have discours'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* about these *Tufons*, and could never find there was any alteration in them. There is no necessity of multiplying miracles, or attributing them to any body to no purpose.

Cochin-
china.

5. The kingdom of *Cochinchina* lies betwixt *Tunquin* and *Champa*; the country is good, and abounds in silk; they trade from thence to *Manila*, whither they carry curiosities from *Japan*, those people having a trade there. They have also sail'd

thither from *Manila*; sometimes they have made good returns, and other times thro' the private fancies of some men have lost all. The soldiery of this kingdom is the best in all those parts, is well-disciplin'd, and most days the king keeps forty thousand men at court to shoot at a mark, and those that aim best are rewarded with pieces of silk. I have several times heard *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* say, they are all excellent marksmen; and that the words of *Judges* xx. 16. cannot be better apply'd to any people in the world than to those of *Cochinchina*. This is the reason they have always the better in their continual wars with the king of *Tunquin*, though this last exceeds the other in all respects, not only in number of men, but in wealth, and the multitude of elephants he carries to war. They have also many light galleys, with which they do wonders in the great river that runs up to the court. There is no doubt but the *Europeans* have furnish'd that and other powerful kingdoms, having provided them fire-arms, cannon and gunners. There is at present in *Cochinchina*, a half-black of *Portuguese* breed, who in my time was made knight of the order of *Christ*; he is an able officer, an excellent founder, and very curious at making chain-bullets, and other warlike instruments.

Camboxa.

6. The kingdom of *Camboxa* lies more to the south in the latitude of *Manila*, and therefore the people are not so warlike as authors write; and experience teaches, they have but little blood, and are afraid to lose it. That king is not so well guarded as others. *Manila* has always had a trade with that country, which has excellent timber for shipping. Some years since the people of *Manila* built one there which was famous, and the memory of the ship of *Camboxa* lasts to this day. Another was built in my time, but perish'd unfortunately. It has often been argued at *Manila*, whether it be more advantageous to build shipping in our islands, or in foreign kingdoms, *Comboxa*, *Siam*, &c. I have heard arguments on both sides, and read printed memorials upon the subject at *Madrid*: It is not easy to decide. Those that are for building abroad favour the *Indians*, tho' some will not have it so; certain it is, they that do not groan under the labour do not like it: I do not design to concern myself with these affairs, but it can be no harm to repeat what others say. I often heard it said, by a person of judgment and well meaning, that the best way was to buy ships of the *English* or *Portugueses* of those countries, who build good ones, and so strong, that they sail them into *Europe*. I must confess I saw an *English* frigate of

forty guns at *Malaca*, and was a good while aboard it with some *Portugueses*; it might appear with credit any where, and the captain did assure me it did not cost full eight thousand pieces of eight. The ship, which in the year 1665 was forced from *Macao* to *Manila*, and so much commended by all men at the port of *Cavite* because of its goodness, was taken by the governor D. *John de Salcedo* to sail to *Acapulco*, had been built at *Goa*, and cost not seven thousand pieces of eight; I sail'd in it four months, which is enough to know whether it was good: and if every ship were to cost *Manila* ten or twelve thousand pieces of eight, it were too cheap. I did not mention *Cambaxa* to this purpose, tho' I am not sorry it came into my mind; my design was to give an account, that sixty leagues up the river beyond the court, there are certain beautiful buildings, with the most curious workmanship imaginable; the relation of their excellency and perfection which was brought to *Goa*, astonish'd all men. I sent that which I had from D. *Francis Enriquez de Lofada* into *Spain* as a rarity, there is no inserting of it in this place. The work some say is *Mosaic*, others *Roman*: some will have it to be the work of *Alexander the Great*, who they fancy went so far, and ordered that stately palace to be built as a memorial to posterity of his being there. It consists of square courts and cloisters, as they are in fashion at present, but no part is without fine mouldings and carvings; it is the king's pleasure-house. When D. *James de Lofada* went over thither to build the ship I said was cast away, the king was taking his pleasure, and therefore the *Spaniards* went up thither and saw this wonder. Above it is the large kingdom of *Laos*, a country abounding in musk, civit, frankincense, benjamin and storax, which commodities they carry to *Manila*, and thence they are sent into *New Spain*. The country swarms with people; on the west it borders upon *Siam*, on the north it draws near to the kingdom of *Tibet*; north-west of it is *Bengala*, and then it stretches a little up to the *Mogul's* dominions; lower is *Narsinga*, but at a considerable distance.

7. I have writ something concerning the kingdom of *Siam*; it is certainly very great and powerful, and crossing it by land you come to *Tanassary*, a famous port of great trade; they that take this way need not come within many leagues of *Malaca* or *Sincapura*, the way is shorter and saves much sea. They travel in carts about twenty days journey, and go in caravans, but seldom lie in any town. At night they inclose themselves with their carts and blankets, to keep off the many ele-

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phants there are about the fields. And tho' ^{NAVA-}that defence would avail but little, should ^{RETTE.} any elephant attack it, yet it serves to scare them so that they do not gather near it; thus men and beasts lie in safety. At *Tenassarim* there are always vessels to go over to *Coromandel*, *Bengala*, and other parts; this is a convenient way for those that have not much baggage. The chief thing the *Moors* deal in from that part is elephants, they are cheaper than those of *Ceylon*, but not so noble.

8. F. *Letona*, cap. 2. n. 26. Speaking of the gulph of *Sincapura*, in his description of the *Philippine* islands, says, it is the way to the gulph of *Goa*, the court of *India*: A very improper expression, for there is no such thing as a gulph of *Goa*; gulphs of *Bengala* and *Ceylon* there are. That city is seated almost in the midst of the coast of *Malabar*, which stretches out north and south from cape *Cemori* to *Suratte*. North-west of *Suratte* is the kingdom of *Cambaya*, tributary to the *Mogul*, *Cambaya*. where there is abundance of agate; abundance of it is wrought at *Suratte*, and very cheap, as I observed before. At *Macaasar* I read in a *Spanish* book call'd *Prado espiritual*, written by F. *Santoro*, that the first velvet ever was seen in *Europe*, came from this kingdom. In the time of the *Roman* power that king sent a present, and among other things some pieces of velvet up the gulph of *Persia*, and thence by land, which was easy enough; the way is well known.

9. As to *Philip* the second of *Spain's* letter, which I said was shewn to the captain general of *Macao*, forbidding any from the *Philippine* islands to pass that way into *China*; I say they cannot make use of it, for as much as pope *Urban* the eighth publish'd his bull some years since at *Macao*, forbidding any person under heavy censures to hinder missionaries from going into *China* and other parts, what way soever they could find out. This bull, if obligatory, takes off all dependence on that letter; if not, we must have recourse to the supreme judge; I did so, and *Clement* the tenth, who now governs the church, confirm'd the said bull in all its parts; if this be not enough, we must bear our neighbours misfortunes with patience. And to take away all colour of authority from that letter, I will here insert what *Philip* the fourth in his councils of *Portugal* and *India* decreed, in *January* 1632. 1. That in regard the right and duty of preaching and dilating the gospel is common to all the faithful, and particularly recommended to religious men; therefore the missions of *Japan* and *China* are not to be confin'd to the fathers of the society alone, but that all orders have liberty to go thither, and get in the

NAVARETTE. best they can, particularly those who have been allowed to go over to the *West-Indies* and have monasteries there. 2. That they go not only by way of the *East*, but of the *West-Indies*, within whose limits *Japan* and the *Philippine* islands are, and which is the most convenient passage for the religious of *Castile*. There follow nine other heads, which in effect pope *Urban* mentions in his bull of 1633. So that the prohibition of any others going to *Japan* but the *Jesuits*, and that by way of the *East-Indies*, is taken off by the pope, the king and council of *Portugal*. The same for *China*, and other kingdoms.

10. There are some things to be observ'd in the description of *Manila*, and other islands in that sea, written by *F. Letona*, whom I knew and convers'd with at *Manila*. Tho' this father was curious in observing and inquiring, yet he never going farther than *Manila*, could not be an eye-witness of what he says, nor be exact in all things.

Amboyna. 11. He made no mention of the island *Amboyna*, which abounds in cloves; nor of that of *Bima* which is near it and considerable; and so of others towards *Solor* and *Timor*. The *Dutch* are strong at *Amboyna*, and have ingross'd to themselves all the trade of cloves, it falls on the back of *Macassar*. Not long before my coming to *Macassar*, the sultan and prince *Carroro* had been with forty thousand men to ruin the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. The secretary *Francis Mendez*, knight of the order of Christ, a good Christian, and akin to the sultan, assur'd me, he had made so great a progress, that the *Dutch* had abandon'd their works, and betaken themselves to their vessels to go off: but that the *Mahometans* at the last attack falling to drinking, the *Dutch* took heart, return'd to their works, and being encourag'd by the enemy's folly, got the better of them, they returning with shame to *Macassar* when they had been at an incredible charge. The secretary much lamented the defeat of that expedition, which had been very advantageous to the *Mahometan*, and perhaps had prevented his falling into the hands of the *Dutch*, as he did in the year 1670.

Manila. 12. *F. Letona*, n. 5. writes, that within the archbishoprick of *Manila*, there were certain heathen *Blacks*, natives of the island, unconquer'd, call'd *Zambales*, and very barbarous. I said something of them before, they are most expert archers; but they deceiv'd him who said they were the same as the *Zambales*; for these *Zambales* are mortal enemies to the *Blacks*, and much dreaded of them. There are very good Christians among them; their towns are on the skirts of the mountains, to hin-

der the *Blacks* from coming at the towns of the *Indians*. For these and other reasons, the *Zambales* are exempt from contributions and personal duty; they pay their taxes in silver, not in *specie*. The *Blacks* have friz'd hair like the *Cafres*, the *Zambales* have not. The *Blacks* are not conquer'd, nor is it possible to subdue them, tho' a hundred thousand men were gather'd to that purpose. 1. Because the mountains are inaccessible, and so thick wooded, that unless the shelter be destroy'd, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* can advance a step, and the *Blacks* run in and out at every hole like hares. 2. Because they standing behind the trees with their arrows, shoot as many as they please without being seen, by reason their colour cannot be distinguish'd from that of the tree. If the *Indians* and *Zambales* go into the mountains, they have generally the worst of it, and therefore they endeavour to catch the *Blacks* in open fields, but it is no easy matter. I knew them sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the *Indians*; when they were at peace, whole troops of them would come down to the towns; we gave them tobacco, rags and wine, which pleas'd them very much, and some of them help'd the principal *Indians* in their tillage. We admir'd to see them so fat, tall and strong, whereas they eat nothing but wild mountain roots, some fruit and raw flesh, without any clothing but their skin, or any other bed but the ground.

13. Every one of them has certainly his bow and arrows, the bow is as long as he that uses it, they make them of a palm-tree as hard as iron; the string is made of the barks of trees, so strong that nothing can out-do them. Besides the bow, they use another little iron weapon, broader than one's hand, a quarter of a yard long, the handle very fine; they said they made it of burnt oysters and snails; it look'd like delicate marble. This weapon serves them near at hand, with it they cut off a man's head at the mouth very cleverly. All the people along those mountains, as far as *New Segovia*, value a scull mightily to drink out of, so that he who has most sculls is the bravest and noblest among them; and they go out to cut off heads only for this honour, without any other prospect. In some places they make use of the teeth of those heads they cut off, stringing and making garlands of them to wear on their heads; he that has most is best look'd upon. There are a great many people on the mountains of *Orion*, upon the bay of *Manila*, but they are peaceable; all the time I was there, they never did the least hurt. I saw some companies,

nies, and particularly an old man, whom I made much of rather out of fear than love; I laid my hand on his back, and it felt like an ass, it was so rough and hairy.

14. N. 12. F. *Letona* makes the mouth of the bay at the island call'd *Marivelez*, four leagues wide, it has two mouths, but neither of them a league over. The little mouth is widest, because the land lying low the water spreads, but it has not much depth. The great one is very deep, but not above half a league over. All men complain that a fort has not been built on that island, to secure the two channels against the attempts of enemies; if canon were planted there, no ship could escape through without being hit. Those channels lie open to any invader to possess himself of *Pampanga*, and other provinces, without the least let from *Cabite*, or *Manila*; and thence they may cross the lake, ravage the whole island, and seize all provisions. I ask'd a major, why a thing of that consequence was not minded? He made me the usual answer, that it was because they took no care of the publick good.

15. Among some reflections made upon a memorial presented at *Madrid* some years since, I saw a note made by some one who had been in the islands; and having nothing to answer or object to one point, he says, religious men think they do nothing, unless they intrude themselves to govern all. This is an excellent method to discredit all they write or propose; and yet who could be more plain and unbiass'd than they in proposing to his Majesty what is for the good of his subjects? A great plague has fallen upon the *Indians*, which is, that no notice is taken of what their spiritual fathers advise for their good; and no sooner is any thing writ against religious men, but it is presently credited, or at least care is not taken to inquire whether it be true or not. It happen'd in my time at *Manila*, that a governor was accus'd, and heinous things laid to his charge; however it was resolv'd he should govern out his time, and be accountable when he gave an account of his office. Complaint was made, I know not for what, of a grave religious man of a certain order, and immediately they sent and seiz'd all he had, took him out of the monastery, and carry'd him fifty leagues off; I do not argue whether the crime objected was great or not; but supposing it to be such, had that friar no superiors? The secular power presently took it in hand, without granting him a hearing, or finding any politick excuse to delay the matter, as they did about the governor, because this they look upon as doing the king good ser-

vice. So they put a good clergyman, for whom D. *Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* had a great respect, into irons, and banish'd him the islands, in the sight of many infidels. What opinion can those heathens have of a priest so banish'd by the laity? I will say no more of it here, because I will not pretend to govern; but I could justly complain of one, who writ scandalously against F. *Victorio Riccio*, to whom those islands are more beholden than to all that are or have been there.

16. F. *Letona*, N. 14. makes a distinction betwixt the going out to sea at *Marivelez* for *New Spain* and that for *Terranate*, N. 17. but I can see no reason for it; the season is different, but nothing else. For that reason the ships that go to *New Spain*, stand out to sea towards the island *Luban*, in order to sail away thence with the trade wind to the anchoring-place. This could not be done in going to *Terranate*, because the winds at that time come off the land, and therefore they coasted hard upon a bowling along the shore of *Balagan*, that they might not fall away to leeward. Nor is *Luban* seventeen leagues from *Marivelez*, as he says; in my opinion it is not above twelve, for I sail'd it in *December* between sun-rising and three in the afternoon.

17. He mentions other things which happen'd sometime after the said father was gone from *Manila*. He is much in the right as to what he says concerning D. *Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, and more might have been added. I am of opinion that noble gentleman's great respect to the church and its ministers was the cause why God bless'd him there, and sent him home safe to his country. He gave an excellent example in these and many other particulars.

18. It is to be observ'd, as I have been inform'd from credible persons, that ever since D. *Sabiniano* landed at *Cavite*, no other ship from *New Spain* till this time ever could come to an anchor in that place, which is a great damage to the *Indians*. Who can assign a reason for it? yet certain it is that with regard to God nothing happens by chance, but he permits second causes to work his designs without interrupting their order. When D. *John de Leon* went governor, his ship was left much batter'd near *Palapa*, because one undertook to pilot it, who ought not to have done it, and perhaps out of covetousness. The whole cargo was carry'd to *Manila* upon the backs of *Indians*. I am assur'd by those who were aboard, that above a thousand *Indians* dy'd through the hard labour; and had his Majesty's return, which was but forty thousand ducats, been more, more had dy'd. Let those observe this, who

NAVA- who believe the remittances to *Manila* are
RETTE. very considerable. Before him D. *John*
de Salgado arriv'd at *New Segovia*, and the
same person told me that above two thou-
sand *Indians* dy'd carrying the goods. Can
any thing be more deplorable? Formerly
ships seldom fail'd arriving safe at *Cavite*,
so that all was sav'd without oppressing the
natives, unless the apprehension of meet-
ing enemies happen'd to cause any alter-
ation. D. *James Fajardo* was put into *New*
Segovia.

Winds.

19. God may remedy this if we use
our endeavours. All men agree that if the
ships sail from *Acapulco* any time in *Febru-*
ary or beginning of *March*, they will come
in good time to put into *Cavite*. The rea-
son is plain, because the south-west winds,
which are contrary, do not fix till after
Midsummer; and tho' they should start up
sooner, they are not lasting, and may be
endur'd at sea either lying by, or tacking
as many do, and I saw it practis'd at the
Cape of Good Hope, where are the greatest
storms in the world. There we were twen-
ty-eight days struggling against the wind
and waves, sometimes lying up our head
to the wind, and sometimes traversing from
north to south. But in order that they
may set out of *Acapulco* at that time, the
ships must sail from *Manila* at *Midsummer*,
or sooner; so they sail with fair weather
to *S. Bernardine*, where they take in wood,
water and refreshment; and as soon as the
south-west starts up, they set out upon
their voyage. Pilots vary in their opinions
as to the latitude they are to keep to;
doubtless every man follows his own, for
they are men that will not submit to another,
as in time of peace they may safely do,
as has been said. A good course of life
is very conducing to a good voyage. I
have sail'd with several people of *Europe*,
and to say the truth, they are much beyond
us.

20. I have receiv'd information concern-
ing the supplies sent to *Manila* from well-
meaning and conscientious persons; they
have found in me an openness of heart and
impartiality fit to make it known; it may
be want of interest or prudence in them to
conceal it. The supply that goes from
Mexico for the *Philippine* islands, is some-
times considerable, but is much clipt be-
fore it comes thither. The king's officers
belonging to *Manila*, not those of *Mexico*,
must give the true estimate of those sup-
plies. What follows seems incredible. At
Acapulco they make a sort of hut or arbour
of boughs between the sea and the gover-
nor's door, for the people and commodi-
ties that are to be ship'd. I saw it when
there, it consists of a dozen poles stuck in
the ground, others across them at top, and

over all boughs, hay, and leaves of palm-
tree for a covering. Now for this work
some years they have placed to his Majesty's
account eight thousand pieces of eight ex-
pence, and this defray'd out of the supply
sent to the *Philippine* islands. Can this be
parallel'd in the world? there is a boat
they call *Chata*, which serves to carry goods
and people aboard; when this is mended,
they reckon eight hundred or a thousand
pieces of eight for a few nails, tar, hemp,
and such things; and so in other things,
which an honest minister of state that fears
God and is zealous for his king's good may
easily compute. Besides they send the value
of many ducats in commodities, some of
which at *Manila* are superfluous, and others
of no value.

21. An accident very remarkable hap-
pen'd at *Manila* some years since, which
I have not seen in writing, and think con-
venient to insert in this place. There
was such abundance of pilchards in the bay,
and so many taken, that it was wonder-
ful; all the poor and common sort liv'd up-
on them, and sometimes the great ones eat
them as a dainty; but being extraordinary
cheap, they were a great relief to many
people. The time came when they ban-
ish'd the bishop, and from that moment
they went off and totally vanish'd. This
was much taken notice of, and is so to this
day. Another strange passage fell out,
which is still fresh in the memory of all
men, which was, that when the good arch-
bishop was without the gate of the storc-
houses where they shipp'd him, he shook
the dust off his shoes, and cast some stones
at the city, one of which reach'd D. *Peter*
de Corcuera the governor's nephew, and
hit him on the shin; and tho' the stroke
and hurt was most inconsiderable, it fester'd
and he dy'd of it. The judge *Zapata*
dy'd suddenly. *Tenorio* was beheaded.
The archdeacon of the cathedral dy'd in a
small time. These were all enemies to the
archbishop. But the strangest of all in
my poor opinion was, that a soldier being
commanded to lay hold of the archbishop,
who then had the *Ciborium* with the blest-
ed sacrament in his hands, or at least lean-
ed upon the altar where it was, thinking it
an execrable action, excus'd himself and said,
I will rather die than do it, and laying his
hand to his sword, drew it out and fell up-
on it. God was pleas'd to save his life, as a
reward of the holy zeal he express'd.

22. Much has been said, and many ar-
guments have been made about the royal
chapel D. *Sebastian de Corcuera* built at
Manila; I would willingly dilate upon it,
and write the opinion of the people of those
islands, but will confine myself for some
reasons I have. Certain it is we must not
always

always condemn the demolishing, or commend the erecting of churches; for, as we see in the time of D. *James Faxardo*, some noted churches were demolish'd that the *Dutch* might not fortify themselves in them, and annoy the islands. Under D. *Sabini-ano de Lara* others were thrown down, to prevent the *Chineses* doing the like, and that the cannon might play freely. This demolishing cannot be condemn'd, no more than the same done in other places by the order of pious princes. So in case of erecting of churches, something may occur or intervene that may make it an ill action either in a moral or civil sense; because *a thing is good when so in all respects, and bad through any one defect*. King *Philip* and his council were not offended at the building the house of the poor *Glares* at *Macao*, because it was a nunnery or a church, for both those things are good; but because the place was not convenient for it, being in a country of infidels. When a church is founded or erected, as *David* did, 1 *Chron.* xxii. *Behold I in my poverty am preparing the expence of the house of the Lord*, this was very praise-worthy. But any man is much to be blamed who would raise such structures out of what belongs to others, and is ill gotten; nor would it please God if one should erect churches out of that which he ought to apply to the maintenance of the poor. *St. Chrysostom*, *Hom.* 45. in *Matth.* says thus: For behold those that adorn churches seem to do a good work, if the poor enjoy part of their goods, who build for the glory of God. Would you build the house of God? give a living to the faithful poor, and you will build the house of God. There are two churches, one of living stones, which are the poor, another of dead hewn stones; it is not lawful, nor convenient to forsake the former for the latter. Read what *S. Thomas* in *Cat. Aur. Matth.* xxiii. out of *S. Chrysostom*, writes concerning the structures of the *Pharisees*, which is excellent to this purpose.

23. In the 2^d place that chapel is no way necessary at *Manila*. 1. Because it would imply a neglect in so many good governors as preceded him. 2. Because they have a cathedral just by, and other churches where they may hear a few sermons in lent.

24. Besides, that gentleman spent not a cross of his own in building that chapel, but did it out of the soldiers pay, and that is what maintains it to this day. *No man is said to be generous who spends out of another's purse*. Moreover there are above eight thousand pieces of eight yearly spent in that chapel to defray twelve chaplains, musicians, sacristans, wax and wine for the masses; and there are frauds enough prac-

tis'd about the wax; and at present there are soldiers at *Manila*, who go barefoot, and without swords, and several reform'd captains and ensigns who starve. Where then is the good of that chapel?

25. But allowing there must be a chapel, why must there be twelve chaplains, and the dean have a thousand pieces of eight allow'd him, and the soldiers go naked and starving? Allow four chaplains, let their stipends be lessened, and those eight thousand pieces of eight be divided among them and the soldiers, or poor officers. There is no private interest I know of in this, but only proposing what is for the publick good.

26. But allowing the erecting of it good in all respects, for so we must judge of the intention, yet the condition of those islands at present is nothing like what it was then; then they were rich, now poor, then there were rich men who reliev'd many, at present no man has enough for himself; the trade was then great, and has ever since decay'd; no wonder then if there be reason to alter those things, tho' they were then convenient.

27. The case is fairly stated, if they please there should still be a chapel and chapels, be it so in the name of God; yet the erecting of that cannot be justify'd upon the opinion of one man, against the general consent of all the islands. Another thing very prejudicial to the king's revenue is practis'd in those islands, which is that the governors who receive the taxes, sink a great part for their own use. Thus it is, a governor, for example, receives some thousands in tribute, he makes up his accounts to his own mind, and says, So much for my salary due from his Majesty, so much expended, so much for fees, so much is due to me; he deducts according to his own reckoning, and if he receiv'd a thousand, sets down six hundred, which he delivers after paying himself. The ill consequences of this practice are visible. A considerable man us'd to say it were better the king should pay these men their whole allowance, because they being judges of their own services and merits, pay themselves much more than they deserve.

28. A particular thing happen'd not long since near the town call'd *Lilco*, which is upon the lake of *Bai*; they sow much corn in those parts at present (many thousands of ducats had been sav'd if it had been sow'd sooner); an *Indian* had sow'd a considerable spot of corn. The government sent to view what every man had sow'd, and accordingly to allot what he was to pay contribution. They judged by eye there might be fifty bushels upon that spot, so they enter'd it, and directed the *Indian* to carry the

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the said quantity to *Manila*. The *Indian* urged there could not be so much corn upon the ground, demanded an abatement, but was not allow'd it. He reap'd, and the corn falling short, bought some bushels at above six pieces of eight the bushel, to make up fifty, which he deliver'd, and had not a grain left, and only his labour for his pains. This is true, and I see nothing unlikely in it, no more than in believing that a thousand *Indians* thereabouts ran away to the mountains, perhaps because they saw such practices; God grant no worse follows. Some *Indians* fly unto the mountains, others die under their burdens, others depart *Manila*, as I observ'd before; and I am inform'd of late, there are above three hundred at *Jacatra*; how should there be any left? And it were no small comfort, had they any hopes of relief.

29. I have heard notable circumstances from creditable persons concerning the imprisonment of *D. John de Salzedo*; I will not argue its legality, for it does not belong to me, but it is reported that a governor of those islands us'd to say, In *Spain* a man does not know what he is a going about, and as soon as he comes to the islands, *he finds he is king and pope*. To speak as it really is he should have said, *He is much greater than king or pope*. This is really so, and the ill consequence among many others is, that unless the fear of God checks them from giving way to all their passions, there is no curbing them, nor do the laity or

clergy dare open their mouths, or if they do it costs them dear; and what some men act in the devil's name, they take as service done the king, and under that cloke execute all their wicked designs. We have too many examples of it in those islands, *Peru*, *New Spain*, and other parts. A loyal subject of the king's was wont to say, Father, a man's wickedness may be of that nature, so evident and so prejudicial to the publick, that it may be a good service done to God and the King, to put a stop to it the best that may be, without waiting for orders from above, for that may require four years, and three is too long, for the islands may be ruined in less time. It is only requisite in such cases that the fact be well examined, and then many would be rewarded for having had a hand in it, and not punished. A few years since they carried a viceroy in custody out of *India* into *Portugal*, whose crimes were not so great as those committed such a year at *Manila*. The business was examined, the people accounted good subjects, and the viceroy condemn'd. I shrug'd my shoulders because I had not seen what was done, and all men ought to be heard before we pass judgment upon them. This may serve to give the reader some light into the affairs of those parts, which are nothing like to what we see among us. After I had writ this, I read the copy of the archbishop of *Manila*, *D. Michael de Poblete*, his letter to his majesty's confessor, wherein are many heinous things concerning that gentleman.

C H A P. II.

A Short Supplement to what has been handled in these Books.

1. **A**FTER I had finish'd this work, I accidentally met with the *R. F. Francis Colin's* history of the progress, conversions, and labours of those of the holy society of *JESUS* in the *Philippine* islands; and being, when I liv'd there, particularly acquainted with this great man, and his extraordinary parts, which I do not extol for fear my pen should fall short, as *Tacitus* said of his *Agricola*; *It were a wrong to his other virtues to mention so great a man's integrity and abstinence*; I could not forbear, tho' hastily looking over what he had publish'd; and finding his authority makes good much of what I say, I cannot forbear making my advantage of it to confirm what I have writ. In other particulars he gives some hints at things, to which I must speak my mind, tho' I incur some censure for it, to avoid greater inconveniences; which is the same *Chrysippus*, mention'd by *Stobæus*, urg'd, *serm. 43. For if a man governs ill, he will displease the gods; if well, men*. But since the reader is to be

guided by reason, and not by passion or affection, there is no danger of being shipwreck'd in a calm sea.

2. *Lib. I. p. 2.* he endeavours to prove out of *Ptolomy*, that the *Philippine* islands are the *Maniola*, because of the likeness of that name and *Manila*; but the ground is so weak, that there is no shadow of truth in it. If *Manila* had ever been the name *Manila* of that, or any other island in those seas, the opinion were more tolerable; but it being plain that the name is deriv'd from the situation of the city, because it is for the most part on a morass, which the *Tagales* call *Mainila*, as I observ'd in the first book, *chap. 1.* it follows that nothing to this purpose can be made out by that name. So that as *Cavit* is the name of the port of *Cavite*, because of its shape like a hook; and *Malat*, the name of what we call *Malate*, which signifies a land of salt-peter; so *Manila* is only the name of the place the city *Manila* stands upon, which the author ought to have known, as having been pastor

pastor of those people call'd *Tagales*, which he mentions in his history, where he sets down the *pater-noster* and *ave-maria* in that language.

3. Nor does he make out his assertion when he says, That in the islands they build all their vessels with wooden pins because of the loadstone; and that when out of the water they set them upon stocks: First, because he himself owns that is done for want of iron, and they are set upon the stocks to keep them from the great damp of the country, as also because of the worms. In the next place, because it is not the custom of those islands alone to make use of pins, but of all parts within those seas. The people of *Borneo*, *Mindanas*, *Macassar*, and others use it: And I saw large vessels at *Macassar* built in that nature, so neat and strong that I could not but admire them; so that if the *Philippine* islands had been the *Maniole* because of their using wooden pins, those we have mention'd, and many more, would be so too. Nor did I ever hear that was done, because the loadstone staid the vessels that had iron pins; for tho' there be much of it in some parts, yet it is not all about those seas, where they sail from one island to another, sometimes crossing over twenty or thirty leagues, sometimes coasting fifty or sixty. And if any quantity of that stone be found in any river, it is well known that the *Indians* generally go upon rivers in vessels all of one piece, some whereof are so big they can carry twenty or thirty men, and these need neither wooden nor iron pins.

4. *Chap. ii. p. 6.* he says, They travel over the deserts and sands of *Lybia* and *Tartary* in carts, with rigging like ships. In my first book I mention'd that some had writ this was us'd in *China*, which is not so; in great plains such a thing perhaps might be practicable, where the ground is hard and dry, but it seems difficult in sands where the wheels must sink every moment: Nor can I conceive how those carts are to be guided, for no rudder will alter its motion in the sand. But since I never was in *Lybia* or *Tartary*, I will leave the matter to be try'd by its own probability; but there is no fixing any such thing upon *China*.

5. *Chap. iv. p. 16.* he treats of the first planters and peoplers of those islands, and says, It was *Tharsis* the son of *Javan*, and *Ophir*, and *Hevilath* of *India*, whereof *Gen. x.* makes mention. He assigns that country very antient inhabitants: I make no doubt but those islands might be peopled with great ease, because some of them are very near the continent. It is well known the strait of *Sincapura*, which divides the continent from *Sumatra*, is not a musket-shot over. When I pass'd that way I ob-

serv'd it, and judg'd those islands were all NAVA-RETTE. formerly contiguous as far as *Bantam*, *Java* and *Sumatra*, as is reported of *Sicily*, and others, and that the sea wore out those passages betwixt them. So of consequence when the land of *Malaca* and *Jor* was peopled, these islands follow'd; and from thence it is easy to go over to *Amboyna*, *Bima*, *Solor*, *Timor*, and other Southern parts; and then northward to *Borneo*, then to *Zamboanga*, *Oton*, and others as far as *Manila*. It is no easy matter to decide who were the first planters.

6. *Pag. 19.* he says, The *Chineses* in former times went over and conquer'd the *Philippine* islands, and were masters of all those seas. According to *Barros* they were the first that peopled *Java* (it is more likely they were so of *Manila*); to confirm his opinion he urges, that at *Ilocos* and *Cagayan*, there were found the graves of men larger than the *Indians*, with *Chinese* and *Japanese* arms and accoutrements, who for the sake of the gold conquer'd and peopled these countries.

7. I writ my opinion as to this particular in the first book, and can find no reason to alter my opinion; and when any can be shewn, no man is oblig'd in honour to be obstinate. *Seneca, lib. IV. de Benef. cap. viii.* says thus, *It is not lightness to quit a known and condemn'd error, it is no shame to alter one's opinion.* It is very unlikely they were the first that peopled *Java*; for *Java*, *Bantam*, *Sumatra*, &c. lying so near to *Malaca* and *Jor* which is the continent, what occasion was there for the *Chineses* undertaking so dangerous a voyage, and so very long to them? And if it were as the author will have it, how comes it to pass they left not the least footsteps of their language in those parts? There is no doubt they sail'd to *Manila*, and that some of them might die at *Ilocos* and *Cagayan*, and consequently some of their graves and accoutrements might be found, but that does not make out the other. When I sail'd to *Macasar*, and we were drove from our course near a great island not far distant from *Borneo*, we found in a small isle forty great skulls of men and women, and much broken *China* ware, besides other small things; must we therefore conclude the *Chineses* went thither? It is absolutely impossible; they would have been lost forty times before they reach'd it. We must give it for granted, that the *Chineses* neither take the meridian altitude, nor know the latitude, nor have they instruments to this purpose; how then should they sail where the best *Spanish* and *Portuguese* pilots are daily lost? At present they go to *Manila* as a great voyage, and because they have learn'd much experience. In going to *Si-*

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am and *Camboca* they only coast along the shore. In short, they hit right by chance, for they have no skill.

Tagales.

8. *Chap. xiii. p. 37.* he speaks of the people call'd *Tagales*, whom he makes so courteous and well-bred, that they never use the word *thou* to one another, but always speak in the third person; How does my lord? Whence comes my master? &c. I was minister of the *Tagales*, whose language, tho' I have been from thence eighteen years, I have not forgot. I exercis'd the mission among them, heard thousands of confessions, and preach'd some hundreds of times. I do not say but several of them, and particularly the best sort, use that manner of speaking the author mentions; yet I cannot grant it to be universal; they use a thousand *thou's*, and *be thou's* to the fathers that assist them. They have learn'd some breeding of the *Spaniards* they converse with, and therefore those about *Manila* are more civil than the rest. Discouraging upon this point upon a time with some *Indians*, one of the chief of them then present said, if the *Spaniards* had not come to our country, we had been all mere brutes, the light of the gospel, religion and conversation has made us men. He spoke the truth, and shew'd himself a man of sense and reason; by which it appears the *Tagales* are not of themselves so courteous and well-bred as some will make them.

Idolatry.

9. *Chap. xv. and xvi.* he sets down the multitude of idols those people had; that they ador'd the sun, moon, rainbow, beasts, trees, stones, crocodiles; had idols of the sea, mountains, plough'd lands; ador'd their ancestors, those that were kill'd by lightning, and others. I look upon all this to be very likely, and that they were infected with these errors from the continent of *Malaca*: But there is no doubt they own'd the immortality of the rational soul, which they had been ignorant of, if their first progenitors had been *Chineses*. Nor had these carry'd them such a multitude of idols, since they, in the beginning, and before the sect of *Foe* came thither out of *India*, did not use so many images, tho' they ever ador'd the sun, moon, stars, and heaven.

Swallows
nests.

Chap. xvii. pag. 79. he speaks of the nests I call of swallows. The author calls that bird *salangan*; it is less than our swallows, in all other respects they do not differ, and therefore at *Manila* they generally call them swallows-nests. He is in the right in saying, that when boil'd they look like large *Macaroni*. He tells us they are sold for their weight in gold in *China*, but is much deceiv'd in this particular, and no less in saying that the *Portugueses* of *Macao* using them in their entertainments, are ignorant

of their value; they know it very well, and therefore sell them to the *Chineses*, tho' some now and then eat them as a dainty.

He talks in this place of the bird call'd *berrero* (woodpecker) which with its beak bores trees to build its nest in them, and makes it as big as a hen's nest. I saw that bird at *Acapulco*, it is as big as an ordinary chicken; every day toward night-fall it furiously peck'd a palm-tree, which was within the inclosure of the house where I liv'd; I observ'd it carefully, intending to stop up the entrance of the nest with a plate of iron, to try whether it could break it with the herb they say it knows which has this virtue, and endeavour to discover that herb; I was there alone, and omitted doing it for want of a ladder and help, which I was afterwards sorry for.

Pag. 78. he writes that the great bats of *Batavia* which I have seen, and heard great numbers, are good meat, and their dung good for salt-peter. Captain D. *John de Montemayor*, a good soldier and better Christian, presented memorials in my time to D. *Sabiniano*, for leave to go to the island *Siao* near *Terranate*, where there are deep dens these birds shelter in, to gather a great quantity of their dung, for the intent above-mention'd: The project was good, but the captain very poor, and could not be at the charge, so it came to nothing.

10. *Pag. 79.* He assigns peacocks to the island *Calamianes*. I have already said, there are abundance in several parts thereabouts. I have seen them at *Narsinga*, *Golconda*, *Siam*, *Malaca*, and even in *Madagascar*; and before observ'd, that it is the custom in several kingdoms to make plumes of them, which the *English* and *Dutch* have made their advantage of, sticking the quills in silver, or other matter plated or wash'd, and the servants hold them to drive away the flies when they are at dinner, or in company; they are very fightly. Others make them like large round fans, after the manner of those carry'd at *Rome*, when his holiness goes abroad in *pontificalibus*; and I think in *Latin* either of them is call'd *flabellum*, which was a fan made of peacock's wings, and a very fine web, with which the deacon drove the flies from the altar, during the holy sacrifice of the mass. The *Greeks* use this ceremony, which is very mysterious, as may be seen in our *Ximenez* his ecclesiastical *Lexicon*, verb. *Flabellum*. In some parts of *New Spain* it is usual for the *Acolite* to fan the gnats away, whilst mass is saying, which is very necessary; for there were no saying mass without it, the gnats are so numerous and cruel troublesome, as I observ'd above.

11. *Pag. 8. §. 2.* He treats of the fish *muller*, and of the virtue there is in its teeth

teeth and bones to stop bleeding. I have writ something of it, and a strange accident that befel an *Indian* with this fish. I heard much at *Manila* of the strange virtue there is in those bones to stop bleeding, but the rump-bone is that they say is most valuable.

What he writes, page 83. concerning the *Crocodile*, that it voids no excrement, nor has any passage for it, I had not heard before, nor did it come into my mind to be satisfied in it, but I look upon it to be true as the author says. I writ before, that skulls, bones and pebbles were found in its belly, and was told it swallows the pebbles to ballast itself; I saw, and the author affirms it has four eyes. I allow, as the general opinion, that it has no tongue; and I have read that the *Egyptians* us'd the figure of a *Crocodile*, to represent after their manner the ineffable greatness of God, which was to denote, that as that creature had no tongue, so no tongue was sufficient to express that supreme and infinite greatness; it might be considered and reflected on, but no tongue in the universe could give an account of it.

I writ before that the female *Crocodile* devours all her young she can; the difference betwixt us is, that the author says, she swallows them as they come into the water; I said it was down the current, as I was told several times, and it may be reconcil'd by allowing her to lay the eggs upon land near the current; so the main substance be the same, it matters not if there be some difference, as to any particular accident. I also said, that two bags of pure musk had been found where the two short forelegs join to the body, the author says under the gills. Neither is this very material. He adds, that the female only goes out upon land, and not the male; but I never came near enough to examine whether they were males or females.

12. *Num.* 143. the author speaks of the manner how, and from whence buffaloes, horses and goats were carried into those islands. I had been really very glad he had set down what became of *Leitona's* ass, that was carried from *New Spain* to cover mares, for it would be no small diversion to the reader. I will not insert it in this place, because I am not well satisfy'd in all its circumstances.

Monkeys. P. 8. He sets down the manner how the *Indians* catch monkeys, whereof there are vast multitudes in those islands, and close by *Manila*; it is a thing not to be question'd.

In the following pages he writes of the fruit call'd *Nanca*, I writ the same the author does. He also treats of the tree call'd

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amiot, in the trunk whereof most excellent water is found, which is a great refreshment to passengers. To me that is more wonderful which drops from the *bejuco*, some are large and twine about the trees, the end hangs downwards, some of them higher, some lower; the traveller cuts off the nib, and presently a spout of water runs from it as clear as crystal, enough and to spare for six or eight men. I have drank to my satisfaction of it, found it cool and sweet, and would drink it as often as it were in my way. It must be allow'd to be a juice, and not natural water, but I believe any man would lick his lips after it. This is the common relief of the herdsmen when they are looking for the cattle about the mountains; when they are thirsty they lay hold of the *bejuco*, as they sit a horse-back, and drink their fill.

13 *Pag.* 195. He speaks of the plantane; whether it differs from the plane, I am satisfy'd there is no resemblance between them; I have said what I knew to this matter. Certain it is they are near rivers and running waters; this agrees with those we call plantanes, and not with the planes which are vast large trees.

Pag. 96. He urges from *Brocardus* and *Selorgus*, that the forbidden fruit our first parents eat in paradise was the plantane, which the *Portugueses* to this day call a fig; the natives of *Manila*, *Saguin* and other nations by several names. I should easily agree to it, if it were not said, *Gen.* iii. 6. to be beautiful to the eyes, and pleasant to the sight; which if apply'd to the fruit, does not agree with that of the plantane, but suits much better with several other sorts, and particularly the *Chicqueyes* of *China*. If these words be meant of the tree, because it is said before, *The woman saw that the tree was good*, &c. it can fit no plant in the world better than the plantane, though in strictness it cannot be call'd a tree, the colour of its leaves, its stateliness and beauty is the greatest in the world; when stirr'd by a little wind, it is very agreeable. Nor is there any plant so convenient for *Adam* and *Eve* to clothe themselves with the leaves. Only two leaves sew'd together will make a frock to cover a tall man from the neck to near the ankles. Every man may give his opinion touching this point, without incurring any church-censure.

14. *Pag.* 97. He speaks of the *Camotis*, *vuis*, *tuguis*, *gaves*, and *xicamas*; there is abundance of them all, and very much guiger. There are *xicamas* in *China*, but I have not seen them in any other part; they are good raw, boil'd, preserv'd, or any way; no *cardoon* is like them with oil and vinegar. There are many things in those countries,

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Amiot.
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countries, which are a relief to the poor, and we want. Then he treats of several medicinal plants and herbs, it affords all sorts, and God has furnish'd man with all things according to every climate and country.

Chap. 18. p. 107. He speaks of *Batavina*, and supposes the *Chineses* subdu'd it. I spoke my mind about it in the first book.

Cloves.

Then he talks of *Cauripa* and other small kingdoms, these are adjoining to *Macassar*. Concerning the cloves he says, *p. 113.* It attracts moisture to it very much, suffers no grafs to grow near it, but allows of trees, as I myself saw with my eyes, tho' some will deny it. The author says, I have often heard it told, that sailors lying upon chests or bales of cloves insensibly dry'd away so fast, that they would doubtless have perish'd, had they not chang'd their bed. So strongly does it draw the moisture of any thing that is near it, which plainly appears when it is sold, for they sprinkle it with water to make it weigh the heavier, and the cheat cannot be perceiv'd.

15. In his second book he gives an account how *F. Alonso Sanchez* went to *Macao*, to endeavour to bring that city under our king's obedience, and he compass'd it.

In my time *Manila* sent another father to that city upon the same account, who succeeded not. When I went afterwards, clergy and laymen told me, Such a one did his own business very well, and gather'd abundance of good things, but took no care of the main thing he came about; for had he gone about it, he had certainly compass'd it: such a one should have come and not he, who only minded his private interest. I inquir'd into the whole matter, and concluded that man was pitch'd upon to do nothing; yet I believe they design'd well who sent him. It is necessary upon such occasions to make use of one who does not study his own or his family's interest; for if it be inconsistent with the publick business he has in hand, he leaves this last, and only minds his own affair. The more a man has of avarice and selfishness, the less will he stir in the publick service. *S. Jerome* observes that when *Nebuchadnezzar* would have divine worship given to his golden statue, the first he sent for were the greatest men of his kingdom, *Dan. iii. 2.* The saint assigns the reason thus: *The princes are call'd to adore the statue, because powerful men fearing to want the riches they possess, are more easily supplanted.* That wicked king understood it, and made a good observation for compassing his design. They, who ought to have been the first in opposing that abomination,

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were the first that submitted for interest. It is not so with him that has no private interest to mind: he speaks boldly, opposes what is ill, pleads for what is good, and breaks his rest to attend the publick. The wicked king *Achab*, *3 Reg. xviii. 17.* complain'd against holy *Elias*, sends for and says to him, *It is you that trouble Israel.* How usual a thing is it in the world, and particularly in *India*, to say and write that blameless prelates disturb the peace, and make uproars in kingdoms and provinces, and this because they reprove the crimes they see publickly committed without any shame? And they that are concerned, seeking at any rate to satisfy their own avarice, they find ways and means, as was done against Christ, to represent things as they please, so that they seem credible to those who through a criminal negligence do not dive to the bottom of those affairs. It is you *Elias* that disturb my kingdom and subjects; I know not how to deal with you, nor can I live in peace and quiet. *Elias* answer'd, *Not I, but you, and your father's house.* It is not I, but your ill government and ministers that breed this disturbance. How many might this answer be given to at present? *Abulensis* admires at the prophet's answer, and says, *He, a man of great resolution, is not afraid to speak harshly to the king.* He valued no private interest, had nothing to lose, and therefore spoke his mind freely. So ought all good ministers to do; but where shall we find such? I mention'd no small number among the *Chineses* in my former books. *Who, think ye, is the faithful and prudent servant?* saith Christ, *Mat. xxiv.* *Hugo* and *Albertus*, say that, *Who, signifies the rarity;* that there are few in the world. *S. Thomas*, *And if there be few faithful, there are fewer prudent.* I understand it, that there are but few prudent and wise for the publick good, but they are all sharp and sagacious for their own affairs; and that to excess, they leave no stone unturn'd for their benefit; they shroud their own business under the cloak of the king's service, the honour of his crown, the good of his subjects; they give it one name to day, and another to morrow, and at last it all ends in private interest, and for the most part with prejudice to others. *The children of this world are wiser than the children of light.* *F. Alonso Sanchez*, like a worthy religious man as he was, only regarded the service of his king, he desir'd nothing for himself, and therefore manag'd that business with zeal, and came off with honour. Had the other followed his example, he might have done the same; he mind-ed private affairs, and therefore must of necessity fail in the publick.

16. Pag.

16. Pag. 179. The author owns that the *Portugueses* in *China* are look'd upon as subjects of that kingdom. In the third chapter of his second book, he says the same, wherein he agrees with what I writ, chap. 17.

Chap. 4. p. 186. He says, The *Chineses* are mistrustful, as being cowards, but not the *Tartars*, who are not jealous of foreign nations.

F. Colin is much deceiv'd, he went not over into *China*, nor saw the violent storm rais'd there against all *Europeans*, nor the practices against *Macao*, they are more fearful and jealous than the *Chineses* themselves; they care for no strangers, nor do they desire to know there are any in the world. They turn'd out the *Dutch*, and forbid those of *Macao* trading by sea; wherein then consists their security of mind?

Chap. 5. p. 190. He says, The first that brought the faith into *China*, were the fathers *Matthew Riccius* and *Pantoga*. I have prov'd it was not so in the second tome: I will here briefly set down what I observ'd and took notice of in *China*, and I think it deserves some reflection. I heard F. *Gouvea*, who was superior of his mission, and the eldest of it, affirm, That *Portugal* even when united to our crown, would never permit any *Spanish* priest to pass that way, either to *Japan*, *China*, or any other mission; and that there were extraordinary difficulties made about F. *Pantoja* of *Toledo*, who was the only one that passed: So that they gave free passage to *Germans*, *Flemings*, *French*, *Savoyards*, *Romans*, *Genoeses*, *Neapolitans*, *Sicilians*, and yet none to *Spaniards*; and we are so good that we suffer *Portugueses* and other nations to go over to *America* and the *Philippine* islands without any need, though we have found inconveniences from those people; (I am not certain whether any *French* religious men have gone over, but of all the rest I am) I said without any need, because our kings have enough ministers of the gospels to serve all their kingdoms. One of good experience in these affairs was wont to say, that he lik'd it well, and thought it a holy thing, that as well religious men, as others of the clergy should employ themselves in preaching the gospel, teaching and gaining souls to God, which is the end for which God came into the world; but that he thought it convenient every one should attend that which lay next to him, the *Poles* to *Tartary* and *Muscovy*, the *Germans* to abundance of hereticks there are in the empire, and schismatics near it; the *Flemings*, *French*, and others have enough to do at home, the *Italians* in *Turky*. The *Spaniards*, who have no

work in their own country, because it is NAVA-
clear, through the goodness of God, may RETTE. go over to *America*, and since there are enough of them, discover new colonies in *Asia* and other parts. But he could not conceive why the *German* who has so much work at home, should go to find out that in *China*, thro' so many difficulties, and at so great an expence.

17. Chap. 9. p. 206. He writes, that the *Chineses* are suspicious of *Manila* and the *Spaniards*, because of the ill example of *Mexico*, and their talking of conquests.

In this particular the good father *Colin* agrees with F. *Alonso Sanchez Morales*, and the rest of their society. I have writ much to this point, and in my opinion made out that it is false. F. *Alonso Sanchez* his experience in the affairs of *China*, though he made two voyages thither, is no way convincing; for he that knows not the language, and reads not their books, nor converses with those people, cannot be well acquainted with particulars. I have already prov'd that the *Chineses* do not look upon us as conquerors, or people that talk of such matters; it is enough in this place to say that the quarrel the *Chineses* and *Tartars* have is against *Macao*, not against *Manila*. None of the persecutions those of the society have suffer'd, has been caus'd by *Manila*. It is their reverences that talk of conquests, those of the society have carried fire-arms, cast great guns, and been *Mandarines* of the warlike stores. All this and much more I plainly make out in my second tome, and something was said concerning it in the foregoing fifteen and sixteen chapters.

18. Chap. 11. p. 211. He inserts F. *Alonso Sanchez* his excellent doctrine, which is this: by natural right, and the law of nations, any people may go to strange and new countries, and make use of all that is common, as seas, rivers, coasts, food, wood, game, and other things which are not peculiar and appropriated; and take lands, build houses, towns and forts for their defence; and they may give and sell what they carry, and receive and buy what they have, and oblige the heads and princes to permit their subjects to trade and converse with their guests. The author adds, and this may be better done by divine right, if those that go will preach and teach them the laws and custom of the Christian faith.

I now admit of the doctrine, and do not dispute it, but only observe that it is not very proper for *China*, or cannot be apply'd, for as much as in all that vast extent of land, there is not a foot of land but what is appropriated to some particular person; and consequently no stranger can raise

NAVA- raise house, town or fort in any part of it,
RETTE. because none can build upon another man's
ground, especially when the owner opposes
it.

Nor do I conceive that any king has right to come to the coast of *Andaluzia*, or any other, and there build towns and forts; for if he has a natural right according to the laws of nations, it will follow that the king of *Spain* opposing him, breaks those two laws which are the bands that tie up the hands of princes to keep within their own kingdoms, and live in peace with others, which would be of very ill consequence.

But leaving the decision of these difficulties to abler pens, from the doctrine above I infer, *a fortiori*, that all religious and secular churchmen may go to all missions in pagan countries, though there be other missionaries there; and that if these obstruct the coming of the others, or their erecting churches, or preaching, they will transgress the divine and natural law. I am of opinion this is a good inference, and if so we may freely practise it; and if the first there oppose it, as they do now at *Macao*, they doubtless commit a grievous sin.

Missions.

19. Chap. 13. He treats at large of preaching with arms and soldiers, and goes on upon the same, chap. 14. This is a weighty point, has been several times disputed, and our good bishop *Casas* some years since argued it at *Valladolid*; his propositions and the answers of doctor *Sepulveda*, are preserv'd in the archives of the college of *S. Gregory*; I read part of them in my younger years. I here admit many things, and will only add what I have seen and observ'd. The author corroborates his opinion with the ill success of those four hundred who went with the lord *Casas* to the *Indies*, who were slain by that barbarous people. In his sixth reason, chap. 14. to *F. John Bolante*, p. 229. he says, That neither in *Brazil*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, the *Philippine* and *Maluco* islands, there has been any conversion or propagating of Christianity, without the assistance of the secular power. Page 305. He repeats, that no advance has been made any where without force of arms; and before that says, that even those of the contrary opinion have of late follow'd his, which doubtless is meant of ours of *Manila*, who went with soldiers to the conversion of *Itui*. All that has been said seems to make out his opinion, which *S. Francis Xavierius* held, and those of his institute in *China* said; and therefore they told it in my presence, that the saint us'd to say, That there would be no good Christians till they were under command, which

seems to be prov'd by the event, since we see all the missions that great apostle of *India* founded and labour'd in, are all lost.

20. My opinion is, that it is no easy matter to convince all men, and a very difficult matter to dissuade any man from that which he has fixt in his mind as truth. But if we must be led by examples, I believe we don't want some to evince the contrary opinion. I pass by the method Christ took in preaching, was follow'd by his disciples, and left us in the gospel; there is no doubt but he that follows it is far enough from any danger of erring; for it is a presumption, if not a crime, to say that our Saviour did not leave general rules for all men to preach in all parts, as one answer'd discoursing of this subject. Let us come to later examples; the conversion of *England* under *S. Gregory* was perform'd, and continu'd without force of arms. Thirty kingdoms, histories tell us, were converted by the sons of *S. Benedict*, but were no way kept in awe by Catholic arms. Those of *Poland*, and others later, were perform'd by the *Mendicant* orders after the same manner. But you'll say, many for want of a power have fail'd, which might have been supported by it. I answer, in the first place, that we neither can nor ought to judge of future contingencies according to our fancy. 2dly, That if Christianity ceas'd there, it was perhaps because the number of the predestinate there was compleat; and if not, as his Divine Majesty order'd and dispos'd the planting of the faith there, without the noise of arms, he will cause it to be restored by the same means, sending missionaries thither like to those ancient ones who founded those missions.

21. Nor is it altogether true, that no conversion has been made of late ages; without the assistance of arms we know ours have converted at *Verapaz*, and they continue to this day. And now at this very time *F. Francis* of the *Rosary* of my order has enter'd the great *Paititi*, where he has thousands of Christians, without any protection or assistance but God's; and the natives beg that *Dominican* friars may be sent them, but no soldiers. I am well inform'd of this particular, and of the goodness of that country, which is fruitful, populous and pleasant. Persons of credit assure me, that there are above three thousand of the trade in the goldsmiths street at the court. So in *Japan* there was a great increase of Christianity without force of arms; and if it fell to nothing, it was not for want of soldiers, but by reason of other things that might have been well avoided. The two great and general persecutions

secutions in *China* proceeded from other causes. I find there is something amiss every where. The fathers of the society carrying soldiers into *Ethiopia*, were expell'd without hopes of ever returning. In *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *China*, they were look'd upon as spies; this is not so bad as the other.

Itui. 22. Nor does our going from *Manila* to *Itui* with soldiers make out any thing; it was the particular opinion of one man, disapprov'd by others, and the ill success foretold. Whilst there were only three fathers in that province they made some advance, and preach'd in peace and quietness: as soon as ever the soldiers came, the natives were alarm'd, ran to arms, burnt, kill'd and wounded, and all was lost. What happen'd in the islands call'd *Marianas* is well known, so that there is no ascertaining any thing in this matter.

23. Another difficulty occurs to me, which is, that if missions must be carried on under the protection of arm'd force, there will be very few; therefore they must either be left off, or continu'd in the same manner the apostles follow'd them. For whence shall we have a force to shelter those that preach in *China*, *Japan*, and the *Mogul's* country? I only mention these, without speaking of many other vast kingdoms. Now if all the soldiers in the church will not suffice for three places, how must we relieve the rest? I am persuaded one Christian converted and instructed peaceably, is worth twenty made with the shew of force. They who here talk of the protection of Christian forces, will imagine the soldiers will do nothing but aid and protect; they will do more mischief with their lewdness in one day, than twenty religious men can repair in a year. But if there be no soldiers, they will kill the religious men before they have done any good. Let them kill, CHRIST himself and his apostles were kill'd; and it is enough done to sprinkle that country with blood, that it may afterwards yield a more plentiful harvest. He says, no miracles are wrought now a-days, and therefore the method must be chang'd. I say, S. Francis Xaverius wrought many in the *East* and *South*, and S. Lewis Bertrandus in the *West Indies*; the author mentions many in his history, and those of his society speak of others. In the next place I say, as F. Lubeli of the society was wont to inculcate to me, Let us preach as we ought to do, and God will work miracles; but how should there be miracles whilst we preach so and so? I have also given an account, that the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* has condemn'd the method of spreading the gospel by force of arms.

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24. F. Colin, chap. 13. writes, That those of his society live very poor and apostolically in *China* upon the alms sent them from *Europe*, and the labour of their hands and ingenuity, as S. Paul did; and yet the conversion does not go forwards, nor does it take such root as it should do. Experience, he says, has shew'd it in *Japan*, where so great an addition as was made to Christendom, fell off for want of being supported by arms. With respect to so great a man, I say he is deceiv'd in these points, somebody sent him such intelligence from *China*. If what has been said above were true, I doubt not but heaven would grant a more plentiful harvest, as F. Lubeli and others of his brethren said in my hearing, bewailing the abuses that are crept into that mission, whereof I treat at large in my second tome, where the curious reader may see it. I answer'd above to what relates to *Japan*, and have done it more copiously in the second tome. It is requisite in such missions to proceed with caution and discretion, any security is blameable; and for that very reason if religious men are alone without any force to protect them, they are to be the more provident and cautious, forbearing all that the infidels may think amiss in us, as the building of great churches and stately palaces, which did us much harm in *China*, in the opinion of the same fathers. How can this agree with what the author says, that they live in a poor and apostolical manner, and on the work of their hands, as S. Paul did? Some things are so false they are insufferable. My last letters from *China* inform me, that the fathers *Enriquez* and *Grimaldo* spent four hundred ducats plate in their journey from *Canton* to the imperial city, whither they went as mathematicians, though they are none; now what poverty is this? They by word of mouth in writing maintain, that it is convenient they should behave themselves with state and gravity, wear silk clothes, make great presents, go in sedans or palankines on men's shoulders, attended by servants, &c. this they say the country requires. Then another writes that they live poorly like the apostles, on the labour of their hands, as S. Paul did. To what purpose is this? F. Augeri tells us we must behave ourselves as if we were marquisses. F. James Fabre is carried in an open palankine by four men. F. Verbieft dislikes his brethren's proceedings; how shall we reconcile these matters?

25. Pag. 235. n. 97. he writes thus. F. Alonso Sanchez intending to put F. John Bolante by his design of going into *China*, us'd this argument. Which way would your reverence go? through *Chincheo*? no, for the *Chinese* have never permitted it.

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Nor

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NAVARRETTE. Nor through *Macao*, because the *Portugueses* will not allow of it, nor the religious there much less. This he enlarges upon, deducting in his opinion mighty inferences. I answer in short that those of our order, and the *Franciscans* have gone several times by the way of *Chincheo*. I went through *Macao*, and others might have done the same, had not some men obstructed it, as still they do; when God does not obstruct our ways, it is not fit men should restrain his providence. The *Franciscans*, *Augustinians* and *Dominicans* of *Macao* never went about to preach the gospel in *China*; would to God they had, and that the kingdom being sufficiently stock'd, there were no room for *Spaniards*. Those religious men I have nam'd never design'd to hinder the *Spaniards*, the laity much less; so that neither the infidels of *Chincheo*, nor Christians of *Macao* have obstructed the *Spaniards*. The mischief sprung from another place; so that it may well be said, *Death in the Pot*, 4 Reg. iv. ver. 40. for where the missionaries ought to have found assistance and protection, there they have met with troubles, ruin, and persecution. Death sprung from the place where life was expected; the words of the Canticles suit well in this place. *The children of my mother fought against me*, &c.

26. Pag. 249. §. 10. he writes that religious men, who go to other countries without orders for it, disturb and scandalize them, being look'd upon as spies, which makes the infidels fortify themselves, as has happen'd in *China*; and that disorder is the cause our holy faith is slighted.

Let us ask the author, what he means by going to other countries without orders? I would know further, who it was that scandaliz'd *Japan*, and disturb'd *China*? The reader will find it in my second tome, where I have it at large. In that particular of being taken for spies, we are all alike, tho' in truth those of the society outdo us, for only they and no others have been esteem'd such in *Ethiopia*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*. The infidels fortify, as they have done in *China*. The worst of it is, that religious men serve as engineers for raising of walls and fortifications, and as such serve the infidels, and furnish them with cannon. In *China* they have been fortified by those of *Macao* and others, not by those of *Manila* or the *Spaniards*. The contempt of our holy faith proceeds chiefly from other monstrous proceedings. These disorders, tho' those that cause them go with orders to the mission, cause much mischief. I would know further by what order the apostles went among the Gentiles? The same of *S. Francis Xavierius*, and those that went into *Ethiopia*.

27. Pag. 250. he with good reason blames the false accounts sent into *Europe*, of the conversion of *China* and other kingdoms. This I agree to, it suits with what *F. John Adamus* was wont to say. I have set down abundance of *chimeras* that have been writ into *Europe* concerning *China* and other parts. I have many more in my second tome, where the reader may see them, and may receive light, not to be deluded by such accounts.

28. Chap. xxv. p. 315. he shews at large, how God at several times has made use of several means for the conversion of souls. At the first beginning of the church, he made choice of the apostles, whom he endow'd with several graces, and granted them many privileges. Now in these times, God does not make choice of them, nor give them such a great power, nor the gift of tongues, nor working of miracles. That at first all civiliz'd nations admitted preachers without any opposition, &c.

Here the author hints at several particulars, to which I cannot now speak so fully as I would; but think what I have in my second tome may suffice. My opinion is, that the method CHRIST and his apostles us'd in preaching is still in the gospel. *Matth. x. ver. 9, 10. leg. Sylveira hic, & tom. vi. cap. x. q. 1, 2. n. 8. & q. 3.* And there is no doubt it was left there for others to imitate it. I find not any other in holy writ, and this is it which the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* has confirm'd and propos'd to its missionaries, for them to follow and observe, as appears by the instructions *pro missionariis*, printed at *Rome anno 1669*. If several methods have been taken, it has been because the missionaries have taken them up of their own accord, forsaking that way which the author of it instituted and follow'd. Nor must we imagine the divine providence can forsake its ministers in all that shall be requisite, unless they render themselves unworthy of its protection. *S. Vincent Ferrerius*, *S. Antony of Padua*, *S. Francis Xavierius*, and *S. Luis Bertrandus* wrought wonderful prodigies, as I said before. Nor is the world at present destitute of some that endeavour to imitate them; one poor *French* clergyman alone, and destitute of all human help, baptiz'd sixty persons in one day in the kingdom of *Camboda*, anno 1668. what can be a greater wonder? He shin'd among those infidels by means of his holy life, like the sun among the stars. Great miracles are told of the bishop of *Beritus*, who is now at *Siam*; and his life being such as I know it to be, I look upon them to be very likely. Let us preach as we ought to do, said *F. Lubeli*, and God will work miracles.

These following words are in the dedication

cation of the instructions beforemention'd to pope Clement IX. *Very grave authors, and chiefly Joseph Acosta* (in *libris de procuranda Indorum salute*, lib. I. c. xi, xii. lib. II. c. i. & sequentibus, lib. IV. c. iv, xv. lib. VI. c. ii.) *plainly make it appear, that the ruin of the most flourishing, or at least very hopeful missions proceeded, either from the not altogether commendable manners of some of the labourers, or from the manner of propagating the gospel, which was contrary to the gospel itself, &c.* It is certain then the form and method for preachers continues to this day; and if they follow any other, it is invented by themselves, not by CHRIST.

Chap. iii. art. 3. he mentions, how the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* condemns the method of planting the faith by the force of arms, as was done in *America*, which is enough to condemn the opinion of the author and his followers. They also oppose what some say, and I have often heard, that *China* is a different nation from others, and the people singular, and therefore it is requisite the manner of preaching to them be different from that us'd to other nations. This I say is nothing but self-love, and our own fancy. *F. Emanuel George* was wont to say to me; Father, when I see myself finely clad in silk, and that a *mandarin* pays me great respect in the presence of many people, it pleases me and I rejoice; but there is nothing in it that tends to God, it is all human and worldly, these things stick to our body. 'This I look upon to be all true, and would these fathers, if they were poorly clad, and liv'd upon the labour of their hands, be visited with *mandarines*? I may be allow'd to speak of these things, because I have seen, and had sufficient experience of them.

29. *Pag. 315. n. 166.* and in those following, he endeavours to prove by examples how necessary force is towards converting. I have writ my opinion upon it, and it will be proper to consider what great inconveniences have, and do still follow such courses, and how much other nations abhor them. Much has been said upon this subject, the business is of weight and moment. *C. Mamartin, in Gratiar. Ast. pro Consul. ad Julian. August. cap. iv.* *But the mending of manners; and correcting of judgments, is a difficult strife, and business full of danger.* When the end is so sublime and divine, the means must also of necessity not be human or earthly, but sublime; they must be suitable, and tend to the erecting of heavenly *Jerusalem*, to unite the souls to the living foundation-stone of this structure, which is CHRIST: Why then do we use methods that tend only to se-

parate and destroy all that preachers with *NAVARETTE*. much labour and sweat erect? These things ought to be conceiv'd by ideas lifted up far above all that is clay and earth, and not be adapted to our own fancies, which perhaps flow from our private satisfaction, though shrowded under the outward pretences of God's glory, and the good of souls. Read *S. Thomas* in *Matth. x.* upon the words, *like sheep, &c.* which answers my design, and is contrary to the author's.

30. *Lib. III. c. vi. p. 354. n. 35.* the author owns his society obtain'd a bull of his holiness *Gregory* the 13th, forbidding religious men of other orders going to *Japan*. Neither I nor others doubted of this matter, therefore I was surpriz'd, and admir'd that *F. Joseph Morales* in his treatises should defend, that the said bull was not granted at the request of the society; which he endeavours to make out several ways. But the author plainly and ingenuously owns the truth in the place above-mention'd, which he so wise, so antient, and so well read a man could not be ignorant of. I have already taken notice how that prohibition ceas'd by virtue of a special bull of pope *Urban* the 8th, *anno 1633*, which was confirm'd again in the year 1674 by his holiness *Clement* the 10th; so that any churchman either religious or secular may freely at present go to those missions, which way he shall think fit. It appears by the bull, which shall be insert'd at the end of this volume. The reasons which moved the society to procure that bull are set down in the second tome.

Pag. 357. n. 40. he speaks of the tempests and storms the devil by means of the infidels rais'd against the tender plants of the church of *Japan*, and its labourers. I refer to what I have writ in my second tome.

In the year 1594, he says, his society had in *Japan* two hundred thousand Christians, two hundred churches, and one hundred and thirty religious men. Would to God those labourers had converted those islands, that we might all bless God, and extol the labour of his ministers! What I have to say now, is, that the number he speaks of, does not agree with that I heard from *F. Gouvea* in *China*. I have writ how much they vary in this particular.

31. *Pag. 358.* he speaks of the prudence of his society in *Japan*, in corresponding with his majesty and holiness, and receiving their bulls and orders to hinder other orders at that time from going to *Japan*. Time has made it appear; God grant it may give them some caution for *China*, *Tartary*, and the *Mogul's* country, and other civiliz'd nations of *Asia*. They are all the author's own words.

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Since the society had with so much prudence procur'd that bull, as has been mention'd, I do not find it was any thing praiseworthy in them to accept it, with the king's letter to the same purpose: there is little merit in obedience, where we comply with those things we are pleas'd with and desire; obedience is perfect, when it has nothing of ourselves, and the more difficult the thing is that is commanded. *S. Thomas opusc. 2. c. 227. says, Obedience is so much the more commendable, by how much those things are more difficult which a man obeys.* See *Sylveira* to this point, *Tom. 6. p. 119. n. 4. verb. obedientia.* We very well know, that when in the year 1648 the decree of *Innocent* the 10th was made known to the missionaries of *China*, they took no notice of, nor thought themselves oblig'd to observe it, which the author was not ignorant of. This was a time for prudence and obedience to appear, submitting the understanding to the command of the head of the church. *S. Bernard de præcep. & dispens. cap. xii. says thus; Whatsoever man commands in the name of GOD, so it be not certainly displeasing to GOD, must be receiv'd no otherwise, than if GOD himself gave command.* And afterwards; *We must therefore bear him, whom we have in the place of GOD, as we would GOD, in those things which are not directly against GOD.* Time, says he, has shewn it. He that shew'd it me in all its minute circumstances, was *Francis Caron*, general director of the *French East-India* company at *Suratte*, anno 1671. as I have set it down in my controversies. GOD grant he goes on, this may give them some caution for *China*, &c. The missionaries of *China* might have taken warning by the example of *Japan*, those of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *Ethiopia*, and even by that of *China* itself at this time, and in the year 1618, besides many others they have had, that might suffice to make an impression even upon stone and brass. When the persecution in *China* began, some talk'd of altering those things that had caus'd troubles and calamities. I forwarded it, but was soon convinc'd it would come to nothing. Men use to take warning by other men, which is certainly very good and holy, *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* *Hugo* in *Psal. xlix.* But even brute beasts grow cautious by their own sufferings. He who stumbles in a place, takes care the next time he comes that way; which makes me wonder at what I have been a witness to. The effects are suitable, tho' some pretend to mend them. An exact account of every thing is given in the second tome.

32. Pag. 359. He says, that in the year 1597, there was a persecution in *Japan*

because a ship of *Manila* was put in there; and the emperor said, it went to conquer the country, as they had done *Mexico*, and that the *Franciscan* friars were spies.

I answer that nothing can be made out or urg'd either *pro* or *con*, upon a mere accident and casualty, and there is no doubt but the emperor must be void of reason in supposing one single ship went to conquer that island. It was also unreasonable that he should look upon *Franciscans* as spies, only upon that account. And supposing it were so, I have already writ what happen'd to the fathers of the society in *Ethiopia*, which their historian *Tellez* mentions, and what befel to them in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*; and it were fit that some of them, making their advantage of so many examples, should look at home, and not neglecting this altogether, bend their whole thoughts upon things at a distance, and mere possibilities. *Tacit. in vit. Agric. Beginning by himself and his, he first order'd his own house, which is no less difficult to most men, than to govern a province.* *Cassiodorus lib. X. Var. epist. 5. We will begin to shew good government in our family, that the rest may be sham'd to do amiss, when it is known we allow not our own people the liberty of transgressing.* Nor do I like the ministers of the gospel should entertain so many fears, since it is a thing so despicable in a worthy soldier. We ought to proceed with more liberty and assurance; and since the business we have in hand is so immediately GOD's, and tending to his glory, it is not reasonable we should be faint-hearted, or believe we can want his special protection and providence over us. *Fear is a token of Infidelity*, says *S. Basil* of *Seleucia*, *Orat. 22.* I have often consider'd who he or they were that made it known in *Japan* and *China*, that the catholick king had conquer'd *China*, and what their design could be in so doing. As to myself, I believe I am not out in my judgment, I think there needs not much better grounds to speak it out; I only require some little pious affection in the reader, to be satisfy'd in all he shall find in my controversies.

33. Pag. 360. He speaks of the martyrdom of the religious men of the order of our father *S. Francis* and others. We know that pope *Urban* the eighth declar'd them martyrs, so that there is no room left for catholicks to make a doubt of it. Therefore I always look'd upon what a clergyman said publickly at *Macao* as a presumption, to wit, that they dy'd excommunicate. Others have said the same upon no other ground, but because they will have it they went to *Japan* contrary to the command of pope *Gregory* the 13th. Something

Something might be said to this point; let it suffice to know, that notwithstanding that came to the ears of his holiness Urban the eighth, and the sacred congregation of rites, yet those religious men were solemnly declar'd martyrs. This being so, it was a great impudence to utter such words, when the feast of their martyrdom had been celebrated in several places, to the honour and glory of God.

34. F. Michael de Cardenas, who approv'd this history, gives it for granted that the apostle S Thomas never went to China, Japan or the Philippine islands, which confirms my opinion set down in the first book, and I find it favour'd by F. Silveira, Tom. 6. in *Evang. lib. IX. cap. 10. p. 796. ver. 58.* He speaks of *America, Brasil* and *Angola*, where he says, no foot-step of Christian religion was found. And when I thought this point was clear'd or agreed upon, I see new difficulties start up. F. Cyprian de Herrera, in the life of that worthy archbishop of Lima, Toribio Alfonso Mograbexo, about whose beatification some measures are now taken at Rome, Chap. xxii. says, that in the province of the Chachapoyas, some tokens were found of the holy apostle's having been in that country, and that the holy archbishop own'd and worship'd him as such. Portuguese write that the same footsteps have been found in Brasil, to which they add traditions of the natives. If this be so, it is likely he went along from *Coromandel* through all those kingdoms between it and China, whence he might go over to Japan, and so to all the islands in that sea, visit the Mogul's and Malabar's country, cross over to the Cape of Good Hope, and other kingdoms thereabouts; for all these countries lying nearer the holy apostle, it is not likely he should forsake them, and go to others so remote as *America*. And if any man shall say he was first in Brasil and Peru, and thence went over into India; I answer, I am of opinion the faint would not have left that new world cut off from the rest to go away into Asia, and those countries contiguous to Persia, and nearer to us. Every man may believe what he pleases, but I am apt to suspect that if the *Terra Australis Incognita* be discover'd, there will presently be other footsteps of St. Thomas found there, and there will not want reason and probabilities to make it out. Thus I will put an end to what I design in this supplement.

35. But because it is China that all my thoughts are bent upon, I cannot chuse but return to it, tho' at present it shall be very briefly. I think what is said in the land of Promise in Deut. viii. 7. may with good reason be apply'd to that kingdom. For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into

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a good land, a land of brooks of water, of NAVAFOUNTAINS, and depths that spring out of valleys RETTE. and hills: A land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomgranates, a land of oil and honey: A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass, &c.

That country has much more than all Olive-trees, vineyards. this, and tho' it have neither olive-trees nor vineyards, it abounds in several sorts of oil, and has plenty of grapes, and thousands of things we do not know among us; innumerable rivers, brooks, and fountains, corn, rice, honey, fruit, metals, &c. Where is there any country that can match it?

I writ in another place, what notable Sacrifices. care those people take in preparing and disposing themselves to sacrifice to their dead, and be present at these sacrifices. They fast three days, marry'd men are separated from their wives seven days; they all retire upon the eve, keep silence, make themselves clean outwardly, wash themselves to go into the temple, and all this in order to recollect themselves inwardly, and assist devoutly and decently at those sacrilegious ceremonies; and this not once in their life, but several times in a year. If we Catholics took example by those heathens against saying mass, and receiving the blessed sacrament, we should receive much more benefit by it. S. Basil of Seleucia, Orat. 19. says, *Be a disciple of the Gentiles; that you may believe, follow the unbelievers.* Much liberty is taken among marry'd men about receiving, some rules have been assign'd in canons touching this matter, which is only by way of advice, but no precept. B. Humbertus de Romanis, lib. IV. de *Erudit. Religios.* cap. xiii. reflecting on the death of Oza for touching the ark, 2 Reg. vi. says, *The Hebrews say the cause of it was, because he had lain the foregoing night with his own wife; if God so punish'd that presumption, what punishment are they worthy of who come to receive the Lord's body without respect?* &c. Achimeleck's answer to David, 1. Reg. xxi. 4. is to the purpose, *I have no lay-loaves at hand, but only holy bread, if the young men are clean, particularly from women.* David answer'd, *If you talk of women, we have abstain'd yesterday and the day before.* Certain it is he who was represented exceeds the figure, or representative. The ark and that holy bread were types of the eucharist; and if those requir'd so much reverence, more is requisite for him that was represented. Oleast. in *Exod. xix.* explicating these words, *Sanctify them,* &c. says thus, *You see what purity is requir'd to converse with God, much more to deal familiarly* with

NAVARETTE. *with him.* S. Thomas has the same, *Opusc.* 58. *cap.* 16. And no doubt it requires a purity infinitely greater to receive him every day. This doctor a little lower speaks more to the purpose upon the words, *Do not approach to your wives,* he says thus, *There are in these times many (I wish it be not only in name) holy marry'd men, who rarely or never abstain from their wives bed and embraces, and yet frequently communicate and often presume to be familiar with God, believing conjugal embraces to be no obstruction to piety; to whom this place should be often inculcated, that they might learn to treat the most holy things with more reverence, and might know that even corporal uncleanness is offensive to the divine purity, and understand that not only the heart, but the body, clothes, and all things are to be made clean, when we are to approach to God. Whence I suppose the custom came among the Jews of washing their hands and garments, when they went to prayer, &c. and tho' the Lord in the new law require rather an inward than an outward cleanness, yet he does not altogether neglect the corporal.* Read *Corn. à Lap.* and S. Thom. 3. p. q. 83. art. 4. and *cap.* 15. & 16. *opusc.* 58. and S. Brasil *interrog.* 23. *Reg. Brev.* And if S. Paul 1 Cor. vii. advises marry'd people to abstain only to pray, something more is required for receiving the supreme Majesty of God. S. Thomas quotes the iii. Chap. of the Holy Ghost to the same purpose as S. Paul. *There is a time of embracing, and a time of removing far from embraces.* These words can be no way so well apply'd as to the holy communion; for no case so positively requires such a disposition. This that has been said, and the opinions of grave doctors, has brought up the custom in the *Philippine islands, China,* and other parts of the east, for marry'd people to part beds the night before they receive, which they strictly observe. Read S. Thomas, *opusc.* *ut sup.* *cap.* 16. where he speaks to this purpose. Nor is this condemning the frequenting the sacrament, but blaming them that do not approach to it with due reverence, decency and other dispositions. Nor is it enough, as some men urge, that man is in a state of grace, to justify the receiving as every man fancies. It is well known that tho' a man be in a state of grace, he may commit so many indecencies, and irreverences, as may be an obstacle to the due honour due to, and consequently the effect of that august sacrament. Many examples might be brought here, but I omit them because the matter is plain, tho' I shall give some hints, when I speak of converts, and those newly baptiz'd.

Eucharist.

I always dislik'd one thing in penitents, which is, when they will needs receive,

contrary to their confessor's advice and opinion; I believe such persons rather displease than please God. What patient does not follow his physician's prescription? He knows what may do good and harm, and a good medicine without a proper disposition may be hurtful. To this end read S. Thomas, *opusc.* 58. *cap.* 18. where he has very plain instances. On the contrary I like those, who even when asked, Whether they dare receive our Lord, submit themselves to the direction of their confessor; for this shews humility, knowledge of their unworthiness and fear, which is a good disposition. The doctrine of S. Augustin, quoted by Cajetan, 3. p. q. 38. is good and proper for all men, *Live so, that you may daily deserve to receive.* If a man feeds on the best and thrives not, it is a sign there is some defect in the natural heat. If a plant be cultivated and water'd, and yet grows not, it shews there is something amiss in the root; so if a man often feed on the bread of angels, and find no change of life, and increase of virtue, it is most certain the fault is on his side, and that we do not eat it with due preparation. Nor is it allow'd in those parts, that the penitent as soon as he rises from the feet of his confessor go immediately to receive the communion; they are instructed to perform the sacramental satisfaction first, if they can, and if not, that they give God thanks for the benefit receiv'd, and dispose themselves anew for a greater; for those two sacraments being distinct, the dispositions ought to be so, and man ought to stir up devotion, and much love in himself, &c.

36. I have writ several sentences us'd by those Gentiles, and could add more in this place, but that I would not tire the reader. I have set down one which I afterwards found to a letter in S. Chrysologus, *serm.* 3. *de Fil. Prod. Love sees no faults.* And another in Tertul. c. 14. in *Apolog.* *A word of piety is more grateful than a word of compassion.* It would be too tedious to translate all the documents of that nation, which are much admir'd by the Europeans; but that which S. Jerome writes *lib. II. comm. in Matt. xiii.* is infallibly true; thus it is, *The preaching of the gospel is the least of all doctrines. Compare it with the instructions of philosophers, and their books, the splendor of their eloquence, and regularity of speech, and you will see how much the seed of the gospel is less than other seeds. But these when they grow up, have nothing that is sharp, sprightly and lively, but is all fading, soft and flaggy, growing up to weeds and grass, which soon withers and falls. But this preaching which at first seem'd little, or when it came into the soul of the believer, &c. grows up to a tree, so that the fowls of heaven come*
and

Tartar.

and build nests on its boughs. Christians daily own this truth, and shew it by their change of life, whereas infidels draw no profit from their doctrines, which we see produce no other fruit but pride, vanity and hypocrisy.

37. The Tartar, as has been writ, possess'd himself of all that empire, and laid a foundation to perpetuate himself in it, doing by the imperial family as *Zambri* and *Jebu* did by those of *Baasa* and *Achab*, 3 Reg. c. xvi. ver. 11. & 4 Reg. c. x. ver. 10. He left not one of it to piss against a wall, &c. True it is that precaution settled not *Zambri* above seven days; tyranny is never lasting. What may avail the Tartar, is his great caution and circumspection in managing the government, and his extraordinary care in cutting off heads, without regarding the popular hatred, according to the doctrine of *Seneca* in *Oedipus*, *Odia qui nimium timet regnare nescit*. He knows not how to rule who is too much afraid of being hated. But he ought to observe the words of *Justus Lipsius*, 3 Polit. There is often the greatest danger, where it is least fear'd. I have writ much concerning that mission in my controversies; I hope in the divine goodness, that if God opens a way for the bishops his holiness has sent to get in, that church will daily increase, tho' it meet with never so many oppositions, especially by ordaining priests of the natives, as the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* ordains. Had this method been us'd forty years ago, no doubt that mission had been better advanced.

I put those who write in mind of *Cicero's* words, *Tuscul. 3. It is a folly to see the vices of others, and forget our own*. And what *Seneca* writes, *lib. I. de Morib. For nothing is baser, than to object to another that which may be objected to a man's own self*.

S. Augustin says it, *cap. 10. de confess. A NAVAL-CURIOUS sort of people, to pry into other mens lives, slothful to mend their own. Seneca too, if I forget not, said, The way is short by example, tedious by words.*

The misfortune of it lies in our miserable state, our self-love and passions. *S. Chrysostom* homil. 3. sup. cap. i. 1. ad Cor. That there is nothing at all so holy, and so well ordain'd, which human malice cannot abuse to its own ruin. It finds faults in all things; if we preach in a poor manner, the method is not proper; if we wear mean clothes, they are not decent for such men; if we discover CHRIST crucify'd, it is indiscretion; if we do not visit mandarines, and present them, we cannot secure Christianity; if we teach the mathematicks, they banish us; if we teach none, there is no admittance. Good God, how many scare-crows they set before us upon all occasions! God order all for his greater glory, and grant unity and concord among the missionaries, which, I think, is the main point: I have writ something to this purpose in the second tome. See *S. Thom. in apoc. cap. viii. ver. 6, 7.* explicating those words, *They prepar'd themselves to sound the trumpet*. Having taken notice that in the second verse it is said, that a trumpet was given to every one of the seven spirits, and what *Richardus Viſtor* observes upon the ninth chap. ver. 19. *I heard one voice from the four horns, &c. One voice, that is, the agreement of the universal doctrine, from the four horns of the golden altar, that is, from all the preachers of CHRIST, preaching the four gospels through the four parts of the world.* Thus the heavenly and divine seed will certainly bring forth fruit. Otherwise we shall say, *In vain do we labour and run.* See *Sylvier. tom. VI. cap. 4. q. 1.*

CHAP. III.

Notes upon F. Martin Martinez's Treatise de Bello Tartarico.

1. I Know not whether I got the better of sloth, which hinder'd me from reading the little book *de bello Tartarico*, publish'd by the R. F. Martinez, or whether curiosity overcame me; I took it up accidentally, thinking it had been *Aristotle's* problems, and resolv'd to look it over: I made some remarks, tho' not very weighty ones, and will insert them in this place. *Seneca, epist. 45. says, The words of truth are plain, and therefore must not be entangled, &c.* To be zealous for truth in all respects, implies sincerity of mind, not a spirit of contradiction, as some incurious and troublesome persons imagine. *St. Gregory* says, *With the true worshippers of God,*

even those wars are sinful which are made through ambition or cruelty, but not for the sake of peace, Cap. apud veros 23. q. 1. Among God's servants nothing is to be attributed to discord or dissension, but to a desire of clearing the truth, the knowledge whereof is delightful and coveted by all men, says *S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 15. art. 1. ad 3. S. Augustin, conf. 10. cap. 23. says, All men love to know clear truth.*

2. In his preface to the reader, pag. 16. he excuses his Latin if it prove not so polite and elegant as may be expected, with his being taken up with the study of the Chinese tongue, &c. This were more proper for others, and for those who for above twelve

NAVA- twelve years handled none but *Chinese* books, RETTE. and spent some more in the *Philippine* islands upon the languages of the natives there. F. Martinez was not there full six years, it may be his humility.

3. Pag. 21. I see he holds the opinion I mention'd in the first book, that *Tamerlane* never conquer'd *China*, as the history I there spoke of tells us. The computation by chronology I do not insist on; it is enough I confirm my opinion by what has been said. This also makes out what I writ against F. de *Angelis* a *Portuguese*, that they were the *Western Tartars* who formerly conquer'd *China*, not those who now possess it.

4. Pag. 23. He says, that he who made head against those *Tartars*, was a servant to the *bonzes*. The common vogue in *China* is, that he was a very brave and resolute *bonzo*. He was the first emperor of the reigning family before this call'd *Tai Ming*.

Wall.

Pag. 26. He confirms what I writ in the first book, that the *Chinese*s had a million of men to guard the wall; I said some added half a million more. The charge was doubtless prodigious, and wonderful how they carried provisions and necessaries for such a multitude, and defended them from the cold, which is very sharp there in winter; they must stand in need of many things. To me who know that country, the supplying all these wants seems more easy, than to relieve two hundred soldiers from *Madrid* if they were but at *Pardo*. This is no hyperbole, but a known truth.

5. Pag. 28. He tells how ill the *Chinese*s treated the merchants that went to *Leao Tung*, which cannot be deny'd; but neither *Leao Tung*, nor *Leao Fang*, was or is either of them a metropolis; nor did it then, or does it now belong to the province of *Xan Tung*, the metropolis whereof is call'd *Zi Nang*.

Te.

Pag. 29. He mentions the great *Lamase*, by whose means the *Tartars* sent their complaints to the *Chinese* emperor. I said he was the pope of the *bonzes* in those parts, and lived in the kingdom of *Tibet*. I was often told in *China*, that as well the eastern as the western *Tartars* put a great value upon the herb *cha* or *te*, whereof the most usual drink in that kingdom is made; and not being allow'd to carry it out, they use this contrivance to get it: they first treat with the *Chinese*s that sell it, agree about the price, and appoint a day to carry it away. This done, they take as many horses as they think will carry the burden, and keep them three or four days without a mouthful of food, then they come in with them, and give

them as much as ever they are able to eat of that herb; immediately they mount them, and with all speed get out of the bounds of *China*: As soon as they are within their own they alight, kill the horses, rip open their bellies, and take out all the *cha* they eat, dry it, and so carry it about to sell and make drink of it.

6. Pag. 31. He writes of the barbarous custom of the *Tartars* at the death of noblemen, that they burn their wives, some servants, horses, and other things to go to serve the dead. In *India* this custom is in some measure practis'd, but he says they left it off when they came into *China*; being reprov'd by the *Chinese*s themselves. I mention'd that they had not left it off till the year 1668, when the present emperor forbid it. Funerals.

7. From page 34 forwards, he relates the persecution his society endur'd there in the year 1618, and says, some remain'd hid, perhaps he means F. *Longobardo*. He adds, that some were cruelly bastinado'd by the magistrates. It might be so, but he does not set down the causes of the persecution, but only that a *mandarin*, who was an enemy to the law of God, promoted it. He attributes the mischief the *Tartars* did in *China* to this persecution, tho' he affirms the faith was advanced by it. But the faith encreas'd, as it is wont to do by persecution, &c. Which farther confirms what I writ concerning this matter, in the first book of my second tome. I writ, that when the *Tartar* possess'd himself of the imperial city, about the year 41 or 42, there were on the walls of *Pe King* seven thousand pieces of cannon; so I was told when I was in that city. But before that, when they attempted to break in, and durst not, F. Martinez says there was in the imperial city, an infinite number of cannon; these words imply more than the determinate number of seven thousand.

8. As for what he writes, page 42. of the *Portuguese* succours, I already took notice that the soldiers of *Macao* never came to court, whereof there is a credible witness at *Madrid* in the service of the lady marchioness *De los Velez*, who was then in arms, and went with those men from *Macao*; only five or six gunners went up to the court. I do not look upon it as probable, that the law of God was then, and till those times publickly preach'd with the emperor's consent.

9. What he says, pag. 45. that the *Tartars* even pull out all their beards by the roots, is contrary to what we have seen thousands of times. They use whiskers like the *Turks*, and larger. Nor do I agree to what he writes, page 47. But they are handsome enough in body and face, and much delighted with Tartars.

with strangers. This is not at all proper; I have heard so much of the cruelties and inhumanities of the *Tartars*, that all he writes concerning them is credible. Pag. 56. he says, the *Portuguese* gunners that went to court, were seven, which differs not much from what was said before.

10. Then he gives an account of the rebellion of the *Chinese* robbers, and the destruction of the metropolis of the province of *Ho Nan*, where the good *F. Figueredo* had his church; he might well have sav'd his life, but like a good shepherd, would not leave or forsake his flock; he attended them living, and bore them company in death. *F. Figueredo* was an excellent missionary, and writ extraordinary good books in the *Chinese* character. I read some of them, and they pleas'd me to the height; therefore I wonder'd that those of his society forbid them to their brethren, since he printed them with leave. True it is, the prohibition did not reach us, or the native Christians.

S. Paul, 2 *Cor.* vi. sets down the qualifications of missionaries in these words; *In much patience, in tribulations, in wants, in afflictions, in stripes, in prisons, in seditions.* *Cajetan* adds, *which are rais'd against us in cities, &c.* It is fit the whole be read, with the expositions of *S. Thomas* and *Cajetan*. It were no hard matter to apply every particular to this reverend father: But one I cannot make out of him, which is, that whereas the fathers of the society in *China* underwent so many persecutions, which I mention'd in the first book of my second tome; yet I never heard that *F. Figueredo* suffer'd in any of them, notwithstanding he was against the practice of his own order, and follow'd that which the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* always observ'd in relation to the worship the *Chinese* give to their dead, their boards, *Confucius*, and other particulars. This to me is a mystery that requires much reflection.

11. Pag. 79. He corroborates my opinion, wherein I agree with the fathers *Longoardo*, *Gouvea*, and other grave men of the society: *For they believe*, says he, *that crowns are given by heaven; nor do they think they ought to be seiz'd by human arts or force.* How come others to contend that the *Chinese* know *God*, when they themselves say the contrary? The *God* they acknowledge is heaven, and not any other thing distinct from it.

12. From page 87. forward, he gives a relation of the rebels breaking into the imperial city and palace, and the *Chinese* emperor's unhappy end; he agrees he hang'd himself, and says, he kill'd a daughter he had that was marriageable: It was reported in *Pe King*, as I writ it.

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13. Pag. 94. He speaks of the imprisonment of the father of *U San Kuei* the *Chinese* general, and the letter he writ to his son, with the answer he sent to it; it is worth every man's knowledge, and that makes me insert it here. The rebel press'd him to write to his son, to submit himself and all his army to him, and obey his orders. The good old man took the pencil, and writ thus; "Son, the changes we see are the effects of heaven and fate, the rule *ta ming* is ended, our emperor perish'd, heaven has deliver'd up the crown and sceptre to this robber *Li Kung*; we must suit ourselves to the times, and make a virtue of necessity to escape his tyranny and a cruel death. He promises to make you a king, provided you and your men will acknowledge him emperor. My life depends on your answer, consider what you owe to him that begot you."

U San Kuei read his old father's letter; no doubt it forced tears from him, and fatherly love strove in his breast, with the duty he owed as a loyal subject to his emperor. The latter prevail'd, and he generously answer'd his father in a few words, thus; "I will not have him be my father who is not true and loyal to the emperor; if you, sir, forget the fidelity you owe to the emperor, no body will think it strange I should forget the duty I owe to such a father; I will rather die than serve a robber." He sent this loyal and resolute answer to his father, and presently sent to crave aid of the *Tartar*. He acted inconsiderately and rashly; this was the occasion of the mighty havock he saw soon after. He call'd in lions to drive out dogs.

14. Pag. 97. He confirms what I was told in *China*, and mention'd in the first book, that they were employ'd eight days carrying riches out at four gates of the palace upon carts, horses, camels, and mens shoulders. I do not agree to what he says, pages 105, 106, that the *Tartars* took from *U San Kuei* the command of the army; he was desirous so to do, but never durst provoke him. He kept that post till my time; and if it were not so, what ground was there for the hopes the *Chinese* had conceiv'd of this man?

What he writes, page 125. concerning the petty king, who went over to the small island near to the city and port of *Ning Po*, and made himself king of it, was not of any continuance. The governor of *Kin Hoa*, a great friend to *F. Martinez*, was beheaded in my time at *Pe King*.

15. Pag. 126. He relates how he was taken by the *Tartar*, but after another manner than really it was. *F. Martinez* was then with *Liu Chung Zao* in the quality of

mandarin

NAVARETTE. *mandarin* of the ammunition, a title his brethren did not approve of; he had scarce time to cut off his hair; he own'd himself a near kinsman of F. *Adamus*, and that fav'd him.

Pag. 38, 39. He gives an account of the baptism of *Constantine* his mother, &c. I have writ somewhat concerning this particular, and refer myself to it. Some things might have been spar'd in this point, and in the cut he inserts in this place; they who are vers'd in these affairs will understand it.

Army. 16. Pag. 167. He says, all the *Tartar* and *Chinese* troops are rang'd under eight colours: in the first book I said it was under twenty-four; I was often told so in *China*.

Food. Pag. 168. He mentions the *Tartars* eating horses and camels, which has been set down before. I often heard, that these people had a custom, as soon as they kill one of them, to take out its heart, and eat it raw.

17. Pag. 178. He writes that *Amavandus* the *Tartar* in three days threw up a trench ten leagues in length, with several forts upon it. This will seem incredible in these parts, but is not so to me, who have seen the vast numbers of people that can be gather'd to furnish such a work; tho' it be very much if it had been but six or seven leagues, and it would take up a great multitude to man it.

Canton. From page 176. forwards, he describes the taking of *Canton*; it cost dear. That which most terrify'd the *Chinese* was, a wooden castle the *Tartars* built, which overtopped the walls whence they play'd their guns, and then the *Chinese* began to abandon the wall. *Peter Caravalle* a mongrel got by a *Portuguese*, who seeing himself left alone upon the wall, fled hastily, told me, that if only two hundred men had kept their post with fire-arms, they had certainly repulsed the *Tartars*, and disappointed their designs. The fathers, *Alvaro Semedo*, and *Feliciano Pacheco*, both *Portuguese*s, were then in that metropolis; the latter, as he told us several times, got out, though with much difficulty, with his musket upon his shoulder. The *Tartars* took the former, and from him a great sum of money, as F. *Antony Gouvea* told us in that city.

18. Pag. 180. He says, almost all the *Tartars* love, honour, and respect those of his society; this appears by our sufferings. He adds, *Et non pauci ex illis jam fidem amiserunt nostram*. I understand it not; if by *amiserunt* he means they have receiv'd, he is much deceiv'd; here and there one it may be, and this seems to be the author's meaning.

19. From page 182. forwards, he speaks of the cruel actions of the second rebel, or robber; I look upon them all to be true. The fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo* suffer'd very much under this man. F. *Gouvea* said it was their own fault, because they were very headstrong.

20. Pages 193, 194. He says, That *Literati* robber call'd together the learned to be examin'd, and that above eighteen thousand met; *All whom, as the custom is, he put into the college of the city, as it were, to be examin'd*, and put them all barbarously to death. F. *Martinez* here gives it for granted, that in every metropolis there is a college for examinations, and that large enough to contain the number above-mention'd. Why then did he give out at *Rome*, that the examinations were made, and degrees taken in the chapel dedicated to *Confucius*, which cannot hold fifty men standing? There is no answering this point.

21. Pag. 207. in *Appendix*, he says in *Worship*. the margin; "The religious worship of the *Chinese*s towards the dead," And in the body of the page, "No punishment is more heinous among the *Chinese*s than that sort of execution; for by reason of the religion ingrafted in their minds, they pay a supreme veneration to the sepulchres of the dead." Hence it follows that all the *Chinese*s do towards their dead, is not a civil worship. This is certainly a necessary consequence, else it would not be a religious worship of *Chinese*s towards the dead, nor would the extraordinary veneration they have for their tombs be an effect of the religion ingrafted in their minds. It were well for the father if this were not contrary to what he himself propos'd at *Rome*. From what is here writ I also infer, that what I said in another place is true, that the *Chinese*s look upon the place of their sepulchres as holy, and not profane, as well as other nations.

To confirm what I alledge in another place out of F. *Suarez*, *contra Reg. Ang.* to prove that the worship of the *Chinese*s towards their dead, is not only civil and political, but ceremonious and religious: I here add what F. *John de Sancto Thoma* says, 2. 2. q. 87. disp. 27. art. 4. "A worship is call'd holy and religious, not because it is divine, but because it is above the civil degree; that is, it is given to persons near to God, and above human conversation: and, because those persons to whom it is given, are above the civil rank." No man who has been in *China*, can reasonably defend, that the ceremonies wherewith that nation honours their philosophers, emperors,

rors, and progenitors departed, are not far superior to those they use to honour the living. *Card. Lug. de incarnat. disp. 35. sect. 1. n. 1.* says, "That is call'd civil worship, which usually men give to one another." And it is certainly very different from that the *Chineses* give to their dead. This matter shall be handled at large in the second tome; for the present it suffices that *F. Martinez* calls that the *Chineses* practice, a religious worship towards the dead.

Xavier. 22. Pag. 210. He says, he knows not what was the end of *Jun Lie*, I set it down in the fifth book. He adds, that *F. Andrew Xavier* follow'd him, his wife and son. I have given an account how they abandon'd and forsook him; *F. Vittorio Riccio* was told it by the eunuch, who went to crave succours in the island *Hia Muen*; and because the king, queen, and other Christians had never a priest, he press'd to have the said father go with him; who would have gone, had he been furnish'd with a companion to whom he might commit the charge of his Christians.

Missioners. 23. Pag. 215. and last, He tells the news he receiv'd at *Bruxels* of the *Tartars* kindness to the missionaries, that they gave full liberty to preach the gospel, that they allow'd the erecting of new churches, and contributed towards them. The last I neither do, nor for the world can agree to: the first part I grant, and was an eye-witness to it: but that mighty liberty and toleration lasted not long, because it was all built upon sand. *F. Martinez*, as I was often told, was of opinion, that the *Tartar* was lawfully possess'd of the *Chinese* empire. I always thought he would have prov'd his title in this little book; but nothing can be gather'd out of all he writes to make this out, or prove his assertion, so that I am left more at liberty to go on in my own opinion.

24. A learned and judicious man thinks nothing impossible. *S. Thomas*, 1 p. q. 94. art. 4. "Nothing is incredible to a wise man; children and fools are surpriz'd at every thing as strange." He will not therefore make a doubt of what has been hitherto said, or shall be added in the second

tome. Some persons are amaz'd to hear that many new Christians turn apostates, without regarding that many of our own people do the same among the *Mahometans*, of which sort there are enough at *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other parts. We know, that according to *S. Augustin*, lib. I. cont. *Julian*, c. 3. whom *A Lapid* quotes and follows in *Gen. iii. 5.* *Adam* lost his faith when he sinn'd: so *S. Peter*. What *S. Thomas* did we all know. Besides *Himeneus* and *Alexander* fell back, 2 *Tim. iv.* What wonder is it the *Chineses* and other nations should do the same? What we ought to admire is, that there should be any, who forsaking so many idolatries in which they were bred from their infancy, come over and embrace our holy law, without seeing any miracles as the antients did. And whosoever reflects upon the inconsistency of the *Jews*, who saw so many prodigies as God perform'd among them, and for them, will less wonder at what many *Chineses* have done: I see more to admire at among Christians. One of my order exhorted an *Alcade* of *Manila* to moderate himself in some particulars, he put him in mind of the account he was to give to God; and he answer'd, Let me but come off well when I am call'd to account here, for that in the other world does not much trouble me. No *Chinese* would have utter'd such an extravagancy. This man had not read that which all we who have faith ought to know. Let him who has the curiosity read *Oleaster* in *Levit. vi. ad mores.* I call'd to mind a while since an extraordinary passage, which is in the classic *Chinese* authors. They write of one who being altogether ignorant, one morning awak'd so learned, that he repeated all the *Chinese* doctrines by heart. They praise this man very much; what I understand of it is, that only God, and none else can infuse habitual knowledge. This is an agreed point of divinity, which *A Lapid* follows in *Gen. xi. 7.* The devil may infuse actual knowledge, either suggesting, or speaking himself, and perhaps it is most likely he did so in this case we have mention'd. Other stories and accidents, which might be added in this place, are inserted in the second tome.

NAVA-
RETTE.
Apostates.

The End of the Sixth Book.

B O O K VII.

Decrees and Propositions resolv'd at *Rome*, by order of the Holy Congregation of the Inquisition.

Questions propos'd to the Holy Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, by the Missioners of *China*. With the Answers to them, approved by Decree of the said Holy Congregation.

The following Propositions transmitted by the Holy Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, to the Inquisition, were resolv'd as follows, by the Fathers Qualificators of the said Inquisition.

WHETHER the Chinese Christians are oblig'd to the observation of the positive precepts of the church, as to fasting, confessing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days, in the same manner as the Indians in New Spain and the Philippine islands are oblig'd, by the decree of pope Paul the 3d for the western and southern Indians.

Fasting.

They are of opinion, that the positive laws of the church for fasting bind the Chinese Christians, and that the missioners are to notify it to them. But considering the nature of countries, and persons, his holiness if he pleases may grant the same dispensation Paul the 3d of happy memory granted to the *Indians*; which being obtain'd, let the missioners endeavour to make known to them the goodness of our holy mother the church, who favours them in remitting a great part of what she has decreed for the whole world.

Confession.

They also judge the aforesaid *Chinese* are oblig'd to sacramental confessions once a year, and the missioners are to make them sensible of this duty.

Communion.

The same they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing of it at the time appointed, viz. at *Easter*, that is to be understood, unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken, that they receive within two or three months next before or after *Easter*, as far as may be done without danger, or at least within the space of a year beginning from *Easter*.

Holy days.

Lastly, they judge the *Chinese* who are converted to the faith are absolutely oblig'd to keep holy days, and the missioners are

bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his holiness please, he may limit the number of holy days according to the privilege granted the *Indians* by Paul the 3d.

2. Whether the ministers of the gospel in the *Baptism*, said kingdom may, for the present at least, forbear giving women the holy oil of Catechumens, the putting spittle in their ears, and salt in mouths; As also administering the sacrament of extreme unction to women. The cause of putting the question is, for that the *Chinese* are very jealous of their wives, daughters and other women, and will be scandaliz'd at such actions.

They judge the sacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledge for their doubt is not sufficient for the missioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit these things. Therefore care is to be taken, that such wholesome rites and ceremonies be introduced and observ'd, and the missioners must administer them with such circumspection, and give the men such instructions, that they may be void of all thoughts of any indecency.

3. It is establish'd by law in the aforesaid *Interest*, kingdom, 30 per Cent. Interest be taken for money lent, without any regard to gain otherwise failing, or loss accruing. The question is, Whether it be lawful for the said *Chinese* to receive the said 30 per Cent. the rate establish'd by law in that kingdom, tho' their profit cease not in another place, nor loss accrue. The cause of the doubt is, for that the principal runs some hazard, to wit, that he who borrows may run away, or delay payment, or force the creditor to recover it by law, or the like.

They

They judge nothing above the principal ought to be taken immediately and directly for the loan. But if they receive any thing on account of the danger may probably happen, as in this case, they are not to be molested, so regard be had to the nature of the danger and the likelihood of it, and there be a proportion betwixt the greatness of the danger and what is receiv'd.

4. It is frequent throughout all China to have publick houses assign'd for usury, where publick usurers put out their money to use upon pawns, deducting the interest, and yet to receive so much per month for every ducat; and in case the owner of the pawns within a certain number of years does not redeem them, paying the principal and interest, he loses all his right and title to those pawns. Now these houses are useful to the publick; and tho' the usurers themselves would desist from that trade of usury, yet they are compel'd to follow it by the magistrates. The question is, whether if these usurers should desire to be converted to the faith, they may be baptiz'd tho' they continue in their course of usury, for the reason above mention'd, or what is to be done in that case?

They judge that the Chinese who continue in the practice of usury cannot be baptiz'd. But if they be compel'd by a magistrate to lend their own money, then they may take something above the principal, tho' they have a pawn, both because of the trouble forced upon them, and for their care in keeping the pawns, as also of the profit they might make another way, and of the present loss they are at. But if at the time appointed, there shall remain upon selling the pawn any thing above the principal and lawful interest accruing, for the reasons above mention'd they shall restore it to the owner.

5. Whether the sons of the aforesaid usurers, being Christians when they inherit their fathers wealth, be oblig'd to make restitution of what their parents got by usury either in the whole or in part, according to the excessive extortion. And in case such sons of usurers, now become Christians, be compelled by the government, or magistrate, to open and keep up their parents publick houses of usury; what then the ministers of the gospel are to do in this case for the ease of their consciences.

They judge, that the heirs of usurers are obliged to make restitution of what their parents have unlawfully got by usury, to the true owners, if any such can be found; if not, according to the rules assign'd by doctors. But the actual restitution must be directed by learned, pious, and discreet men. As for the second part of the question, it is answer'd in the next above it.

6. It is the custom among the people, and

in the cities of that kingdom to lay certain impositions, which are exacted from the neighbouring people, to be spent at the feast of the new year, in sacrifices and idolatries of their devils, in invitations and banquets prepar'd in their temples, as also in festivals, and other indifferent shews for the peoples diversion. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, and their ministers (of whom it is demanded as of neighbours) at least for the present, to contribute towards these things? For in case the Christians would not contribute to it, some tumult will be rais'd against them by the Gentiles.

They judge the Christians may contribute money, provided they do not design by such contributions to join in those idolatrous, or superstitious acts; supposing that cause for it, which is propos'd but doubtfully: especially entering their protestation, if it may be done with conveniency, that they pay those contributions only for the diversion of the people, and indifferent actions, or at least such as are not opposite to the worship of the Christian religion.

7. In all the cities and towns of that kingdom, there are temples erected and dedicated to a certain idol call'd Chim Hoam, which the Chinese pretend to be the ruler, protector, and guardian of the city; and it is an establish'd law of the kingdom, that all governors of towns and cities, whom they call Mandarin, when they enter upon the government, and twice a month throughout the year, upon pain of forfeiting their employment, shall repair to the said temples, and there prostrating themselves before the altar of the said idol, kneeling and bowing their head down to the very ground, adore and worship the said idol, and offer in sacrifice to it candles, perfumes, flowers, flesh and wine. And when they take possession of their government, they take an oath before the aforesaid idol, that they will govern uprightly; and in case they fail, submit themselves to be punished by the idol; and also they beg of him a rule and method to govern well, and other things to this purpose. Quære, Whether considering the frailty of that nation, it may be allowed for the present, that such governors being Christians carry some cross, which they may conceal among the flowers on the idol's altar, or in their own hands; and directing their intention not to the idol, but to the cross, perform all those genuflexions, bowings, and adorations before that altar outwardly and feignedly, directing all the worship inwardly in their heart to the cross? for if such governors be obliged to desist from doing this, they will sooner revolt from the faith than lose their commands.

They judge, it is no way lawful for Christians to perform these publick acts of

NAVARETTE.

Worship
of Confu-
cius.

worship and honour to an idol, upon pretence, or intentionally to a cross they have in their hand, or hid among flowers on the altar.

8. In the aforesaid kingdom of China there was a learned master in moral philosophy, long since dead, whose name was KUM FU CU, so much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and instructions, that as well the kings as all other persons of what degree or quality soever, propose him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the speculative part, and extol and worship him as a saint; and there are temples erected in honour of the said master in every city and town. Governors are oblig'd to offer up a solemn sacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themselves doing the duty of a priest, (they repair thither without solemnity twice a month throughout the year) with them go some of the literati, or learned, to assist them in the offering of that sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead swine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, sweets, &c. Also all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go into this master's temple, to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and sweets. All this worship, sacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all those Gentiles, is design'd as a thanksgiving for the good instructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him, through the merit of his excellent wit, the blessing of wisdom and understanding. Quære, Whether such governors as are or shall be Christians, or the learned call'd and forc'd, may repair to the said temple, offer such sacrifice, or assist at it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of those idol offerings; chiefly, because those Gentiles believe, that he who eats of those idol offerings will make a great progress in learning, and advance in degrees; and whether they may lawfully do this, carrying a cross in their hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing doubt, because if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the ministers of the gospel will be banish'd, and the conversion of souls will be hindered, and cease?

They judge, that what is contain'd in the question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

Worship
of progenitors.

9. 'Tis a custom inviolably observ'd among the Chineses, as a doctrine deliver'd by the said master KUM FU CU, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer solemn sacrifices to their aforesaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceased parent or grandfather on an altar ad-

orn'd with many candles, flowers and sweets, and in this sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the priest, who with his assistance offers flesh, wine, sweets, goats heads, &c. Now this sacrifice according to the common intention of that nation, is design'd as a thanksgiving to their aforesaid progenitors, an honour and respect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore, prostrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harvest, many children, much prosperity, and to be deliver'd from all adversity. Which sacrifice is also perform'd in their houses and at the tombs of the dead, but with less solemnity. Quære, Whether Christians may feignedly, and only in outward shew, as was propos'd above, be present at this sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple, at home, or at the tomb publicly, or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.

They judge, it is no way lawful for the Chinese Christians to be present at the sacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any superstitious rites whatsoever the Gentiles use towards them, tho' it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any function relating to those matters.

10. The Chinese Christians do affirm, that by the aforesaid offerings they design no other honour to their progenitors, than if made whilst they were yet living, and that is only in memory and as an acknowledgment of the being receiv'd from them; and were they living, they would offer them the same things to feed on; and they offer them without any other intention, or hope in their prayers, knowing they are dead, and their souls bury'd in hell. Quære, Whether if these things were done among Christians only without the company of infidels in the temples, or houses, or at the tombs, placing some cross on the altar of the aforesaid dead, and directing their intention to it, provided they attribute nothing to their progenitors but a filial respect, which (if they were still living) they would have paid, by presenting them eatables, and sweets; that so they may please the people: The question is therefore, whether this may be tolerated for the present to avoid other inconveniences?

They judge, consequently to what has been said above, that the aforesaid points cannot be sav'd, either by the application of the cross, or the absence of Gentiles, or by the intention of the actions, in themselves unlawful and superstitious, in the worship of the true God.

11. Moreover the Chineses, to put them

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in mind of their ancestors, make use of certain tablets on which the names of their progenitors are writ, which they call the seats of the souls, believing the souls of the dead come to rest upon those tablets, to receive sacrifices and offerings; and the aforesaid tablets are placed on altars peculiar to that purpose, with roses, candles, lamps, and sweets about them; and they kneel, pray and offer up their devotions before the said tablets, and expect those dead persons shall relieve them in their troubles and adversities. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, laying aside all heathen superstitions and errors, to make use for the present of the said tablets, and to place them among the images of our Lord and the saints on the same altar, or on another apart, adorn'd as aforesaid, for the satisfaction of the Gentiles; or whether they may offer the aforesaid prayers, and sacrifice with the intention aforesaid?

They judge, it is absolutely unlawful to keep those tablets on a true altar, and peculiarly dedicated to their ancestors, much less to offer prayers and sacrifice to them, tho' it be done with a private and counterfeit intention.

Worship
of the
dead.

12. When any person happens to die in that kingdom, whether he be a Christian, or a Gentile, it is observ'd as an inviolable custom, to set up an altar in the house of the party deceased, and to place on it his or her image, or else the tablet aforesaid adorn'd with sweets, flowers and candles; and to set the carcase in the coffin behind it. All they who come to those houses to condole, make three or four genuflections before the altar and image of the person deceas'd, prostrating themselves on the ground, with their heads touching it, bringing with them some candles and sweets, to be consum'd and burnt on the altar before the image of the dead person. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, and chiefly for the ministers of the holy gospel, to do these things, especially when the persons deceas'd are of the greatest quality?

They judge, that provided the tablet set up be only in the nature of a board, and not a true and exact altar, if all other particulars be within the bounds of a civil and political worship, they may be tolerated.

Catechu-
mens.

13. Quære, Whether the ministers of the gospel are obliged to declare to, and particularly to instruct the Catechumens ready for baptism, that their sacrifices and all things above mention'd are unlawful, tho' there ensue many inconveniences of so doing, as their forbearing to receive baptism, the persecution, death, or banishment of the ministers of the gospel?

They judge, the ministers of the gospel are oblig'd to teach that all sacrifices but those of the true God are unlawful, that the worship of devils and idols is to be laid

aside, and that all things relating to that worship are false, and repugnant to the Christian faith. But that they are to descend to particulars, according as they find the readiness of wit, or dulness of the Catechumens shall require, and with respect to other circumstances, customs and dangers.

14. In the Chinese language this word XING signifies holy; and in the books of Christian doctrine printed by some ministers of the holy gospel, this word XING is made use of in naming the most blessed Trinity, Christ our Lord, the blessed Virgin, and the rest of the saints. Quære, Whether when in the said books there is occasion for naming the Chinese master CUM FU CU, or the king of China's order, or other kings, who are generally reputed holy in that kingdom, tho' they are infidels and idolaters, it be lawful for us the ministers of Christ to call the aforesaid persons by this name XING?

They judge, no positive resolution can be given concerning this word, or the use of it, unless they first had a knowledge of the language, and of its true and genuine signification. But if that word in China has a latitude, the ministers may make use of it; if it be confin'd to signify a true and perfect sanctity, then they may not upon any account.

15. In many temples of that kingdom there is a gilt tablet placed on a table or altar, and set but with all sorts of ornaments, as candles, flowers and sweets, on which tablet the following letters or characters are writ: HOAM TY UAN SUY VAN VAN SUY. That is, May the king of China live many thousands of years. And it is the custom of those idolaters twice or thrice a year to sacrifice before that tablet, and make genuflections in honour of it.

Quære, Whether the ministers of the gospel may place such an altar and table in their churches in manner aforesaid, and this before the altar on which the priests of God offer up the unspotted offering?

They judge that excluding the sacrifices, and altar properly so call'd, the other parts, which seem to imply only a civil worship, or can be reduced to it, may be permitted.

16. Q. Whether it will be lawful in that kingdom for the Christians to pray and offer the true sacrifice to our Lord God for their dead who depart this life in their infidelity?

They judge it is utterly unlawful, if they depart this life in their infidelity.

17. Q. Whether we preachers of the gospel are oblig'd in that kingdom to preach Christ crucify'd, and to shew his most holy image, especially in our churches? The cause of making this doubt, is because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at such preaching and shewing, and look upon it as the greatest folly.

They

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They judge that the doctrine of Christ's passion is on no pretence or policy whatsoever to be delayed till after baptism, but of necessity to precede it. But tho' the ministers of the gospel are not oblig'd to the actual preaching of Christ crucify'd in every sermon, but to deliver the word of God and divine mysteries discreetly, and according as opportunity serves, and to expound them according to the capacity

of the *Catechumens*, yet they are not to forbear preaching upon the passion of our Lord, for that reason, because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at it, or think it a folly.

They also judge it convenient, that there be images of Christ crucify'd in the churches, and therefore care is to be taken, that they be expos'd to view, as much as conveniently may be. Crucifix.

The Decree of the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide, held the twelfth of September 1645.

Decree of the pope, 1645.

THE most eminent lord cardinal *Ginette*, having reported the above-written questions, with the answers and resolutions of the congregation of divines particularly appointed to examine the said questions; the holy congregation of the most eminent lords cardinals *de propaganda fide*, approv'd the aforesaid answers and resolutions; and upon the humble application of the same congregation, our most holy father, for preserving of unity in preaching, and the practice of it, has strictly commanded all and every the missionaries, of what order, rule or institute soever, even those of the society of Jesus, who at present are or shall be in the kingdom of *China*, upon pain of incurring *ipso facto* an excommunication, reserv'd only to be taken off by his holiness, and the see apostolick, that they carefully observe the aforesaid answers and resolutions, and practice them, and cause them to be observ'd and practis'd by others, whom it shall concern, till such time as his holiness, or the holy see apostolick shall order the contrary. Printed at *Rome* in the printing-house of the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, 1645. with permission of superiors.

Morales.

This decree was set forth at the instance of *F. John Baptist de Morales*, a religious man of our province of the *Rosary* in the *Philippine* islands, bred in the monastery of *S. Paul*, in the city *Ezija*, a great missionary in *China*, of known virtue and very zealous for the good of souls. He having preach'd the gospel some years in that empire, and together with the religious of the order of our holy father *S. Francis*, who preach'd our holy faith there, observ'd some considerable points, which they could not resolve themselves; by express command from his superiors, he sail'd from *Macao* to *Persia*, whence he travel'd by land, and came to *Rome*, where he fairly propos'd the doubts mention'd in this paper, which his holiness, pope *Urban* the eighth, had by another way before receiv'd an account of, as he plainly told the said father, when he kiss'd his foot, ordering

those doubts to be laid before the congregation of the holy inquisition. They were finally resolv'd and deliver'd, when pope *Innocent* the tenth of happy memory sat in *S. Peter's* chair. In the year 1646, when I went over to the *Philippine* islands with *F. John*, we carry'd along with us a great number of authentick copies; some, tho' but few, were left in *Europe*. When we came to *Manila*, a packet sent by *Monsenhor Ingoli* secretary to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, was delivered to the chapter, the see being then vacant, and with it an authentick copy of the decree, with orders from that holy congregation to publish and make it known to all religious orders; which was punctually perform'd. He sent another packet and copy to the same effect, to the metropolitan of *Goa*, the court of the *East-Indies*; which was no less punctually obey'd. The same was done in the city *Macao*, inhabited by *Portugueses*, and seated in the dominions of *China*. In the year 1649 *F. John* went over again into *China*, and by express order from the holy congregation, according to form, intimated the aforesaid decree to the *F. vice-provincial* of the society then in *China*; to which his reverence and others of his brethren answer'd, they had further matter to lay before his holiness.

The most reverend and most learned *F. Thomas Hurtado*, afterwards writ in *Spain* upon this decree, *p. 1. resol. Moral. trac. 3. ch. 1. resol. 40.* The most illustrious lord *D. F. Peter de Tapia*, archbishop of *Sevil*, quotes it in his *Caten. Moral. Princip. tom. 2. lib. I. quest. 3. art. 9. n. 20.* he refers to the author above, who speaks of it in his *resol. orthod. Moral. de vero Mart. Fidei. tract. ult.* *F. Henao* of the society mentions it too, *de Divin. Sacrif. disp. 29. sect. 17.* where he raises some doubts, which I will answer fairly and distinctly in the second tome. *F. Angelo Maria* of the regular clergy writ at large in *Italy* upon the same subject, with much sincerity and good doctrine. Some without any reason for it, as I shall make appear in my second tome.

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say that our decree was annulled and vacated by that which past in the year 1646, at the instance of the R. F. *Martin Martinez*, which shall be mention'd hereafter. For this reason the lord bishop D. F. *John de Polanco*, my companion in that mission, ask'd of the congregation of the holy inquisition, whether it was so or not. Their answer was, that they confirm'd it anew, as the reader may see immediately.

Thus much may suffice till my second tome comes abroad, only adding, that the

faithful printed memorial, which was presented some years since to his majesty king *Philip* the fourth, mention'd by the most reverend F. *Hurtado*, and several times by F. *Henao*, was compos'd by F. *James Colado*, above spoke of; this is a matter well known, and I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that grave and learned author should not have heard of it all this while. What he says, *Long ways long lies*, I have sufficiently observ'd on account of several passages in my second tome, and some in this.

Answers of the Holy Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, approv'd by our most Holy Father Alexander the Seventh, to the Questions propos'd by the missionaries of the Society of JESU3 in China, Ann. 1656.

THE underwritten questions, and many others were propos'd to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, by some missionaries of *China* in the year 1645, which being by his holiness's order transmitted to the holy congregation of the supreme and universal inquisition, each of them was examin'd by the divines qualifcators, and the answer annex'd to every one, in the same manner as follows.

1. *Whether the Chinese Christians be oblig'd to observe the positive ecclesiastical law, as to fasting, confessing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days in such a manner as the Indians in New Spain and the Philippine islands are oblig'd, according to the appointment of pope Paul the third, for the western and southern Indians?*

They judge the positive ecclesiastical law for fasting absolutely binds the *Chinese* Christians, and that the missionaries are to declare it to them. But with regard had to the nature of the countries and people, if his holiness please, he may grant them the dispensation, which was formerly granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third of happy memory; which being obtain'd, let the missionaries endeavour to make them sensible of our holy mother the church's goodness to them, whom it eases of a great part of what is laid upon all the world.

They also judge the aforesaid *Chinese*s are oblig'd to sacramental confession once a year, and the missionaries are to make them sensible of this duty.

The same they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing it at the time appointed, viz. at *Easter*, that is to be understood, unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken that they receive within two or three months next before or after *Easter*, as far as may be done without danger, or

at least within the space of a year, beginning from *Easter*.

Lastly, they judge, the *Chinese*s who are converted to the faith, are absolutely oblig'd to keep holy days, and the missionaries are bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his holiness please, he may limit the number of the holy days, according to the privilege granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third.

2. *Whether the ministers of the gospel in the said kingdom may, for the present at least, forbear giving women the holy oil of catechumens, the putting spittle in their ears, and salt in their mouths; as also administering the sacrament of extreme unction to women? The cause of putting the question is, for that the Chinese are very jealous of their wives, daughters, and other women, and will be scandaliz'd at such actions.*

They judge the sacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledge for their doubt, is not sufficient for the missionaries (as far as lies in their power) to omit those things. Therefore care is to be taken that such wholesome rites and ceremonies be introduced, and observ'd, and the missionaries must administer them with such circumspection, and give the men such instructions, that they may be free from all thoughts of any indecency.

3. In the foresaid kingdom of *China*, there was a learned master in moral philosophy, long since dead, whose name was *KUM FU ZU*, so much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and instructions, that as well the king, as all other persons of what degree or quality soever, propose him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the speculative part, and extol and worship him as a saint; and there are temples erected in honour of the said master.

NAVARETTE. in every city and town. Governors are oblig'd to offer a solemn sacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themselves doing the duty of a priest (they repair thither without solemnity twice a month throughout the year); with them go some of the *literati*, or learned, to assist them in the offering of that sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead swine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, sweets, &c. Also all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go to this master's temple, to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and sweets. All this worship, sacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all those gentiles, is design'd as a thanksgiving, for the good instructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him thro' the merit of his wit, the blessing of understanding.

Quære, *Whether such governors as are or shall be Christians, or the learned call'd and forced, may repair to the said temple, offer such sacrifice, or assist at it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of those idol-offerings; chiefly because those gentiles believe, that he who eats of those idol offerings, will make a great progress in learning, and advance in degrees? And whether they may lawfully do this carrying a cross in their hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing doubt, because if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the ministers of the gospel will be banish'd, and the conversion of souls will be hindred and cease?*

They judge that what is contain'd in the question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

4. 'Tis a custom inviolably observ'd among the *Chineses*, as a doctrine deliver'd by the said master KUM FU ZU, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer solemn sacrifices to their aforesaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceas'd parent or grandfather on an altar, adorn'd with many candles, flowers, and sweets; and in this sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the priest, with his assistants, who offer wine, flesh, sweets, goats-heads, &c. Now this sacrifice, according to the common intention of that nation, is design'd as a thanksgiving to their aforesaid progenitors, and honour and respect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore prostrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harvest, many children, much prosperity, and to be deliver'd from

all adversity. Which sacrifice is also perform'd in their houses, and at the tombs of the dead, but with less solemnity.

Quære, *Whether Christians may feignedly and only in outward shew, as was propos'd above, be present at this sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple at home, or at the tomb, publickly or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.*

They judge it is no way lawful for the *Chinese* Christians to be present at the sacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any superstitious rites whatsoever the gentiles use towards them, though it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any function relating to those matters.

But whereas the missionaries of the society of JESUS in the aforesaid kingdom were not heard at that time, after the year 1655, they propos'd the aforesaid four questions to the same holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, with the diversity of circumstances, which is adjoin'd to each question, &c. The matter was by order of our most holy father remitted to the holy congregation of the supreme and holy inquisition. The said holy congregation having heard the opinion of the qualificators, answer'd as follows.

Quære 1. *Whether the missionaries are oblig'd to signify to the new Christians, when first baptiz'd, the ecclesiastical positive law, as binding under mortal sin, in relation to fasting and confessing, and receiving once a year?*

The reason of making a doubt about *Fasting*. fasting is, because the *Chineses* are us'd from their infancy to eat three times a day, which the lightness of their diet obliges them to. This would oblige magistrates to go to their courts fasting, where they continue from eight in the morning till two afternoon, which they could not possibly do.

The reason of making the doubt concerning *Holy days*. holidays, confession, and communion, is because most of the Christians must work for their living, and the Christians are often forced by infidel magistrates to do several sorts of work upon holy days. And the Christian magistrates themselves must keep their courts upon days, which among us are kept holy, upon pain of forfeiting their employments.

The missionaries are but few in number, *Confession*. the kingdom of a vast extent, and therefore many Christians cannot hear mass upon holidays, and receive and confess once a year.

The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the positive ecclesiastical law relating to fasting, keeping of holy day, sacramental confession and communion once a year, is to be made known to the Christian Chinese by the missionaries, as obliging under mortal sin; but that they may at the same time declare the causes which excuse the faithful from the observing of those precepts, and if his holiness pleases, power may be granted the missionaries to grant dispensations as they think fit, only in particular cases.

Baptism.

Quære 2. *Whether all the sacramentals are to be applied in the baptizing of females at women's estate? Again, Whether it be sufficient to administer the sacrament of extreme unction only to such women as desire it?*

Extreme unction.

Again, Whether it may be refus'd even them that ask it, upon a prudent foresight of inconveniences, and dangers that may ensue to all Christians?

Modesty.

The occasion of making this doubt, is the incredible modesty of the Chinese women, their reservedness, and their commendable avoiding, not only the conversation of men, but even the sight of them; in which particular, unless the missionaries be extraordinary cautious, a mighty scandal will be given the Chinese, and the whole body of Christians there may be expos'd to imminent danger.

The holy congregation, in order to what has been above propos'd, judges, that on account of a pressing proportionable necessity, some sacramentals may be omitted in baptizing of women, and that the sacrament of extreme unction may be also forborn.

Quære 3. *Whether the Christian literati, or learned Chinese, may perform the ceremony of taking the degrees, which is done in Confucius's hall? For no sacrificer, or minister of the idolatrous sect is concern'd there; nothing is perform'd that has been instituted by idolaters, but only the scholars and philosophers meet, acknowledging Confucius as their master, with only civil and political rites instituted from their very original for mere civil worship.*

For all that are to take their degrees go together into Confucius's hall, where the chancellors, doctors, and examiners expect them; there they altogether, without offering any thing, perform those ceremonies and inclinations after the Chinese fashion, which all scholars do to their masters whilst living: and thus having acknowledg'd Confucius the philosopher for their master, they take their degrees from the chancellors, and depart. Besides, that hall of Confucius is an academy, and not properly a temple, for it is shut to all but scholars.

The holy congregation judges, according to what has been above propos'd, that the aforesaid ceremonies may be allow'd the Chinese, because the worship seems to be merely civil and political.

Quære 4. *Whether the ceremonies paid to Worship of the dead, according to the rules set by philosophers, may be allow'd among Christians, forbidding all the superstitious part which has been added?*

Again, Whether the Christians may perform those lawful ceremonies in company with their pagan kindred?

Again, Whether Christians may be present, especially after making a protestation of faith, when the infidels perform the ceremonious part, they not joining with, or encouraging them, only because it would be a great reflection if they were then absent, and it would cause enmity and hatred? The Chinese assign no divinity to the souls of the dead, they neither hope nor ask any thing of them.

There are three several ways they honour their dead.

First, When any one dies, whether he be Christian or heathen, it is an inviolable custom to erect an altar in the house of the party deceas'd, and to place his or her image on a tablet, containing the person's name on it, set out with sweets, flowers, and candles, and to lay the body in the coffin behind it. All persons that come into those houses to condole, kneel three or four times before the aforesaid tablet, or image, prostrating themselves, and touching the ground with their heads, bringing some candles and sweets along with them, to be consum'd or burnt on that altar or board before the image of the party deceas'd.

The second way is, that they perform twice a year, in their ancestors or progenitors halls, so the Chinese call them, not temples, for that is the meaning of TSU TANG, which are memorials or monuments of families; only the great men have them, or the richest families: no dead body is bury'd in them, but in the mountains. Within there is only the image of the noblest of their progenitors; then upon steps one above another, there are little boards or tablets about a span in length, on which are written the names of all the family, their quality, honour, sex, and age, and the day of their death, even to infants of both sexes. In this hall all the kindred meet twice a year; the richest of them offer flesh, wine, candles, sweets. The poorer sort, who cannot have such halls, keep the tablets of their ancestors at home, in some particular place, or else upon the altar on which are the images of their holy men, which cannot have another place allow'd them because of the smallness of the house;

NAVARETTE.

NAYARETTE. house; yet they do not worship nor offer any thing to them, but they are there for want of another place: for the aforementioned ceremonies are not perform'd by the *Chineses* any where but in the hall of the dead; and if they have none, they are omitted.

The third is that perform'd at the tombs of the dead, which are all without the walls on mountains, according to the laws of the kingdom: to these the children or relations repair, at least once a year, about the beginning of *May*; they pull up by the roots the weeds and grass that is grown about the tombs, cleanse them, weep, then shriek out, make several genuflexions, as was mention'd in our first way, lay out meat dress'd, and wine; then their tears ceasing, they eat and drink.

The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the converted *Chineses* may be permitted to perform the said ceremonies towards their dead, even among the infidels, so that such as are superstitious be forborn. That they may be only present among the infidels when they perform the superstitious part, especially after making a protestation of their faith, and there being no danger of their being perverted; and this, if enmity and hatred cannot be otherwise avoided. *Thursday, March 23, 1656.*

In the general congregation of the holy *Roman* and universal inquisition, held in the apostolick palace at *St. Peter's* before our most holy lord *Alexander* the seventh, by divine providence, pope, and the most eminent and reverend lords cardinals of the holy *Roman* church, especially deputed by the holy see apostolick general inquisitors against heretical pravity throughout the whole commonweal of christendom.

Decree of
inquisition
1656.

The aforesaid questions, together with the answers and resolutions of the holy congrega-

tion, being there reported, our most holy lord pope *Alexander* the seventh aforesaid approv'd of the said answers and resolutions. Instead of a seal. *John Lupus* not. to the holy *Roman* and universal inquisition, &c. Printed at *Rome* in the printing-house of the holy congregation de propaganda fide, 1656. By permission of superiors.

In my second tome I spoke something in relation to this decree: *F. Henao* mentions it, *sect. 17. disp. 29. de divino missæ sacrificio, num. 226.* He seems to blame the most illustrious lord *Tapia*, and most *R. F. Thomas Hurtado*, as if they had designedly omitted to make mention of this decree; which he has not the least reason for. If those of his society will not publish it at *Macao*, nor even in *China*: if some of his own brethren in that mission had not seen it in my time, nor any person has as yet seen it sufficiently authoriz'd: if *F. Martin Martinez*, who by his proposition obtain'd it, would not shew it: if the fathers *John Adamus*, *Ignatius de Acoſta*, *Antony Gouvea*, and others, did not like it: if the fathers of the society themselves had made no account of it in *China*, as *F. Emanuel George* plainly own'd; how, or which way should those authors have knowledge of it? I said already, I would answer the rest of *F. Henao's* objections in my second tome. I also reserve for that place some observations I have already made and set down, upon the brief relation publish'd at *Rome* in the *Tuscan* language, by *F. Prosper Intorceta* a *Sicilian* missionary in *China*, and my companion in the persecution and banishment. I was very desirous to have found him at *Rome*, and am of opinion that he having notice of my going to that court, set out immediately for *France* to carry missionaries to that mission. I will clear all things, without leaving the least thing unanswered.

Reflexions on the Propositions made at *Rome*, by *F. Martin Martinez*,
Anno Dom. 1656.

1. **W**HAT *F. Martin Martinez* propos'd at *Rome*, being positively disapprov'd of by *F. John Adamus*, and the fathers *Antony Gouvea*, and *Ignatius de Acoſta*, both prelates of their mission in *China*, and *F. Emanuel George*, all of them of the society, and that it was very displeasing to those of the two religious orders: I made it my business at *Rome* to prevail with the holy congregation to recal and annul what has been decreed upon the four questions above-mention'd, making it appear, by what shall be here set down, that the said father had not le-

gally stated the matter of fact, which he was to propose and explain to that holy assembly. It is the custom of the church, says *S. Bernard. ep. 180. ad Innocent. 2. pap.* to revoke things of this nature; *The see apostolick is usually careful in this point, not to be backwards in recalling whatsoever it finds has been fraudulently drawn from it, and not merited by truth.* The words of *S. Augustin, lib. II. de baptism. c. 3.* are much to this purpose, they are these; *Former great councils are often corrected by the latter, when experience lays open that which was shut, and makes known what was hid.*

ibid. Which, as *Cabassucius Not. Concil. pag. mibi 450.* well observes it to be understood, *not in definitions of faith, these being immutable in the church, but in things that concern discipline, matter of fact, or persons.* Nor can or ought it therefore to be said, that the head of the church, or any of his congregations err'd in the first decree they granted, but that his holiness, or the holy congregation was misinform'd. The confessor is not in the wrong, or errs, who gives absolution to a penitent ill-dispos'd, who conceals and hides his unworthiness and ill disposition: We say he was impos'd upon. The most eminent lord cardinal *Ottobono* taught me this simile upon this subject; and I take what cardinal *Bellarmino* says, *lib. III. de Rom. Pontif. c. 2.* in this sense; *That the pope with his congregation of counsellors, or with a general council may err in private controversies of matter of fact, which depend on the informations and testimonies of men.* Which is no more than to say, that the pope, council, and holy congregations may be impos'd upon by those who give them information.

2. The same cardinal says, "That the pope as a private doctor may err, &c. and that through ignorance, as it sometimes happens to other doctors. But here *Cabassucius*, p. 299. makes this note, "Nevertheless, whosoever should on this pretence make a schism in the church, or obstinately condemn the pope himself, or a synod, to whom respect is ever due from the faithful on account of their dignity, those persons would doubtless offend God, and give scandal to the faithful." This comes pat to the answer one made in my hearing; being ask'd, Whether bishops could declare the forms of sacraments? He said with a stately tone, much emphasis and haughtiness: If the bishops be as ours, who have always been most learn'd and eminent men, they may. Many popes may not, because they are rais'd to it, being but ignorant men. This said a private missionary, with such respect and reverence did he speak of those the Holy Ghost makes choice of to steer *S. Peter's* boat. This doctrine will make it no difficult matter to him to disobey the apostolical decrees. What censure such an expression deserves will appear by the answers given to the questions I propos'd. And tho' at *Rome* they agreed to the reflexions I made and presented touching the information given by *F. Martinez* in his four questions offer'd to the holy congregation, yet they thought not that a sufficient ground to proceed to the aforesaid revocation of that decree, because there wanted some one of the adverse party at that court, to argue the matter; wherefore it was put off till further inquiry, which was order'd to be made. And tho' the main reflections may be found in several parts of the second tome, yet I thought fit to insert them here altogether, this being their proper place: and because it is convenient the reader should be immediately satisfy'd, as to the principal grounds of the controversies that have been between the three orders, I give it for granted that *F. Martinez*, and the rest that were assisting with their accounts to forward his propositions, meant well, and had a good intention; and tho' what shall be writ may cause some suspicion that it was not so, yet it shall proceed from strength of argument, not of design, to thwart theirs which I look upon as blameless. *Cabassucius*, p. 457. proves this matter elegantly; and because it is a general case, and may serve upon other occasions, I will here insert his words: "But that it may appear of how great consequence it is, whether a man acts out of a good or bad design, *Lewis Allemannus* cardinal and bishop of *Arles*, who relying on the judgment of the gravest divines and canonists of that time, had conceived a most deep notion of the authority of councils above the pope, and who otherwise was extremely zealous for restoring ecclesiastical discipline, which he positively believ'd to have been long since depraved and corrupted by the *Roman* court; and grounded himself besides on the declaration of the general council of *Constance*, *Sess. 4.* which defines, That a general council lawfully assembled, has such an authority as binds the pope himself, and can force him to obedience, and can no way be infring'd, annull'd or alter'd by the pope. Upon this he most inflexibly oppos'd the commands of *Eugenius*, and stood stiff for the assembly at *Basil*. Moreover, *Lewis Allemannus* insisted on the approbation of pope *Martin* the fifth, who confirm'd that council, as far as all its acts were made in the due course of a council, as he calls it. Those at *Basil* in their first sessions, reviv'd that decree of the council of *Constance*: Which was the cause that *Eugenius* the fourth dissolv'd the council; but they not obeying, and rather designing to chuse a new pope, then *Eugenius* to secure the unity of the church, recall'd his dissolution, and again sent his ambassadors to the council. Then the fathers at *Basil* repeated the said decree, *Sess. 18, &c.* And he that on this account (had not his sincere design and upright intention, supported by the judgment of grave and pious doctors, interpos'd) might have

NAVATILL FURTHER INQUIRY, WHICH WAS ORDER'D TO RETTE. be made. And tho' the main reflections may be found in several parts of the second tome, yet I thought fit to insert them here altogether, this being their proper place: and because it is convenient the reader should be immediately satisfy'd, as to the principal grounds of the controversies that have been between the three orders, I give it for granted that *F. Martinez*, and the rest that were assisting with their accounts to forward his propositions, meant well, and had a good intention; and tho' what shall be writ may cause some suspicion that it was not so, yet it shall proceed from strength of argument, not of design, to thwart theirs which I look upon as blameless. *Cabassucius*, p. 457. proves this matter elegantly; and because it is a general case, and may serve upon other occasions, I will here insert his words: "But that it may appear of how great consequence it is, whether a man acts out of a good or bad design, *Lewis Allemannus* cardinal and bishop of *Arles*, who relying on the judgment of the gravest divines and canonists of that time, had conceived a most deep notion of the authority of councils above the pope, and who otherwise was extremely zealous for restoring ecclesiastical discipline, which he positively believ'd to have been long since depraved and corrupted by the *Roman* court; and grounded himself besides on the declaration of the general council of *Constance*, *Sess. 4.* which defines, That a general council lawfully assembled, has such an authority as binds the pope himself, and can force him to obedience, and can no way be infring'd, annull'd or alter'd by the pope. Upon this he most inflexibly oppos'd the commands of *Eugenius*, and stood stiff for the assembly at *Basil*. Moreover, *Lewis Allemannus* insisted on the approbation of pope *Martin* the fifth, who confirm'd that council, as far as all its acts were made in the due course of a council, as he calls it. Those at *Basil* in their first sessions, reviv'd that decree of the council of *Constance*: Which was the cause that *Eugenius* the fourth dissolv'd the council; but they not obeying, and rather designing to chuse a new pope, then *Eugenius* to secure the unity of the church, recall'd his dissolution, and again sent his ambassadors to the council. Then the fathers at *Basil* repeated the said decree, *Sess. 18, &c.* And he that on this account (had not his sincere design and upright intention, supported by the judgment of grave and pious doctors, interpos'd) might have

NAVA- “ have been thought an impious schisma-
RETTE. “ tick, and under an anathema, which
“ *Eugenius* had denounced upon him and
“ his followers; nevertheless, because he
“ was not guided in this affair by any hu-
“ man affection, but by a good intention,
“ back’d by the advice of the wise men of
“ that time, the false synod soon after
“ breaking up, he not long after made
“ such an end, that after his death he was
“ renowned for miracles, and his tomb at
“ this day is held in great veneration at
“ *Arles*.” Then he compares him to *Pas-*
casmus deacon of the holy *Roman* church;
“ Who having supported the schism of
“ *Laurentius* out of a sincere intention,
“ as ought to be believ’d, was famous
“ for miracles after his death.” He con-
firms it with the comparison of *S. Cyprian*,
and others; and concludes, that *Clement*
seventh beatify’d the said cardinal *Ludovic-*
us. So that their sincerity and good in-
tention sav’d all these persons, even in mat-
ters of such concern, and so nice. The
same might be the case of *F. Marti-*
nez in his propositions, and of others in
other matters mention’d in the controver-
sies.

Meals.

3. In the first query, to excuse the con-
verts from fasting, he assigns as the rea-
son of his doubt, that *the lightness of their*
diet obliges them to eat thrice a day. And that
magistrates must repair to their courts fasting,
where they continue from eight in the morning
till two in the afternoon, so that it would be al-
together impossible for them to do it. Observe
in the first place, that *China* is one of the
plentifullest countries in the world for pro-
visions, they are all cheap, and as good as
the best in *Europe*. There is great abun-
dance of beef, pork all the year about,
mutton, goat-flesh, hens, capons, geese,
pheasants, tame and wild ducks, pigeons,
turtle-doves, small birds, and all very good;
there is no want of horse-flesh: dogs-flesh is
look’d upon as a dainty, and that of the ass
is still better. Certain it is, these things
mention’d cannot be call’d *light diet*. For
fasting-days there is sea-fish all along the
coast, and all over *China* fresh water fish
enough in rivers and ponds: We saw all
sorts of fish eaten among us very plen-
tifully and cheap in *China*. There are in-
finite quantities of hen and goose eggs,
which latter the *Chineses* are fond of. In
some places there is milk and little cheeses,
excellent salmon, choice olives, eels, trouts,
oysters and salt-fish; a thousand sorts of
varieties for collations; many sorts of cakes,
great variety of greens, beans, infinite
vetches; abundance of excellent fruit, rice,
wheat, *French-wheat*, and a thousand other
odd sorts of food. All which positively
makes against the *lightness of diet*, menti-

on’d as a reason of the doubt; nor is that
it which *obliges them* to eat three times a
day, but only the custom of eating a break-
fast as is us’d in *Europe*, where people do
it because they have been bred so to nourish
the body, and be the better able to go about
their business; so that the *Chineses* breakfast
as the *Europeans* do. The quality and
quantity is also small and distinct from what
is eaten at noon. The wine, tho’ not made
of grapes in some parts, is good, in others
better.

4. 2d Reflection. If the reason of making
the doubt were true, methinks we mission-
ners might for the same cause be excus’d
from fasting, and with better reason than
the *Chineses*, because those light meats are
natural to them, and we us’d to others
more solid and nourishing; which is not
so at all. So if the *Europeans* in *Ame-*
rica and the *Philippine* islands did eat
nothing but as the *Indians* do, they would
certainly enjoy the same privilege as the
others; for the ground of granting it was
their eating so small a quantity, and their
food having so little nourishment, for they
are really light and slender. Nor does this
argument hold in the *Philippine* islands;
the *Indians* eat but twice a day, therefore
their diet is strong and nourishing; con-
sequently it does not hold in *China* or
Europe, to say, they eat three times, there-
fore the meat is light and not nourishing.
Both these differences proceed from other
causes, which are either the peoples being
stronger, or more laborious, or the coun-
tries being hotter or colder. Cold coun-
tries require more sustenance than the hot:
according as the heat or cold increases, more
or less food is requisite; which is most
certain, and experience shews it better than
speculation. How is it possible a *Chinese*,
Spaniard, *Frenchman*, and much less a *Ger-*
man, should subsist upon what an *Indian*
of *Macassar* or *Borneo* lives on? All one
of them eats in a day is not equivalent to
a quarter of a pound of bread, and a little
water, yet they are as strong, lusty and
plump as any *Europeans*.

Abstinence

5. If the diet of *China* be light and slen-
der, how comes it we see infinite numbers
of people that fast there, and in all coun-
tries even to *India*? and these people ab-
stain from flesh, fish, white-meats and
wine all their whole lives, yet they are
sound and healthy, and strong enough to
labour, some at tillage, others in boats,
and others at mechanick handicraft trades;
and the women work at home, and breed
their children. So that the *lightness of the*
diet, even excluding fish, flesh, &c. will
not prevail with them to leave their devi-
lish fasts; and yet it shall be of force tho’
they eat fish, and white-meats, and drink
wine,

wine, &c. to excuse them from the fasts of the church. Only one objection can be made against this argument, which is, that those *Chineses* only keep abstinence from those things mention'd, and therefore eat breakfast and supper of such meats as are allow'd them; but the Christians, tho' they eat fish and white-meats, &c. must eat no breakfast, which is what they cannot endure, because they are otherwise us'd. The answer is, that this proceeds not from the *lightness of the meat*, which was the cause of the doubt. Besides, among labouring people, what is us'd here may be us'd there; for scholars, as a small quantity is tolerated among us, so it may among them, which F. Brancato has already assign'd to be two ounces, upon which a scholar may well hold out till noon, and we see many men and women fast very well without it.

6. Nor are ours the most rigid fasts in the world. The 50th canon of the council of *Laodicea* commands that Christians in *Lent* keep *Xerophagia*. *Tertullian lib. I. advers. Psychicos*, says, *we keep the Xerophagia, which is, abstinence from all flesh and broth, and all freshest fruits, that we may neither eat nor drink any thing of wine.* And this we see was in the infancy of the church. *Cassiodorus pag. 148.* adds: *The Greeks to this day observe such a Xerophagia in their fasts; and Balsamon tells us, abstinence from fish is much us'd among them, which Tertullian includes under the denomination of all sorts of flesh. Also the Armenian Christians, the Eutichians and Schismatics, do not only abstain from earthly flesh, white-meats, and eggs, but also from fish, wine and oil, as many write, who have travel'd those countries in our time. And Balsamon ad Apost. can. 69. tells us that the Greeks observe the Xerophagia, throughout the whole year, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, so far that neither upon these days, nor the fasts of Lent, they ever dispense with sick people, tho' in danger of death, any farther than to eat fish.* It goes yet farther with the *Chineses*, and others who keep the *Xerophagia* all their life time, without ever dispensing with it; tho' they be in danger of death, they do not allow of fish, white-meats or eggs. What wonder the *Coribustians* should not dispense with flesh?

7. It is also to be observ'd that the *Chineses* make great account of fasts; and therefore we find the first question they put, when they discourse concerning our holy faith, is what fasts we have: and when we make them easy, saying there are but few, as believing this makes it more grateful to them, they rather dislike it, for they do not approve it should oblige them to so few fasts. For which reason I often said

in *China*, that if it were in my power, I would not dispense with one fasting day. I conclude this point according to the intention of it, which was to shew that the reason alledg'd for excusing the *Chinese* converts from the duty of fasting, viz. the *lightness of the diet*, has not the least shadow of truth.

8. As to what he alledges to excuse the *Mandarines* from fasting, I declare there is no truth in it. For the better understanding whereof it must be understood, that the greater the *Mandarines* are, the seldomer, and the less time they sit in court, which is in their own houses, except those at court (therefore the *Chineses* do not say the *Mandarin* goes to, or comes from his court, but that he comes out to, or withdraws from it, because it is a room in his house; so he comes out of his own apartment, where no body goes in about business, to a publick hall where he hears causes, and from this to another yet more publick: by which it appears that the word *Adire*, which is to go to, can only be verifi'd of the *Mandarines* at court, and no others throughout the whole empire.) So the supreme *Mandarin* or governor usually residing in a metropolis, goes to his court but two or three times a month. The viceroys do the same, the governors of *cities* or *TAOS*, somewhat oftner. The judges and their assistants are they that follow it most, and they have no fix'd time to come out, or to sit, as is usual in *Spain*; but they come out when they please, and so withdraw. This indeed is observ'd, that as soon as the judge, for example, comes out to his court, immediately his deputies come out to theirs; and as soon as he withdraws, they do so too: but to say any *Mandarin* sits in court from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, is a mere *chimera*. And if this ever happen'd, yet it ought not to be represented as a constant, settled, and general practice. And tho' it were really so, yet there was no necessity of representing it at *Rome*, because this is one among the many other cases set down by divines, that excuse a man from fasting. Besides, the *Chinese* *Mandarines* whilst they sit in court, publickly and very freely eat and drink whatsoever they fancy; and therefore any of them who shall be a Christian might be advis'd to take some refreshment there, if he found himself faint, which he might do without the least reflection. In short the reason alledg'd for making the doubt is altogether groundless.

9. To excuse them from keeping of holidays he gives this following reason: *Because most of the Christians must work for their living, and the Christians are often forced by the infidel magistrates to undergo several*

NAVARETTE.

NAY- *veral sorts of labour; the Christian magistrates*
 RETTE. *themselves must keep their courts, even upon*
our holidays, on pain of forfeiting their em-
ployments. I answer, that when a man must
 of necessity work to maintain himself, his
 wife and children, &c. there is no need of
 going further about it, or putting the que-
 stion; for it is a plain case, that a superior
 law exempts him from the precept; nor is
 it proper to endeavour that all men should
 be excused on account of this sort of peo-
 ple, when there are others not under those
 circumstances. Besides, where there are
 tradesmen in a city who know that mass is
 said at such an hour, the hearing of it will
 not obstruct their working for their living,
 especially according to that erroneous opi-
 nion some men hold, that the church does
 not oblige to forbear work, but only to
 hear mass. So that this argument will clear
 the latter, but not the others; and it will
 be only accidentally, and when that neces-
 sity presses, the reason for it stands good.
 So those labourers, whom the *Mandarines*
 command to work upon holidays, are dis-
 charg'd from the precept of the church,
 which is not obligatory when any consider-
 able damage may accrue to the Christian
 from it. Yet I am of opinion that will
 happen but seldom, for there are so many
 of every trade in *China*, that there is no
 necessity of forcing the Christians to do
 any sort of work. Therefore I look upon
 that proposition as chimerical, when he
 says, *And the Christians are often forced by*
the infidel magistrates, &c. For which rea-
 son when this point was argu'd at *Canton*,
 no man made use of this argument. As to
 what concerns the *Mandarines*, I declare I
 never heard there was any such penalty
 for those who omit frequenting their courts.
 I have already said, the greatest of them
 do not much appear in their courts; but
 certain it is, supposing such a law, that
 if they cannot conveniently hear mass
 before, they are discharg'd of the duty.
 But if they go to the court at eight of the
 clock, why may not they hear mass at se-
 ven? and if the *Mandarines* go from their
 courts a visiting, and receive them, go to
 plays, entertainments, and other festivals
 they have on their tablets, without forfeiting
 their employments, why might not they
 hear mass on *Sundays*, and great holidays?
 This is only a pumping for reasons to stand
 out in their opinion, as they us'd to say at
Rome.

10. To excuse the *Chineses* from yearly
 confession, and from communion, he pro-
 poses, *That the missionaries are few, the king-*
dom of a vast extent, and therefore many
Christians cannot hear mass upon holidays,
nor confess and receive once a year. I allow
 there is no precept that obliges those, who

cannot hear mass, or confess and receive
 either in *China*, or any where else. We
 know there are visitations, particularly in
America and the *Philippine* islands, where
 they do not see a priest in a year or two,
 but they meet upon holidays in the church
 to pray and humble themselves before God,
 and yet they are oblig'd to hear mass, con-
 fess, &c. The same then must be allow'd
 in *China*, tho' in *China* it is easier to visit
 the Christians, than in some parts of the
Philippine islands, where we must go seve-
 ral leagues by sea, and in danger of ene-
 mies; and if we go by land, the ways are
 so bad that they are almost impassable, with-
 out any thing to eat, or any houses to rest,
 as I know by experience. Besides, if there
 are so few missionaries that they cannot assist
 the Christians, why will not they suffer
 other religious men to help them? And if
 when the Christians call them, they go to
 them, why do the fathers of the soci-
 ety complain of us and the *Franciscans*, as
F. Martinez actually did complain of *F.*
John Baptist de Morales, because he went
 with a companion to the city *NING PO*,
 when he was courted and invited by the li-
 cenciate *CHU Cosmus*? Or why shall not
 the missionary labour and travel, in visiting
 his flock, to teach, instruct and feed their
 souls, as *F. Antony* of *S. Mary* us'd to say
F. John Francis Ferreri did? Therefore
 I say all the reasons alledg'd for the doubts,
 are not according to the general opinion
 of the society, but *F. Martinez* his own,
 and fram'd by one or two more, and have
 nothing in them.

11. The holy congregation answers,
The aforesaid positive precept is to be made
known by the missionaries, as obliging under mor-
tal sin, &c. It must be here observ'd,
 that tho' his holiness *Innocent* the tenth or-
 dain'd and commanded the same, and his
 decree, as is order'd in it, was notified to
 those of the society, nevertheless they took
 no notice of it, alledging they had further
 matter to lay before his holiness; they
 made their information by *F. Martinez*,
 and had the same answer, and yet they did
 not notify to the Christians what the holy
 congregation commands. Therefore the
 stress does not lie upon the court of *Rome's*
 being well or ill inform'd, there must be
 something more in it. So that till *F. Ig-*
natius d' Acoſta entred upon the government
 of his mission in *China*, there was no talk
 of notifying the positive ecclesiastical law
 to those people; and the said father com-
 manded it to be notify'd, many of his
 brethren opposing it, and it had not been
 done by another, as I my self heard it said.
 And still some contend that the *Chineses*
 are not yet capable of this duty, whereas
 the *Indians* of *America* and the *Philippine*
 islands

islands were subject to it from their first conversion. Before the church had declar'd itself as to this point, there might be some plausible reasons, or pretences, to think the contrary lawful. But since the church has pronounced judgment, it is a crime even to doubt of it, says Cabassucius, p. 153. upon another case.

1. The second question is concerning administering the sacramentals to females at womens estate. He drove the reasons of the doubt as far as possible, saying, *Unless the missionaries be extremely cautious, a mighty scandal will be given to the Chineses, and all the state of Christianity there may be expos'd to most imminent danger.* Notwithstanding this rigid and exorbitant proposition the holy congregation decided, as appears in the decree. F. Joseph de Morales writ largely upon this subject, in his treatises, pag. 294. but immodestly, and mixing with the truth what is not so. I writ in the second tome what happen'd in Canton, when this point was argu'd. Here I must observe, that F. Trigancius mentions the baptism of some women, perform'd with all the ceremonies of the church, which proved very edifying. And F. Morales brings an example of another baptiz'd by one of theirs, who was not well vers'd there, which gave some scandal. What can we say to this? If they on account of the second precedent omit the sacramentals, we on account of the first and of many which we have both before and after, of which no inconveniency has followed, tho' they were on persons of note, will continue to practise them. And since they who have power so to do, order it to be put in execution, even when they have receiv'd information from the society, those of the society are oblig'd to perform the same, without opposing the decree, which they cannot do but they must commit a great crime, and give scandal. I refer the reader to the resolutions taken at Canton, which will satisfy him as to all that concerns this point, and he will there find enough to answer F. Morales.

2. Here I must observe two things, supposing the sacramentals to be a matter of great moment in the church. The first is, what is ordain'd by the first canon of the council of Orange: *If any person in case of necessity have not received the holy oil in baptism; let the bishop be advertis'd of it, when he comes to be confirm'd, that he may in the first place anoint him on the crown of the head, which should have been done in baptism, then on the forehead for the sacrament of confirmation, that both the anointings may be look'd upon as necessary.* Cabassucius, p. 225. says thus upon this canon: *This canon teaches us many things: First, That he who is baptiz'd,*

is to be anointed with holy oil on the crown of the head, by any priest administering baptism, &c. Fifthly, That both anointings are necessary. So that it is not so trivial a matter, that every man may omit it of his own head. This ceremony, says Ammularius Fortunatus, lib. I. de Eccles. offic. cap. 27. had its beginning under pope S. Silvester.

My second and chief reflection I take from Cabassucius, pag. 146. where, speaking of the oil of catechumens, he says thus: *But the anointing with oil of catechumens, which preceded baptism, was us'd among the Latins upon the head and breast of the person that was to be baptiz'd, as Pamelius out of S. Ambrose observes on Tertullian of baptism, in the beginning of the book; and also on the breast and shoulders, &c. But among the Greeks the anointing was perform'd by the priest all over the body of the person to be baptiz'd; for so it is learnedly deliver'd by Dionysius, Eccles. Hier. cap. 2. Cyril, Chrysostom. A little lower: For this reason, Reinaldus Theophilus in his treatise of the prohibition of clergymen conversing with women, is fully persuaded that women us'd formerly to be anointed all over the body, as well as men, upon the bare skin, but that the temptation of the eyes was prevented by some linen cloth spread before them, &c. If this ceremony were still in use, there is no doubt but it would be attended with all the inconveniences F. Martinez proposes, should it be practis'd in China; but it is easier to introduce those us'd by the Roman church, administering them as ought to be, than it is to give the communion to women, and hear their confessions. Which notwithstanding, a viceroy said to F. Sambiasi, If you deal with women, there's no more to be said. Yet I say, notwithstanding this, and other difficulties that attend these actions, they are all overcome, and the fathers of the society have taken no notice of them, therefore there is the less occasion here to descant on it.*

1. As to the third question it is to be observed, the better to judge of the proposition, That there never was any dispute in China, whether it was lawful or not to receive the degrees of bachelor, licentiate and doctor: and it was so far from being argu'd, that no body ever had a thought of making a doubt of it. Therefore it was nothing to the purpose, an unnecessary and idle action to propose this matter, in regard that nothing but what is difficult and doubtful ought to be propos'd and ask'd. But it being true that *deep calleth unto deep*; when he had committed this error, and fallen into such a fault, he tumbled headlong by degrees into many others of greater consequence. He sets it down in the question as granted, that the degrees are

NAVA- taken in the hall (so he terms the temple)
 RETTE. of *Confucius*. Nothing in the world can
 be more unreasonable, or untrue; it is set
 down in its proper place how and where the
 degrees are confer'd, and how impossible
 it is to do it in that place, if they would.
 If F. *Martinez* propos'd such things as
 those, most certain it is, the answer given
 upon them, tho' not revok'd, does not
 make against us.

Another stumble is this, he says, *no sa-
 crificer, or minister of the idolatrous sect, is
 present*. No man in *China* ever imagin'd
 any such thing, taking the words as they
 sound, and as he and we distinguish be-
 tween the sect of the learned and that of
 the idols which went out of *India* into
China. In this sense we all agree, that
 none of the idolatrous sect have to do
 either at the conferring of degrees, or any
 other ceremony of the learned, nor would
 they allow it on any account whatsoever.
 Therefore the proposing of it was only to
 trick the holy congregation; and since no
 body has made a doubt of it, it follows
 there was some further fetch in proposing
 it after that manner. He says further,
*Nothing at all is done that has been insti-
 tuted by idolaters*; this includes the same
 double meaning, which is easily taken
 away, if it be granted, as to the sect that
 went out of *India*, and denying it as to
 that of the learned. He goes on telling,
 that the learned own *Confucius* as their ma-
 ster, performing to him civil and political
 ceremonies, from their first institution di-
 rected to mere civil worship. I say in the
 first place, that it is most false, that they
 give any worship either *political* or *religious*
 to *Confucius* at the time of taking their de-
 grees; the veneration they pay to him is
 some days after receiving the degree, as all
 that vast kingdom well knows. There-
 fore he has err'd again in proposing this,
 and has committed a great error as to the
 rites with which the learned honour their
Confucius, be it at this or any other time:
 for the difficulty being whether the said
 rites are religious or civil, he ought to ex-
 plain them, that it might be judg'd and
 determin'd of which sort they were: and
 not to give that for granted which was his
 duty to prove, and which we the *Francis-
 cans*, and many of his own society have al-
 ways deny'd. We of the two religious
 orders never went about to abolish any
 thing that is civil and political in *China*, nor
 is it reasonable we should; we cut off what
 is religious in a false religion, and we prove
 it to be such, not only by arguments,
 but by the authority of the gravest mis-
 sioners of the society. Therefore to sup-
 pose them to be civil rites, is to suppose
 what ought to be prov'd; so that all the

difficulty would be, Whether it is lawful
 to give a political worship to *Confucius*,
 which no body ever yet deny'd.

2. As for those rites being from their ve-
 ry original instituted as *a mere civil worship*,
 he ought not to assert, but to prove it, and
 to lay down the first institution, that it
 might be judg'd, whether it was religious
 or political. F. *Martinez*, and some of
 his brethren, would maintain against the
 sense of other very learned men of the so-
 ciety of the learned sect, which *Becanus* in
Analog. Vet. & Nov. Testam. cap. 11. q. 3.
 writes of the Pharisees, *The sect of the Pha-
 risees in its first original and institution was
 most certain, according to that of Acts xvi.
 5. according to the most certain sect of our re-
 ligion*. *Becanus* does not suppose but proves
 this, and so ought F. *Martinez* to do,
 Then he says, *That vices afterwards crept
 in, and thus it err'd in many particulars*.
 The said fathers would make out the same
 of *Confucius* his sect, viz. that in its begin-
 ning it was holy, spotless and good, all
 political and courteous, and agreeable to
 reason; but that afterwards by degrees it
 was corrupted and defil'd; so that at pre-
 sent we are not to regard what is ill that
 has clung to it, but endeavour to cut it off,
 and look only on that which is properly
 its own, and very good. How true this
 is appears by the fifth book, and by another
 in my second tome, and it will be proper
 to read what *A Lapide* writes in *Numb. xxi. 8.*
 speaking of the brazen serpent, *Q. 4.* and
 what has been already quoted out of *Be-
 canus*; and he adds, *But afterwards, as it
 usually happens, there sprung up superstitions
 and false doctrines, with which the latter Pha-
 risees in the time of CHRIST were infected,
 and therefore severely rebuk'd by him, not
 that all, but most of them were such; for it
 appears some were clear from those vices, as
 Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Paul*. Here it
 may be observ'd, first, that our Saviour
 reprov'd the Pharisees, not regarding the
 origin of the sect, whereof he makes no
 mention, but looking upon the condition
 it was then in. Therefore supposing, but
 not granting, that the learned sect was
 good in its first institution, we must con-
 sider whether it afterwards alter'd, and
 embraced new doctrines, not look to its
 beginning, which is past and came not near
 these times. 2. That notwithstanding there
 were some who follow'd that sect according
 to its first institution, as those above nam'd;
 yet CHRIST several times severely reprov'd
 the other sectaries, who had degenerated
 from that first state; whence we may infer,
 that had the sect been corrupted in all its
 individuals, our LORD's reproof had been
 still more sharp, as only looking upon
 their present ill state, without looking back

Literati.

on that past, whose goodness is no justification of the depravedness it had fallen into through the malice of men. Now since the learned sect is at this time wholly and in all its members corrupt, perverted and degenerated, there is no reason why laying aside its present condition we should only regard what it was formerly. To go about to persuade that the followers of other sects have intruded superstitions into that of the learned, is a chimerical undertaking, since all men know what care the learned have always taken to shun all others. The case is, that sect was always bad, as the fathers Longobardus and Gouvea prove.

3. F. Martinez goes on and says, that all who are to take their degree enter Confucius's hall together. Here he proposes two things which had nothing of truth in them. The one, that they go into that place before they take their degree, which is not so. The other, that they can all go in, or be contain'd there; both which particulars are false, and falsely grounded, that is, that they are examin'd and take their degrees there; whence it follows, that the *chancellors, doctors, and examiners expecting them there*, and the rest that follows, is also false. For, as has been said, in that place, or hall, there is no examination nor degrees given or taken, nor is any act of learning perform'd; and it is afterwards, not before, that the scholars go thither to worship that philosopher.

As to the last part, that the said hall is an academy, and not a temple, *properly so call'd*, because *it is shut to all*; we will answer it at large in another place.

4. The holy congregation, according to what had been propos'd, answer'd, that the said ceremonies be tolerated, because *the said worship seems to be merely political and civil*; of which answer no doubt is to be made, because being suitable to the proposition, which represents nothing that may cause any suspicion of superstition, it follows that it must be good and justifiable.

It is well worth observing, that F. Martinez knowing all the points wherein the doubt and difficulty consisted, did not propose, or make known any one of them at Rome, but only mention'd that whereof there never was any controversy, except the calling Confucius's temple a hall, or college. Nevertheless, the said father, and others of his brethren, gave out in China, that this decree had revok'd all that had been order'd by that of Innocent the tenth: whence I infer, what others said before, that he had no further regard than to procure a sugar-plum for his own palate.

If he had desir'd to know the truth, he

ought to have propos'd and stated the question thus: Most eminent lords, when they are to offer sacrifice to Confucius, the *Chinenses* try the beasts by pouring hot wine into their ears; if they move their heads, they are accepted for the sacrifice, if not, they are laid aside. Is this ceremony political, or superstitious? The reason of making the doubt is, because such like acts and rites are condemn'd as superstitious in other gentiles; for instance, our Torre 2. 2. q. 85. art. 1. disp. 3. says, that, *Mighty care and industry was us'd in chusing of victims, for the fattest were chosen out of the flock, such as were not lame, or sick, or any other way faulty; but if the victim in coming to the altar struggled very much, or came as it were unwillingly to the altar, or if it fled or groan'd when struck, &c. it was put away from the altar, as being judged no way acceptable to the gods.*

The Greeks try'd the worthiness of their victims by laying food before them; for if the beasts would not eat it, they thought that sacrifice was not acceptable to the gods. The greater victims were also us'd to go with gilt horns, but the lesser crown'd with boughs. Now all this being superstitious, I put the question to your eminencies, whether what has been propos'd be so too? as also their offering to the dead goats-heads, adorn'd with flowers and boughs?

He should further put the question. In order to perform their ceremonies to Confucius and the dead, there is a washing of hands; and for the departed, abstinence, fasts, and separation from the marriage-bed for the space of seven days; and a master of ceremonies prescribes what is to be done, and other things mention'd in this book. The question is, whether this be political, or not? The reason of making the doubt is, because these same actions are condemned as superstitious, and irreligious worship in other gentiles. Torre above quoted says thus, num. 12. *The priest first purify'd himself by washing his hands: he abstain'd from many things, to wit, from flesh, and wine, and from all venereal acts, &c. He wore a most pure garment, and a crier who proclaim'd silence, said at the same time, Do this you are about, &c. All this was religious, and not political worship, and consequently it must be so in China.*

Thus these points must be propos'd, not giving it for granted they are political rites, and then putting the question, whether they may be allow'd? this is downright ridiculous. Nor is it to the purpose to alledge, that washing of hands, putting on clean clothes, fasting, abstaining from venereal acts, &c. are things indifferent; for, tho' it is true that in themselves they are

NAVARETTE.
Worship of Confucius.

NAVARETTE. are so, like kneeling, taking off the hat, &c. yet they are decided to be political or religious, according to time and place, by the intention, object, and other circumstances. Many instances of this sort are brought in the proper place, here I will only insert what our *Torre* writes, *num. 12. ut sup.* That the priests of Cybele did cut off their privy members, or else destroy'd the genital power by the use of certain herbs. Which most certainly in them was no political, but a religious act; and the same action in the people of *Cochinchina*, and the *bonzos* of *China*, (some of whom to live at ease, cut a small string belonging to the private parts) is no religion but barbarity. The same argument may be urg'd in all other cases, except for the sacrifice and temple, which are, at least by the law of nations, dedicated to God.

1. *Quere 4.* There are reflections enough to be made here; in the first place he sets it down as a rule, that whatsoever there is superstitious in the ceremonies perform'd to the dead in *China*, is added to what the learned instituted: and whereas the contrary appears by the testimony of most grave fathers of the society, and by the classic authors of the learned sect, he ought not, nor in reason could take such a thing for granted.

He asks further, whether the Christians may perform the same ceremonies among the infidels? If he gives it for granted, that the proper ceremonies of the learned are not superstitious, and cuts off the superstitious part, that has crept in from abroad, there is no doubt but they may perform them, nay there is no need of putting the question. The church has always taken care that Christians should not imitate the actions of the infidels, lest it should be a ground to believe they agree in the same errors. On this account it was order'd, that no bread, or other eatable things should be put upon the graves of the faithful departed at *Macao*, as shall be said hereafter. This it was the council of *Iliberis* or *Granada* had regard to, when it said, *can. 34.* *It has been thought fit that candles be not lighted in the day-time in the church-yard, for the souls of the holy are not to be disturb'd.* *Cabassucius* on this place, page 19. "This prohibition, which broachers of novelties abuse, contrary to the pious use of catholicks, was proper in those times, when Christians liv'd among pagans, lest the former should be infected with superstition; for the heathens were perswaded that the souls of the dead wanted meat and light, to dispel hunger and darkness, and therefore they carry'd food, milk and wine to the graves, as *Plutarch* testifies at the

"beginning of *Romulus's* life; and so other ancients, as *Homer*, &c. The reason why the faithful use torches and candles at funerals is altogether mystical, to signify light everlasting, &c. But the word *disturbing* which the canon makes use of, signifies a displeasure the saints conceive after this life at the superstition of those that are living. But when gentilism declining, Christian religion lifted up its head, then at last the faithful having banish'd all fear, or suspicion of approving or imitating the profane rites of the heathens, follow'd the funerals of Christians with lighted candles." *Card. Lugo de incarn. disp. 37. sect. 2. num. 20.* mentions the aforesaid canon, though to another purpose, which he solves five several ways; see it there. The same is to be done in *China*, in relation to laying meat before the images or tablets of the dead, or on their tombs for the same reason.

The difficulty is, whether the ceremonies which are taken from the doctrine of the philosophers, are political, or belong to a false religious worship; and therefore it was his duty to propose them as they are in themselves, that such sentence might pass upon them as they deserv'd.

2. He goes on with the question, *Whether Christians may be present, particularly after making a protestation of the faith, whilst the infidels perform the superstitious part, not joining with, or authorizing them, but because it would be much taken notice of, if the kindred were then absent, and it would cause hatred and enmity?* In confirmation of the protestation of faith, we may add what *Morales* mentions, *pag. 159.* he says, that one *D. Peter* and *Lady Mary* being present at one of the anniversaries they perform to the dead, when all the ceremonies of the learned sect were perform'd, and those of the sect of the idols came on, *D. Peter* with a loud voice declar'd, He had perform'd the first because they were good, but could not as a Christian perform those of the idols, as being wicked, and so went away with his wife. Thus that father pleases himself, and thinks every body will be satisfy'd with this story. In the first place, this shews how little he is acquainted with *China*, since he calls that *Gentry*. Christian a gentleman, and by the title of *D. Peter*, and his wife *donna*, whereas it is notorious that we never give any body in that country the stile of *don*, nor do we call them gentlemen, because there is no gentility there but what every man acquires, excepting very few, of whom I spoke in another place. And tho' this be not to our purpose, yet it shews his mistake in meddling with what he does not under-

Converts.

understand. I should make no difficulty to say D. Peter, and the lady Mary are counterfeit and imaginary; but that it may not be said I do it to shun the difficulty, I allow the passage as true and real, and deny what *Morales* just before much extols, saying, that the *Chinese* Christians are very obedient and strict observers of what the missionaries say and teach them. But to the purpose, I do not deny but there may be some, especially of the learned, if they are good Christians, who will not perform or be present at the ceremonies of the sect call'd of the idols. But the difficulty lies not in this, since we all agree that these are bad, as the learned infidels themselves confess, tho' they perform them among the rest. The question is, whether the ceremonies peculiar to the learned are superstitious, and whether the Christians may perform or be present at them, when they are condemned as such? and yet as to these, there is no man who will protest he is a Christian, and forbear performing them; and if any do protest, there will ensue enmity, hatred, and quarrels among the kindred, unless he who does so be a person in great authority, whom they highly honour and respect.

Worship of the literati.

3. In the second place, I maintain that the Christians by their presence at those ceremonies, cannot but co-operate and authorize the act, or else enmity and hatred must ensue, which is what F. Martinez would prevent. The reason is plain, because all there present compose one body in order to those ceremonies, for every one stands in his place assigned him, and acts the part allotted him, kneels and rises with the rest, upon a word given by the master of the ceremonies; so that there is not the least difference in outward appearance betwixt Christians and infidels as to all that is done there: so that if the Christian might be there apart from the rest, for instance in a corner, only looking on, as *Tertullian* said, he would be present *materialiter*, and not co-operating or authorising; as when a Catholick goes into a church of hereticks out of curiosity, or with a design to oppose what he sees or hears there: but if he be there in that manner as has been said, he is present *formaliter*, and as a part of that body. Whence I draw this conclusion, that F. Martinez gave in his information, only to the end abovemention'd.

4. Those propositions, *The Chineses assign no divinity to the souls departed, they expect nothing, nor ask nothing of them*, are all opposite to what his own brethren own, and to what F. Martinez himself confess'd in *China*, as shall appear in the second tome.

5. In the first way or manner. *The first is*, NAVA- &c. he pass'd by some things of no small RETTE. moment. It is not to be admir'd that F. *John Baptist* should omit something, neither he nor others of those times could see thoroughly into all things; but those of the society must of necessity in so many years have discover'd more, as appears in their works which shall be quoted. In the first place, he omitted the letters on that tablet or tabernacle, which they say is the seat of the person's departed soul; he also pass'd Souls by the others which mention, that children offer sacrifice to their parents. He further forbore to make it known, that the *Chineses* believe the airy souls of their friends departed come to those tabernacles, and are maintain'd by the steam of the meat laid before them. And to conclude, he speaks not of the chair and bed of the soul where they place its figure. All this is to be found in the ritual of the learned, with which other sects have had nothing to do, nor have inserted any thing into it.

6. *The second way is*, &c. In this too he was short, first in calling the temples of the dead SCU TANG, concealing the word MIAO, which is more frequent and proper to a temple, though the first be so too, but for those that are less than the MIAO's, which emperors, petty kings, and persons of note have. This point shall be treated of at large in its place.

We have already observ'd what he forbore to make known as to the tablets, and many sacrifices and ceremonies perform'd in those temples, as shall be said. In the last he was very much out, saying, *Which nevertheless they do not worship*; whereas the contrary is well known to all men, and that there is no new or full moon through the year but they light candles before them, burn perfumes, place meat, and make genuflexions. It also appears by the ritual, that many who have no temples, perform their ceremonies at home, in the same manner as those that have.

7. *The third way is*, &c. Here he omitted one thing very material, which is, that at every tomb there is a little chapel dedicated to the tutelar spirit of the dead person there buried, to whom they offer sacrifice in thanksgiving, for his care in guarding the said party deceas'd, and whom they intreat to protect, and look to him for the future.

By what has been said in these reflections, the reader may easily gather, whether F. Martinez's proposition was legal, sincere, and true, or not; and he will be the better enabled with more ease to satisfy himself in those points which are handled in the second tome.

NAVA-
RETTE.

As for what concerns the answer of the holy congregation, to which I give all imaginable honour, it is to be observ'd that it never allows of any superstitious act, as F. *Prosper Intorceta* publickly declar'd at *Canton*; which, besides that it is otherwise most certain, the most eminent lord cardinal *Ottoboni* confirm'd to me with his own mouth. It is to be observ'd in the second place, that by these words, *They may only be present*, it only allows of a material presence, not the formal, co-operative, or authoritative.

1646. 8. Concerning the other point, which F. *John Baptista de Morales* propos'd in the year 1646, F. *Martinez* made no mention, the reason of it is not to be guess'd; nor did he touch upon that about Christ crucify'd, tho' the fathers of the society were much concern'd at it, as thinking we had done them much wrong. I write what I know, and make out in another place. F. *Joseph de Morales* enlarg'd much upon this subject, with his usual modesty and piety; he treats of it from page 342 to page 473. he shall be fully answer'd, God willing. I will here only insert what he quotes page 470. out of the council of *Iliberis*, or *Granada*, can. 36. which is thus, "It has been thought fit that there should be no pictures in churches, lest that which is honour'd and worship'd be painted on the walls." He sets down two reasons for it, one taken from *Alanus*, cap. dial. cap. 16. *Sanderus*, lib. II. de adorat. imag. p. 4. and of F. *Turrianus*, and *Cabassucius* follows it, pag. 20. and says, "For the understanding the design of the council, the time is to be consider'd when the persecution of the Gentiles rag'd against the Christians; for this canon is in favour of holy images, which it therefore forbids being painted on the walls, lest they be scoff'd at by the Gentiles." Which inconveniency did not attend those painted on cloth, paper, or board, because they could be remov'd and hid. Hence *Morales* would infer, that the image of Christ crucify'd, is not to be expos'd to the danger of being insulted by the Gentiles: but this does not answer, nor is it to the purpose of the matter in controversy, especially because what he alledges to make good his design is groundless.

The second reason is taken from *Vasquez*, lib. II. de adorat. dif. 5. cap. 2. n. 133.

who is follow'd by *Ayala*, our *Torre* 2. 2. q. 94. art. 1. disp. 6. dub. 2. and others. The council thought it inconvenient and indecent, that holy images should be painted on the walls, because the dampness and other accidents defaced them, and so they rather mov'd laughter than devotion; and because in times of war churches are polluted, and all respect to holy images is lost; which makes nothing at all to what our adversary aims at, unless applied through many consequences, in which great difficulties occur. Cardinal *Lugo de incarn. disp.* 36. sect. 1. num. 10. follows both reasons, and concludes, that the precept is repeal'd. *Torre*, *Cano*, and others, give a truer solution, which is, that it was a provincial synod, held without any authority of the pope; and as it err'd in other things, so it did in this. I will add a fourth, which *Cabassucius* assigns. "Besides, says he, *Baronius* not without reason suspects that this canon was counterfeited and forg'd by the *Iconoclasts* who formerly inhabited *Spain*. His reason is, because, tho' it be set down by *Ivo*, lib. III. yet it is not mention'd by those that compil'd the canons before him, as *Ferdinand* the deacon, *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Cresconius*; as also because none of the *Spanish* old *Iconoclasts*, tho' they us'd all possible care to draw arguments from any part whatsoever against holy images, ever produced any canon of the council of *Iliberis* which was held in *Spain*. Nor did *Vigilantius*, and *Claudius* bishop of *Turin*, who were both well acquainted with *Spain*, and oppos'd holy images.

What consequence can be deduced from an antecedent so uncertain, to make use of it against the exposing the image of Christ crucified? I must also observe in this place, that when the persecution in *China* began, some of us endeavour'd to secure the holy images, for the reasons above-mention'd, and others did not take them up.

S. Hierom, epist. 14. to *S. Augustin* writes thus, "If I write any thing in my defence, the fault is yours that provok'd me, not mine, because I am oblig'd to answer." I might say the same to F. *Martin Martinez* if he were alive, and should blame or complain of me; but I believe he would take no notice of it, because he would be satisfied I had right and reason on my side.

Queries propos'd to the Holy General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition; and by its leave and direction transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancato de Lauræa of the Order of the Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Holy Congregations of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the publick Divines of the Sapiencia at Rome.

And F. John Bona Abbot of the Congregation of S. Bernard de Fulco, Consultor of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences; but now Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

1. **W**Hereas the blind Gentiles do on severall accounts highly extol and commend severall infidels long since dead, and have added them to the number of their vain deities or gods, or else do honour and worship them as saints. *Quære*, Whether (laying aside that vain belief) it be lawful for Christians who live among infidels, first making a protestation of their faith, or without it, to honour those dead men with ceremonies of external worship, such as kneeling, prostrations, offerings, and the like, either in company with the said Gentiles, or elsewhere apart, when those things either according to the intention of the Gentiles, or by use and custom, or law, are directed to a superstitious worship?

2. Whereas the same Gentiles do honour and worship their principal master *Confucius*, who dy'd in infidelity, as a saint; and perform many things, as making offerings, genuflexions, prostrations, burning of perfumes, praying and begging of assistance, graces, and benefits, before a small tablet, with this inscription; *The throne, or honourable seat of the spirit, or soul of the most holy and principal master*. *Quære*, Whether it be lawful for Christians to light candles, and burn sweets before the said tablet, or together with the Gentiles, or apart, to kneel, prostrate themselves, burn perfumes, the said Christians omitting the prayers and invocation?

3. Whereas the Gentiles believe, that the souls of their ancestors departed dwell on certain little tablets, on which these words are written, *The throne or seat of the soul of N, or N*; and that they attend to receive the offering and sacrifices the Gentiles make to them, imploring and expecting their assistance in their necessities. *Quære*, Whether the Christians may keep such tablets, either in their temples, or their private houses; at least if they raise that inscription, *The throne or seat of the soul*, and lay aside that false belief of the soul's residing on them; whether in such case they may have them in their houses, or any other places, and there either with the Gentiles, or apart, may honour them with offering fruits of the earth,

and sweets, or at least by prostrations by way of gratitude, and celebrating their memory?

4. In all towns and cities of *China* there is a temple dedicated to the idol **CHING HOANG**; which is look'd upon and believ'd to be the guardian and ruler of that place. Governors, when they enter upon their employments, and twice a month, are oblig'd, under the penalty of forfeiting their government, to go to that temple, and there to worship, falling down before the idol, and to offer to it sacrifice of wine, flesh, flowers, candles and sweets; and they swear before it, that they will govern uprightly and justly; and if they should do the contrary, they submit themselves to the punishment the idol shall inflict on them, and ask of him a rule and assistance that they may govern well. *Quære* 1. Whether Christian governors may perform these things, or must quit their employments? 2. Whether they may be tolerated to do it for the present, in case they erect in the middle of the temple where the idols are, an eminency apart from the idol-altar, and place on it a cross, or the picture of our Saviour not hid, but visible to all the Gentiles; and prostrate themselves before it, and take their oath of fidelity, and make their offerings, either after a protestation of their faith, or without it, and direct their worship to the true God represented in the image of Christ; or at least, whether the said Christian governors may worship the cross, or image of Christ so placed in the temple on the aforesaid days appointed by law, omitting genuflexions, prostrations, and the offerings?

5. And forasmuch as there is a court, or Almayal council of mathematicians, or astrologers, whose business it is, and chiefly the president's, every year to make, publish, subscribe, and put his seal to an ephemeris or diary, in which many vain and superstitious things are contain'd, and fortunate days are set down; some for repairing to the idol-temples to offer up their prayers there, offer sacrifices, to visit the temples of their forefathers departed, to worship and honour them, and beg their assistance; others for marrying, for trying of causes, driving

NAVARRETTE. driving bargains, buying and selling and so forth. *Quære*, Whether it be lawful for any Christian to be president, or a member of the said council, to order the said ephemeris or prediction, or any other affairs relating to that college, to command the printing or using of it, to set hand or seal to authorise it; or at least to permit, consent, and allow, that the president's subscription and seal be put to the said prediction or ephemeris, so contriv'd with those superstitious observations, and irreligious rules, by the other counsellors, and so to be publish'd, subscrib'd with his and the other names? And whether he be not rather oblig'd to refuse the office of president, or a member of that council, tho' the king offer to press it upon him, and if he be in possession, to resign it, lest he any way be concern'd in the superstitious practices above-mention'd, or seem by his seal to give them any authority?

Funerals. 6. Whether it be lawful for priests and ministers of the gospel, or other Christians, to be present among the Gentiles, and idol priests, at the funeral and solemn interment of Gentiles; or to follow the corps, particularly of such noblemen, who during their life-time were friends, protectors and benefactors of the ministers of the gospel, and Christians, or else are kindred and relations of some Catholick or Christian family, in regard that several superstitious rites are us'd and practis'd by the Gentiles and idol-priests attending such funerals? And if the Christians, or ministers of the gospel refuse to be present, it may cause railing and enmity against the Christians and priests of God.

7. Whether it be lawful for Christians, or ministers of the gospel, either to express their friendship; or on account of any dead person's dignity, worth or quality, or for any other respect, either towards the dead person, or his family, heirs or kindred, to set out meat and drink before their houses, or in the road where the bier is to pass, in case the antient custom conti-

nue, which has been establish'd by long practice, of setting out tables cover'd with meat, prepar'd by the Gentiles on the day of the burial, in the way to the tomb, whereas the Gentiles believe the souls of the dead take that meat as provision for their journey, and feed on it?

8. Whether poor Christians, by profession pipers, or the like, who live by their labour, may for the gain that is offer'd when call'd, or compell'd, play on their instruments at the funerals of Gentiles, carry the bier, or perform any other employment among the other superstitions, in the presence of the Gentiles and idol-priests, who do several superstitious acts?

9. Whether Christian artificers, such as carpenters, masons or architects, or the like, who are freely hir'd for their pay; or being constrain'd by the magistrates, or most powerful men, may lawfully contribute with their labour towards the building, or repairing of idol-temples, or only about laying the foundations, making or mending the roofs, or cleansing the walls and pavements, or clearing the altars, or opening and shutting the gates of temples, and such like employments? The reason of making the doubt is, because some *Chinese* Christians have not yet a true vigour and fortitude of spirit in the Christian religion they have embraced, and are terrify'd when any trouble, danger, or hardship threatens from the magistrates, or great ones, if they refuse to obey their commands?

10. Lastly, In case some acts may be tolerated, or lawful for Christians making a protestation of their faith; *Quære*, How and when it ought to be made; whether before the Gentiles, before, after, or at the very time the ceremonies are acting? or whether it be sufficient to make it before Christians only, whether many or few? as to which it is desir'd the number may be ascertained, for the better and fairer proceeding in a matter of such great moment.

We whose Names are under-written, being consulted about the aforesaid Doubts, having God's Honour before our Eyes, that we may provide for the Salvation of Souls; do judge the following Answers should be given to each of the Questions propos'd.

1. **T**HAT it is not lawful for the Christians living among Gentiles to worship dead Gentiles, whom those infidels honour as saints, with those rites of exterior worship mention'd in the question; neither with the Gentiles, nor elsewhere apart, without making a publick protestation of their faith; and those that shall do it, will commit a heinous sin, and idolatry.

2. As to the worship of *Confucius* before the tablet, call'd *The throne of the soul*, &c. We answer, That it is not lawful for Christians, either in company of the infidels, or apart, to perform those genuflexions, prostrations, or other things mention'd in the question, tho' the said Christians omit the prayers and supplications.

3. Concerning the tablets on which the Gentiles

Gentiles imagine the souls departed assist to receive offerings, &c. as is contain'd in the question propos'd: We say it is unlawful for Christians to keep the said tablets, either in temples or their private houses, either with that inscription, *The throne, or seat of the soul*, or without it; and that it is also unlawful to worship them, either among the Gentiles, or apart, or to make any offering to them, even excluding the false belief of the soul's residing in them.

4. Concerning the temple of the idol CHING HOANG. In answer to the first part of the question, we say, It is unlawful for governors, either upon taking possession of their employments, or on any other account whatsoever, to worship that idol, or perform any part of what is contain'd in the question propos'd, but are rather bound to quit their employments, than perform it. To the second part of the question we answer, That it is not lawful for any Christians, even governors, to place a cross, or image of CHRIST in the idol-temple, tho' apart from the idol-altar; and that nothing of what is propos'd in the question can be tolerated, tho' the worship be directed to the true God, and image of CHRIST, as is propos'd.

5. As to the college of mathematicians, &c. We say it is not lawful for a Christian to hold the place of president, or counsellor in it, if he is bound by his place to subscribe, or put his seal to those superstitious edicts, observations, or predictions, much less to publish them by his authority; but he is rather oblig'd to quit that post. Nor can he approve of, or have a hand in contriving them.

6. Touching the burial of the dead. If

the Christians do not join in the superstitious acts, but do it merely out of civil respect, it is lawful, otherwise it is not. NAVARRE.

7. For the setting out of meat upon tables, as the dead body is carry'd, we say it is not lawful without making a publick protestation of their faith.

8. Concerning minstrels and other acts usually perform'd at funerals, with a mixture of superstitious practices, as in the question: We think it unlawful to play on instruments after this manner, and to perform the other acts spoken of.

9. As to labour in building, repairing, or cleansing of temples, and the rest contain'd in the question: We say, it is no way lawful for Christians, nor to be tolerated upon any account or pretence whatsoever.

13. We say, that in case a protestation of faith is to be made on account of any toleration, it must be in publick before the Gentiles and Christians, who are present at that function so tolerated. November the 27th 1669.

I F. Laurence de Laurea of the fryars minors, Consultor of the holy inquisition, &c. am of this opinion.

I D. John Bona, abbot of S. Bernard, hold the same.

It is here to be observ'd, that the second doubt, and those that follow, except the 6th and 7th, were solv'd many years since, in the same manner as they are here, by the missionaries of the society of JESUS, at a meeting they had in the province of NANKING, as will appear in the second book of the second tome.

The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. Wednesday November the thirteenth 1669.

“ IN the general congregation of the
“ holy Roman and universal inquisition
“ held in the monastery of S. Mary super
“ Minervam, before the most eminent
“ and most reverend lords cardinals,
“ especially deputed by the see apostolick
“ general inquisitors against heretical pra-
“ vity over all the Christian common-
“ weal.

“ The memorial presented by F. John
“ Polanco, of the order of preachers, and
“ apostolick missionary in China, and other
“ missionaries of the same order, there la-
“ bouring with him in preaching the go-
“ spel, being read; in which he beseeched
“ the holy congregation would be pleas'd
“ to declare, whether the precept and
“ command be still in force and vigour,
“ under pain of actual excommunication
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“ incur'd *ipso facto*, to be absolv'd only
“ by his holiness and the see apostolick, for
“ observing and keeping of the answers
“ and resolutions of the 12th of September
“ 1645 in the holy congregation *de propa-*
“ *ganda fide*, which at the request of the
“ same congregation were approv'd by
“ pope Innocent the 10th of blessed memo-
“ ry. And whether all things are in prac-
“ tice to be carefully observ'd (according
“ to what is deliver'd upon those doubts)
“ by all and every the missionaries, of what
“ order, rule or institution soever, even
“ of the society of JESUS, who are or
“ shall be in the kingdom of China; till
“ such time as his holiness, or the holy
“ see apostolick shall order the contrary;
“ notwithstanding another decree set forth
“ by the sacred congregation of the holy
“ inqui-

NAVA- " inquisition, *March* the 23d 1656, on
 RETTE. " account of some questions propos'd by
 " the fathers missionaries of the society of
 " *JESUS* in *China*, which were express'd
 " after another manner, and with different
 " circumstances. The most eminent fa-
 " thers declar'd, that the decree of the
 " holy congregation *de propaganda fide*,
 " pass'd the 12th of *September* 1645, ac-
 " cording to what is there made out in the
 " doubts, is in full force, and not in the
 " least invalidated by the decree of the
 " sacred congregation of the holy inquisi-
 " tion, pass'd the 23d day of *March* 1656,
 " but ought to be fully observ'd as it lies,
 " according to the questions, circumstances,
 " and all things mention'd in the said
 " doubts. The decree of the sacred con-
 " gregation of the holy inquisition pass'd
 " the 23d of *March* 1656, declar'd it
 " should be observ'd, according to the que-
 " stions, circumstances, and all particulars
 " mention'd in them.

" *Wednesday* the 20th of the aforesaid
 " month of *November* 1669. the most illu-
 " strious, and most reverend lord *Jerome*
 " *Casanate*, a member of the holy inqui-
 " sition, having made his report to our
 " most holy father *Clement* the 9th by the
 " divine providence pope, his holiness ap-
 " prov'd of it."

F. *Martin Martinez* his decree being brought into *China*, some persons gave out, that all whatsoever was contain'd in the first decree was by this revok'd and made void, tho' they did not notify, or publish it in that mission. Which plainly appears to be false by what the sacred congregation of the universal inquisition at *Rome* declares in this place.

In the year 1673, by reason of new diffi- 1673.
 culties arising in the mission of *China*, the author of this book had recourse to *Rome*, and laid the following doubts before the holy congregation. The answer that was deliver'd to him runs thus.

Doubts of the Chineses propos'd Anno 1674 by the F. F. Dominick Navarette of the order of Preachers, and Missioner in China, to the Sacred General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, and by its Authority transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancata de Lauræa of the Order of Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the Publick Divines of the Sapiencia at Rome. And to the most Reverend F. Cajetan Miraballo, of the Regular Clergy, and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition.

Concerning the *Chinese* Magistrates or *Mandarines*, twenty-five doubts.

Eclipse.

I. **W**HETHER it be lawful for mandarines, when they have once embraced the catholick faith, to be present at the festival acclamations the *Chineses* are us'd to make with great noise and shouts to the sun and moon during the time of an eclipse?

Answer to the first question, That it is not lawful.

I ask'd of ancient missionaries, what allowance, or toleration might be given in this case; and they having given me no answer, I resolv'd to propose this and other doubts at *Rome*. In the second tome, I writ all I have heard and understood concerning these doubts. In this place, I with much brevity touch upon what is most material; tho' in this particular, as more singular to *Europeans*, it is convenient I should dilate somewhat more. It is an inviolable custom in *China*, to send advice from court throughout the whole empire of the day and hour when any eclipse of the sun or moon is to happen. When the *mandarines* have notice of it, two or three days before it comes they paste up their orders in all publick places of cities and towns, to this effect: Such a day, at such an hour, there is an eclipse

of the sun or moon, let all those, whose duty it is, come to perform and be present at the usual ceremonies, to deliver the planet from that trouble. At the time appointed the *mandarines*, other persons of note, and a great many *bonzes* meet; when the eclipse commences, they begin to make genuflexions, and prostrations, shout and hollow, beat upon basons; the *bonzes* pray, and all of them cry out in a hideous manner, till the eclipse is over; this they call rescuing the sun or moon from the trouble they are then in. This ceremony is of great antiquity in that kingdom. Their ritual, tom. 4. p. 13. makes mention of it, and ordains that the kings attended the emperor, to assist or succour the sun or moon in that distress; and to this purpose orders them to come with drums, and soldiers adorn'd with those colours, which answer to the four parts of the world. This is enough for the understanding of the doubt propos'd; and tho' it is a barbarous ceremony, let no man think strange that the *Chineses* should perform it, since it has been practis'd by *Europeans*, in the time of those great doctors of the church, S. *Ambrose*,

Ambrose, and S. Augustine. Spondanus mentions it Anno 377. n. 5. S. Ambrose says, *He absolutely took away the acclamations that us'd to be made upon the eclipse of the sun.* S. Augustin Serm. 1. Dom. 10. post Trin. speaks thus: *If you know any that shout, when the moon is darkned, admonish them of it, giving them to understand, that they commit a grievous sin; for as much as they sacrilegiously presume to conceit that they can defend the moon from witchcraft, when by God's command it is darkned at certain times.*

Thus the European and Asiatick ceremony is condemn'd, and it appears to have been more criminal among Christians than among Gentiles.

And if any man shall say (tho' I know not that any body has said so) that the Christian mandarines, as believing in nothing that is done there, may be present without any scruple of conscience, to avoid some inconveniences that may follow their absenting themselves: I answer; *How shall it appear to thee, to us, or to the church, that they do not inwardly believe what they outwardly profess? What avails it not to believe inwardly, if they approve of the aforesaid superstitions, by their outward presence?*

Nor can the emperor's command excuse them. S. Ignatius the martyr ad Antioch. said: *We are to be obedient to Cæsar in those things in which there is no danger of the soul.* And Tertul. lib. de Idolol. c. 15. *As far as to separation from idolatry, and within the bounds of discipline.* Thus far at most extends obedience and submission. The substance of my proposition consists in what has been written, which is enough for the present.

2. *Whether the Christian officers, or soldiers may lawfully be present at the prostrations, genuflexions, or other ceremonies, wherewith at certain times the military men worship their great commander, whom they call KI TO?*

Answer to the 2. That is not lawful.

I observe in another place, that the Chinese soldiery have their god Mars, as other nations had. That they acknowledge in him a true deity, or something of a deity, is plain matter of fact. When they have any military expedition in hand, the following ceremony is perform'd in the field. They cover a table with variety of meats and dainties; over it they spread the standard, or colours, then take it off, and the soldiers and officers kneel and prostrate themselves before it. Then the commander in chief repairs to the temple dedicated to him, whose soul they say is in the standard; there he kneels and makes offerings, all to the end he may be successful in war. This was made out to me in China. F. John Garcia an ancient missionary of my order told me, that he once

saw a Mahometan captain refuse to be present, when the said ceremony was performed. F. Antony of S. Mary a Franciscan told me, that the Christian soldiers in the province of XAN TUNG went to it as frequently as the Gentiles. I propos'd the matter at Rome for the satisfaction of all persons, and the more security in a thing of such moment, not that I was ignorant of the truth.

3. *It often happens that the lawful kings being expell'd, tyrants intrude. Quære, Whether these be oblig'd before they are baptiz'd to depart from their rebellion, and peaceably to restore the kingdoms they have usurp'd to the right owner?*

Answer to the 3. They are to be advis'd to restore what they have wrongfully taken; and if they promise so to do, baptism is not to be deny'd them.

4. *The Chineses unanimously agree that the Tartar now reigning is a tyrant. Quære, Whether we may admit the soldiers and magistrates, who serve him for pay in civil and military employments, to baptism, and when baptiz'd administer other sacraments to them; and baptize the emperor himself, whilst he wrongfully holds the kingdom? Item, what answer we are to give the Chineses, and what advice concerning the government of the Tartars, when they ask our opinion touching the said Tartar's right?*

Answer to the 4. Concerning the emperor, as in the third question: As for those that serve them, if they desire to be baptiz'd, baptism must not be deny'd them on this account, if they promise, that when the prince asks it they will give good and just advice; and so other sacraments may be afterwards administered to them, if they are well dispos'd.

In my controversies I writ all that was said concerning these points, in the meetings we had at Canton. Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39. says, *For as much as Christians are never to take part with tyrants.*

Discoursing about baptizing the emperor of China, one of the company said, I find no doubt in this particular. For Constantine tyrannically usurp'd the empire, and yet S. Silvester baptiz'd him: But historians tell us how far this is from truth; something out of them I writ in the place already cited, and the reader may see Ribodenegra on the feast of S. Silvester.

5. *Whether soldiers and officers marry'd in France, going over into New France may there marry again?*

Answer to the 5. If they can prove that they are free (that is, from their first wives by death) and that they have no other canonical impediments, they may marry catholicks. The proof must be legal.

A cer-

Ki To.

God of war.

NAVA-
RETTE. A certain missionary would have it, that French foldiers who were marry'd at home, might marry again when they went over into *New France*, and had not their wives along with them, by reason of the great danger of incontinency: this he said the divines at *Paris* asserted, and had given it under their hands. Others with much reason condemn'd this doctrine, for according to it a *French* Christian (and consequently any other) leaving his wife in *France* might take another in *New France*, another in the island *Guadalupe*, if he went thither; another at *Martinico*, another at *Madagascar*, and another in *India*, because in all parts there is danger of incontinency. Nor can I imagine the divines of *Paris* ever gave such an opinion (as infallibly they never did); yet because all the reasons that can be urg'd against it, tho' very forcible and persuasive, cannot convince that party, it was requisite to use other methods, as having recourse to *Rome*, to undeceive him.

Ching
Hoang.

6. *The Chineses worship all the spirits, which they imagine to be employ'd in guarding of cities and kingdoms, in the single idol, CHING HOANG; yet they confess they were real men, born and bred in that kingdom. Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully give them the name of angel guardians?*

Answer to the 6. That it is not lawful.

I have already taken notice, that the doubts propos'd at *Rome* concerning CHING HOANG, have been solv'd by the missionaries of the society, though there has been some controversy about this point in *China*. But the reason why I gave in that the idols CHING HOANG, to whom some have given the name of guardian angels, were men, known to the *Chineses* as such, whose names, surnames, and native countries are notorious to all men, was, because I had thoroughly examin'd into and made out the matter in that country; and if so, it is plain they can be no guardian angels. This is the method the *Franciscans* and we *Dominicans* have taken; following the example of the fathers, *Hurtado*, *Julio*, *Aleni*, *Gouvea*, and other antient men of the society.

7. *Whether mandarines upon pressing necessities may conceal the true religion, and outwardly feign themselves idolaters, tho' the rest of the Christians be scandaliz'd at these exterior shows?*

Answer to the 7. That they may not.

The holy congregation gave the same decision upon another occasion, as *F. Escob* says in *sum. fol. 585. n. 68.* but there was a reason for proposing it over again.

8. *Whether the sacrifices offer'd by the*

Chineses to the idol CHING HOANG, be opposite to true Christian religion?

Answer to 8. That they are opposite

It was said a metaphysician maintain'd the contrary, urging that the said idol was instituted before the coming of God upon earth. Idolatry being a sin against the law of nature, it is most certain, it was ever opposite to the law of God, which ever was and is one and the same, though in different states: so that this and other sins, which are so of themselves and in their own nature, have a malice and deformity of their own, from which they can never be separated, nor any way excus'd.

9. *Whether Christian mandarines may among the Gentiles in outward show fall down before the Chinese idols, directing all those ceremonies with an inward humiliation of their heart to the true God, and to a cross placed on the idol altar?*

Answer to the 9. That they may not.

There is somebody that asserts the affirmative, urging the words of *Tertullian*, but not quoted fairly as they are in his works. What this author writ, is as follows: *If plainly call'd to the priesthood, and sacrifice, I will not go, because it is the proper service of the idol. Neither will I be concern'd in the like by my advice, or charge. If being call'd to the sacrifice I am present, I shall partake in the idolatry; if any other cause obliges me to be with him that sacrifices, I shall only be a spectator of the sacrifice. Tertullian only allows of the mere material presence, and nothing more, which all men allow.*

10. *Item, Whether they may, in the same place, perform the sacrifices and prayers usually offer'd for the good success of the government, with other ceremonies according to the Chinese ritual; provided they inwardly in their hearts despise the idol, and direct all these actions to the true God?*

Answer to the 10. That they may not.

Tho' it be performed in that manner, and with that intention, it cannot but be outward idolatry.

11. *Whether it may be permitted the Japoneses, who are converted to the faith, to make those bonfires the Gentiles every year use to make as a false commemoration of the souls of their friends departed, confounding the civil with many heathenish rites?*

Answer to the 11. That it may not be permitted.

Morales, pag. 291. instances this particular in these words. In *Japan* the Christians are tolerated in the making of illuminations, or bonfires to rejoice the people, when the Gentiles keep that feast for the souls departed, and think they come to their houses; tho' the *Japoneses* mix heathen ceremonies among the political rites: and yet nevertheless their divines of *India* determin'd

determin'd, that the Christians might perform both. I propos'd the point so at Rome, and the answer was in the negative.

12. *Whether the mandarines or magistrates may be lawfully admitted to baptism? Item, Whether mandarines once baptiz'd may lawfully accept of the said employments; and whether the missionaries may admit those who have once accepted of such dignity, to the sacraments of the church?*

Answer to the 12. They cannot, unless they quit those employments.

I had brought my doubts to this head, but was not yet fully resolv'd. I spoke with F. Claudius Motet of the society; he told me plainly, the mandarines were incapable of holy baptism. F. Stanislaus Torrente affirm'd the same. The principal reasons are: 1. Because by their place they are oblig'd to perform the ceremonies to the idol CHING HOANG; and when they enter upon their employment, to beg his aid and assistance that they may govern well. 2. Because in time of great drought, or too much rain, they repair to the temples of the idols to beg fair weather, or rain, or at least to the mountains and valleys, and the idol LUNG VUANG, who is the god of waters. 3. Because they must attend upon the eclipses of the sun and moon, and because of the ceremonies they perform upon taking possession of their employments, and at other times to Confucius. These were the reasons I gave, and had the answer as above. It shall be all spoke of at large in its place, and other reasons alledg'd.

13. *Whether Christians who are masters in publick schools, who are vulgarly call'd HIO KUON, may be lawfully admitted to the sacraments, and whether they may lawfully accept of such publick employments? The reason of making the doubt is, because it is the duty of these places to be present at all the ceremonies which are perform'd to Confucius?*

Answer to the 13. As was answer'd elsewhere, That if those honours paid to Confucius are absolutely political, they may be permitted; if religious, not.

The masters who live in houses within the universities are call'd HIO KUON, the scholars that are upon register are subject to them. I propos'd the reason for the doubt, which I mention in my controversies. By the answer given concerning the ceremonies perform'd to Confucius, it will appear, whether they are political or religious.

I must here take notice, that the military mandarines are free from the impediments propos'd in these two doubts and solutions; so that if they are under no others, they may well be admitted to baptism.

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14. *Whether to avoid persecution from the NAVA-infidels, the Chineses of the learned sect are to be let alone in their simplicity, or their ignorance concerning the sacrifices of Confucius and other ceremonies; or whether the missionaries are not rather oblig'd to advise and instruct them, and to drive from their minds the darkness of ignorance by the doctrine of CHRIST?*

Answer to the 14. The missionaries are oblig'd to teach the Chineses the truth, and lay open their errors.

It will appear by the second book of controversies, what motive I had to put this question, and who it was that writ the contrary to the answer given at Rome.

15. *Whether it be lawful to baptize mandarines, or others, unless they first turn their concubines out of doors?*

Answer to the 15. They cannot be baptiz'd, unless they turn out their concubines.

The missionaries of China cannot deny but that some persons have baptiz'd Chineses, whilst they had their concubines yet in the house; and that it may in some case be verify'd that they are expell'd *formaliter*, tho' not *materialiter*. I grant, and believe those that are acquainted with the affairs of China will own as much to them it belongs to weigh the circumstances duly.

I writ in another place, whether those we call concubines in China are so in a strict sense; or whether we may give them the name of wives, and say the Chineses have several wives, as the Jews had, or only one wife, and concubines? I said before that it was likely God's dispensation to his people to have many wives extended to the Gentiles as well. For clearing this doubt, I add to what has been already said, that in the first council of Toledo, can. 17. she is call'd a concubine, *Who was taken to cohabit with a man, without a dowry, and all other solemnities.* So Gratianus expounds it C. *is qui dist.* 34. and it appears by S. Augustin, lib. de bon. conjug. whose authority the same Gratianus alledges C. *Concub.* &c. Soler. 32. q. 2. Justinian is of the same opinion, as may be seen in Cabassucius, p. 219. According to this rule, I say, that those in China, tho' we give them the name of concubines, are in reality wives, and all the difference is in the solemnity us'd at the marriage of the first wife.

16. *It is establish'd by a law publish'd at PE KING, that all persons who pass before an idol-temple on horse-back, shall alight in honour and respect to it. Quære, Whether the missionaries, or other Christians, may with safety obey this law?*

Answer to the 16. That they cannot.

This case was put by one of those that came from court to another residing at Canton, when we were confin'd there; the latter

NAVA-
RETTE. latter desiring to know my opinion, I writ the best I understood to the point, proving it was not lawful for a catholick to alight from his horse, as he past before such a temple. *Tertull. de idol.* says, that *All worship given to an idol is forbidden.* He did not approve of my judgment: for the more satisfaction I propos'd it at Rome, where I had the answer as above. What arguments past between us are brought in their place.

17. *Whether a heathen king or his ministers, in hatred to the faith commanding the pulling down of churches, missionaries, or other Christians may obey such a law?*

Answer to the 17. That they may not.

It seems, something of this nature was taken notice of in two missionaries, wherein they were govern'd by reasons that were something plausible; the rest did not approve of the action. Some were of opinion there lay an excommunication against it. It is well known, that we cannot in time of Persecution deliver books, pictures, vestments, &c. to Gentiles, nor discover those that have them; tho' it cost us our lives; and certainly it is a greater offence to throw down churches.

18. *Whether the Chinese Christians may pay respect to an idol, not as it is the false representative of a deity, but as it is valu'd and much belov'd by a heathen, who is a friend?*

Answer to the 18. That they cannot.

This case was put to me; I answer'd in the negative, as I was answer'd at Rome, and gave the reasons which are in the controversies. He that put the case to me persisted in the contrary opinion, and I believe will do so still. Among other reasons I urg'd, one was, that exterior actions of honour and worship, and the like, are not abstractive from formalities, as those of the understanding are; and therefore tho' those us'd to the idol were separable, yet that did not appertain to exterior actions. Nor was it any thing to the purpose, tho' the idol was a precious thing my friend had a great esteem for, because even among Christians such an action would be look'd upon as very mean. Would it be proper, that in Italy where they place so great a value upon fine statues, I should bow or pay an honour to them to flatter the owner? The statue, or idol has no relation to the owner, but to the thing represented; and if a motion to an image is the same as to the thing imagin'd, the corporal motion with which I worship the statue must be of the same nature.

19. *When a white elephant is dead, which beast is by all persons look'd upon as a presage of good fortune, the multitude flocks together, and with them the false heathen priests, who,*

as the elephant's carcase is carried through the city with mournful pomp, when it passes before them kneel, and making a barbarous lamentation, worship its bones. Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully be present at this funeral pomp, bearing the Gentiles company in those same genuflexions?

Answer to the 19. That they may not.

I have writ the history of the white elephant, so highly valu'd by the king's of India. It is well known that whilst he lives he is served with as much respect as the king himself, when dead he is buried with royal pomp. They carry the carcase in procession, many idolatrous priests attend it; as it passes thro' the streets all persons there present kneel and touch the ground with their foreheads. The case is, whether catholick priests and other Christians, who accidentally or designedly see that sight, may lawfully make those genuflexions among the Gentiles, and as they do them, or by themselves, being in a place where no Gentile is.

I always held the negative, which I maintain'd the best I could against one, who obstinately defended the contrary opinion, reducing it to a civil and political worship. Brute beasts are incapable even of this sort of worship, as *S. Thomas* teaches, 2. 2. q. art. So that no excellency appears in the object to claim this civil respect, much less any above it, as in all appearance, according to the circumstances, that which the Gentiles pay seems to be.

20. *Whether in case the king expressly commands all Christians to attend the bier, and perform the funeral rites, and prostrations, we may obey?*

Answer to the 20. As elsewhere, if there be any apostolical or superstitious acts in attending the bier, and the funeral, they may not; if they be only civil, they may.

The determination, whether that worship be civil or religious, is left to those who are there, so that the difficulty is not fully solv'd. Though I am satisfied it is more than probable, that the worship on the part of the Gentiles is more than civil; for there is no doubt but that the whole kingdom's bewailing the death of the elephant, putting on mourning, a vast number of priests meeting at the funeral, and all people lamenting as it were some great loss and disaster befallen the kingdom, must have something of a great mystery among those Gentiles, especially for as much as that beast is look'd upon as a presage of happiness and success in those countries, where they have not the light of the gospel.

When this happen'd, the king did not command all persons to come to worship the

White ele-
phant.

the carcase of the elephant, but that all who were present as it pass'd by should pay him the honour and respect abovementioned. To save doubts, and cut off difficulties, what occasion was there for priests and Christians to go see that monstrous solemnity? Were it not better to have spar'd that curiosity, to avoid an action never done in the church? In my controversies I mention the instances that may be urg'd against me, and answer them.

Libation-

21. *Whether it be lawful for mandarines, or other Christians, before their feasts to spill a little wine on the ground? The reason of making the doubt is, because the said ceremony is prescrib'd by the rituals under the denomination of a sacrifice.*

Answer to the 21. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is of great antiquity in China, and is kept up to this day. For the better understanding of it, I here insert what F. Prosper Intorceta writes in his *sapientia sinea*, p. 73. §. 4. translating the Chinese text into Latin. It speaks of Confucius, and says, *Tho' he fed on the coarser rice, yet pouring one part upon the ground, he sacrificed to those dead persons, who in former ages had taught the manner of tilling the earth, dressing meat, &c. And this was the custom of the antients in token of gratitude; and he perform'd these things with much gravity and reverence.* The commentator CHANG KO LAO expounds thus: *Confucius took his food, not to nourish the body, but to increase in virtue.* Other words yet plainer shall be set down in another place. Thus it appears that the shedding any part of meat or drink on the ground, is in China call'd a sacrifice, and is no civil or political action.

22. *Whether we be oblig'd to take away the bills and scrolls which are set up by order of the magistrates to defame our faith, against our houses and churches, or to confirm the faith by a publick confession of it before the magistrates?*

Answer to the 22. They are oblig'd to take them away; and if being accus'd before the judges they are examin'd to the matter of fact, they are oblig'd to make a profession of the true faith.

The thing happen'd in China in the year 1665. it was argued, and there was no small variety of opinions. The fathers Grelon and Gaviani of the society, adher'd stiffly to the resolution above written; I follow'd their sentiment. Some years before F. Francis Diaz of my order, with his own hand tore the edicts set up at FONGAN by order of a mandarine against our holy faith. True it is, he was most cruelly bastinado'd for it, but exercis'd a great deal of patience under it; and tho'

somebody has condemn'd the action, I NAVA- insert it here as heroical and glorious. F. RETTE. John Baptist de Morales and his companions had resolv'd to do the same at FONGCHEU, it was not their fault that it was not done. S. Justin Martyr in former ages did the same, and was cruelly torment-ed for it. This is grounded on the doctrine of S. Thomas, generally receiv'd by all men, 2. 2. q. 3. art. 2. where he says, that when GOD's honour and the good of our neighbour requires it, the outward confession of faith becomes of precept.

23. *Whether when the infidels publish books and pamphlets reflecting on our faith, and falsely aspersing the missionaries, we are oblig'd by publick writings to defend the faith, and clear ourselves from slanders; or whether we may give way to the prevailing party, and with timorous silence bear with our unjust slanderers?*

Answer to the 23. If there be no imminent danger of a sharper persecution, they may confute them by words and writing; if there be danger, let them bear for a while, and carry themselves upon the negative.

I have writ some things concerning this point, which seems to make out more than is here determin'd; however, it is a plain case we are to stand by this resolution. We know that formerly several persons stood up, and writ apologies in defence of our holy faith; and Spondanus, ann. 172, 277, 278, & 301, tells it us of Justinus, Miletus, Apollinaris, and others; and it is certain they did as we ought to do.

24. *Whether when a tyrant commands missionaries, or other Christians to deliver up the books of the holy faith, as was done in the year 1665. it be lawful to deliver them?*

Answer to the 24. That it is not lawful.

This point was determin'd in the thirteenth can. of the council of Arles, where are these words, *It expells them from the clergy who shall deliver up sacred books or vessels to the Gentiles, or give in the names of the faithful.*

The martyrology on the 2d of February mentions several who suffer'd glorious martyrdom for refusing to deliver up the holy books. And they who through fear of torments deliver'd them, were look'd upon as publick traitors.

In November also is celebrated the feast of S. Valerianus, who suffer'd for refusing to deliver up the sacred vestments. Read the martyrology on the first of February.

25. *Whether Christians may lawfully give pictures of saints to the infidels their friends?*

For

NAVARETTE. For, on the one side, their affections are gain'd by those pictures in which they very much delight, and the way is made easier for instructing them. But on the other side, they lying in the profound sleep of gentility, experience has shewn that they do not honour them as

pictures of saints, but as idols of the Europeans.

Answer to the 25. If there be no danger of their abusing them, they may, to the intent to secure peace with them, and allure them to the faith.

Doubts concerning the Worship given to Confucius.

1. **W**HETHER F. Martin Martinez did fully and truly lay before the holy congregation the whole matter of fact, in relation to the ceremonies perform'd to Confucius by the learned?

2. Whether the decree of the holy congregation, as to the third question propos'd by F. Martinez, be grounded on a very probable opinion, or on the proposition made by the said F. Martinez?

3. Whether the structures dedicated to the Worship of Confucius be temples or not?

These three points were answer'd in another place.

The notes upon the decree granted in favour of F. Martinez, which were set down before, fit this place, as do other things I have in my controversies. In relation to the third point, I must observe and declare in this place briefly, that all the dictionaries the fathers of the society have writ in China, call that which is dedicated to Confucius a temple, as shall appear more plainly in the place abovementioned, and it is properly express'd by the Chinese word MIAO. Observe further, that the difficulties there have been in these times concerning the philosopher Confucius, tho' they were made known by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries, yet they were not the authors of them, as shall be made out in the second book of controversies, where those are set down which were several years before among those of the society.

4. Whether to kneel before the statue of Confucius, or his tablet, to burn perfumes, light candles, and the like, be mere political worship?

Answer to the 4. That these things are not lawful.

That is as much as to say, that these actions are not merely political.

5. Whether the ceremony of chusing beasts to be offer'd to Confucius, be only political and civil?

To the fifth no answer is given, because the matter of fact does not appear.

I propos'd the matter of fact, to my thinking, as plain as possible could be, which made me admire at the answer. I will repeat it here briefly: The day before sacrifice is offer'd to Confucius, they chuse the beasts thus; they pour hot wine into the ears of the swine (those of the society say it is a sort of liquor like oil) if

the swine moves its head, it is accepted of as fit for sacrifice; if not, it is rejected. Other ancient Gentiles us'd such like trials, as is mention'd in the second tome. When the beast is accepted of, the mandarin makes it a low bow, and when kill'd another. Let any man judge whether this can be a civil political action.

6. Whether the offering of hogs-blood and bristles to Confucius, be political? the same is ask'd concerning the ceremony of burying the bristles and blood abovemention'd.

Answer to the 6. Be it as it will, it is not lawful.

When the swine are kill'd, they keep some of their hair, or bristles and blood, which they offer the next day before Confucius his image, or tablet; and afterwards bury it very solemnly, as is more particularly set down in another place. Some contend this action is political: the fathers Gouvea, Gaviniani, and others, were of another opinion.

7. Whether the ceremony upon a figure of a man made of straw, which was instituted according to the ritual, to call upon the spirits that they may be present at the sacrifices, be religious or political?

Answer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is us'd in their offerings or sacrifices they make to the dead. They lay under the tables there cover'd, a figure of a man, on which they pour a little wine. This is all explicated at large in the second tome of controversies; I can find no way to make it political.

8. Whether the action of washing his hands, which is perform'd by the magistrate, as a preparatory to make the offerings to Confucius, be political or ceremonial?

Answer to the 8. That it is not lawful.

It plainly appears, that the argument some people make use of, which is to say, that these actions are indifferent, and therefore may be tolerated, is of no force. To wash hands, is in itself indifferent; but in this case, and upon such circumstances, it becomes ceremonious and religious. The priests washing at the altar after the offertory, neither is, nor can be call'd a civil or political action, but ceremonious and very religious.

9. Whether Confucius his tablet, which the Chineses think to be the seat of the soul, be a thing appertaining to political worship?

For

For they believe the airy spirit of Confucius comes to it to receive the offerings.

Answer to the 9. That is not lawful.

I find many missionaries of *China* divided about this and other points. I took the doubt above propos'd from the dispute that was some years since among the society. The resolution they then came to is the very same as that above-written; that the learned *Chineses* believe the soul of their master comes to the tablets, is own'd by themselves, and the characters on it fully express as much. That some deny it, is rather the effect of their obstinate will, than of reason or understanding.

10. *The magistrates offer to Confucius pieces of white silk, which after the offering they cast into the fire, and with it a vessel of wine, saying some collects. Quære, Whether these things belong to mere civil worship?*

Answer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

Among the other ceremonies they perform to this philosopher twice a year, besides other things they offer him nine pieces of white fatten, every one with a collect, there may not be any more: After the offering they tie them to long staves like pikes, and burn them. Some say it is done in token of rejoicing; and that as it is a political and civil action to offer them to persons living so it may be to the statue or tablet of *Confucius*.

11. *The magistrate with both hands twice lifts up on high some wine, which they call blessed wine, and then drinks it; in like manner he lifts up a portion of meat, which he receives from one attending, and offers it to Confucius. The offering being ended, some collects are read, which express Confucius his presence, and invite him to drink of the wine that is offer'd him; and the Gentiles believe they shall receive honour, advancement, and happiness, as the consequence of these offerings. Quære, Whether the aforesaid offerings are in the nature of sacrifice?*

Answer to the 11. That they are not lawful.

The main thing we desire to know, is, Whether such ceremonies be lawful or not? It signifies little to me, whether they may be reputed as sacrifices, or not. But by reading the reasons alledg'd in the second tome, every man may decide what the consequence of them is. In this proposition I did not deviate a tittle from what I was told by learned Christians, who are they that best understand these affairs; nor from what is writ in the second book of the second tome.

12. *Whether the statue of Confucius be an idol, or false sanctity be attributed to it by the Chineses?*

Answer to the 12. It was said in another place not to be lawful.

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I could have wish'd the answer had been NAVA-
RETTE. plainer, and suitable to the reasons I propos'd for making the doubt; I bring them in the place above-mention'd. The fathers *Semedo*, *Kircher*, and other grave men, all of the society of *JESUS*, are for me, whose opinion agrees with the sentiments of our fathers and the *Franciscans*.

13. *Whether the ceremony of accompanying the spirit of Confucius be civil and political?*

Answer to the 13. That the matter of fact does not appear.

Among the ceremonies the *Chineses* perform to their master, and forefathers departed, there is bringing down of spirits, dismissing and receiving, others call it accompanying of them; be it as it will, all is bad, it is set down in the second tome.

14. *Whether the table set up before the statue or tablet of Confucius be an altar?*

Answer to the 14. That it is not lawful.

According to the question this implies, that it is not lawful to place a table before the statue or tablet of *Confucius*, as the *Chineses* use it, with candlesticks, antependium, and other formalities, nothing differing from the idol-altars.

15. *Whether the ceremony of chusing a day for making of the said offerings, can be reckon'd a mere act of civil and political worship?*

Answer to the 15. If the worship be religious, neither is it nor the choice lawful.

The offerings and other actions explained in the foregoing questions, are adjudg'd a religious, not a civil worship; therefore it is so often repeated, *That it is not lawful*: consequently it must be so to chuse a day to perform any of those acts. It is not as in our parts; days are fix'd for several sorts of business that occurs, or for bull-feasts, rejoicings, or undertaking a journey, &c. wherein regard is had to some corporal conveniences, as the people being more at leisure, less likelihood of rain, a more temperate season, &c. It is far otherwise in *China*, they observe whether days be lucky or unlucky; whether they shall succeed to day, or miscarry to morrow. That nation believes in gross errors, and therefore we all look upon these choices as superstitious, they using generally lots in them. And this not only to chuse days, but to find a fortunate hour for what they are to do.

16. *Supposing the books of Confucius and the learn'd sect contain many, and those visible errors; Quære, Whether Christians may undertake the employment of masters, and teach, expound, and maintain such false doctrines? The reason of making the doubt is, because if they do so, they approve of those doctrines, and spread abroad their errors. On the other side, if this be forbid them, several who have no other livelihood will doubtless leave our religion.*

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Answer to the 16. That they may not.

The fathers of the society some years since argu'd this point: He that decided it, supposes *Confucius* and his sect are full of many errors. The reasons of making a doubt on both sides were sufficiently laid open; they are explain'd in what has been writ, and yet the resolution was in the negative. All will be made plainer in the second tome.

17. *Supposing the aforementioned errors; Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully enter upon examinations? For very often errors against faith are propos'd in them, which those who are to be examin'd, are oblig'd to justify, commend, explain, and maintain, in so much that it is not lawful for any man to vary one jot from the doctrine of classick authors; but the forbidding of this will certainly be the shutting up the way of salvation to many of them.*

Answer to the 17. That they cannot enter upon those examinations, unless they do it with a design to oppose false doctrines.

I was always at a stand about these two points; but being young in the mission, I divid'd into the matter, and observ'd what others did. Afterwards finding them controverted by the fathers of the society, my doubt increas'd. Hitherto it was look'd upon as a great inconveniency to hinder the learned from performing the ceremonies to their master and philosopher; that which follows upon this resolution, if not greater, is at least more universal, as affecting many more. The inconveniences are already mention'd, and notwithstanding them, the aforesaid resolution was given. I don't question but it will surprize some in *China*, but it will not appear so strange to those who have read the arguments that pass among those of the society upon this and other points in the year 1628. What they decreed is set down in the second tome. I have ever declar'd, that if an action be bad in it self, it neither is, nor can be justify'd on account of the inconveniences that may ensue of not practising it. Read *Cajetan* in iii. *ad Rom.* where he handles this point acutely.

18. *Whether the Wine and flesh offer'd to Confucius, are to be reputed as idol offerings?*

Answer to the 8. The matter of fact does not appear; if the offering be a sacrifice, it is unlawful, and the thing offer'd an idol-offering.

The said offerings have been condemn'd above as unlawful, tho' it be not decided whether they are sacrifices. In the treatise of the missionaries of the society, they are allow'd as sacrifices; and it seems to be sufficiently made out by the reasons I urg'd in a particular treatise on this subject. The

Chinese dictionaries made by the *Europeans*, agree in the same.

19. *Supposing that Confucius never own'd a GOD, nor angels, nor the immortality of the soul, nor any reward or punishment after this life; Quære, Whether Christians being ask'd by infidels concerning their salvation, and state in the other world, may, or ought to affirm that they obtain'd life everlasting? For we have not the least ground to say so, and to answer the contrary, may cause many inconveniences.*

Answer to the 19. Upon that supposition it cannot be affirm'd that *Confucius* is fav'd.

Much to this purpose is said in the second tome. There has been variety of opinions concerning the supposition, even among those of the society, and they are afoot to this day: There is not the least difficulty in the resolution given to me and others, who are very certain that man never had any knowledge of *GOD*. Others may pry further into the matter, to resolve what answer they shall give. The answer which has been often given, is with the rest in the place above-mention'd.

20. *Whether it be lawful to maintain that Confucius outdid Solomon in morals?*

Answer to the 20. It does not become a Christian to make such comparisons, and give such judgment.

In the second tome I mention, how a missionary was guilty of this failing; whereas others agree that this philosopher was not equal to *Seneca*, *Cicero*, or other ancient *Europeans*. Such expressions cannot be oppos'd, but by laying them before those that have power to decide them. There is no better way to stop the mouths of talkers. Read *S. Jerome* in iii. *ad Ephes.* *Chrysof.* *Hom.* 15. in *Gen.* and *S. Greg.* in 1 *Reg.* i. *Corn. à Lap.* in *Proem.* *ad Pent.* vid. *Sylveir.* *Tom.* 2. c. 4. in *Luc.* q. 2. & 6. pag. 376. n. 20.

21. *The missionaries of the society have an order for their mission, which expressly forbids them by any means to affirm, that our holy law agrees with the sect of Confucius in the whole, or in any part: the holy congregation may, if it pleases, order the same upon this point. For such an order is very material for the honour of the Evangelical law.*

Answer to the 21. All missionaries are oblig'd to say the same concerning the law of *Confucius*, that was prescrib'd the *Jesuits*, as is instanced by the holy congregation.

F. John Balat upon several occasions acquainted me with this order, and in my presence stop'd the mouths of some impertinent persons with it; but he did not inform me whether it came from the holy congregation. Since it did, there is no doubt but it obliges all persons, and that more strictly than if it came from some particular

particular superior. Certainly he that mov'd for it, gave very good reasons for what he did. And since no application has been made to recal it, there is all the reason in the world it should be observ'd, and that we all observe it. NAVA-
RETTE.

Eight Doubts concerning the Sacraments.

1. **W**Hether the form of baptism in the Chinese language be valid; it is thus, NGO SI VL, or NI IN FU, KIE ZU, KIE XING XIN MING CHE. Many deny it, and urge, that the Chinese do not know either a true spirit, or true sanctity; nor do the words XING XIN in their first institution signify the Holy Ghost: Nor is the unity of essence, power, or virtue expressed.

Answer to the 1. No other answer can be given, but that they must use a form, or words that express the action of baptizing, and the unity of essence, together with the Trinity of persons; or else use the *Latin* words as in the western-church.

We had a great disputation upon this subject at *Canton*. The greater part were of opinion it was valid: I and some others oppos'd it as much as possible, and could not be satisfy'd in a point of such great consequence. I sent advice to those of my order who were absconded, never to make use of that form, or suffer it to be us'd by the Christians. If it be valid, I do not question but that which authors reject out of *Cajetan* is much more so. Some time after I saw it rejected, and declar'd invalid in a treatise of the fathers of the society. In the second tome I set down the arguments us'd on both sides. And tho' I declar'd the principal substance of it at *Rome*, being it depends on a strange language whereof they have no knowledge, they do not think convenient to resolve according to it, when there is but one by, who understands it.

2. *Whether it be convenient to add to the form of baptism the Chinese Christians commonly use, viz. NGO SI VL, &c. the word IE, that the word MING which signifies the name, may be confin'd to the singular number? For so and no otherwise is the unity of essence or virtue signify'd.*

Answer to the 2. as to the first.

It is an essential point in baptism to express the unity of essence, as was said to the first doubt. In all the form set down about it, there is no word or particle to confine the word MING to the singular number; and of itself, and as it there stands, it serves indifferently for the singular or plural; but rather for the latter in this place, because three persons go before. In *Latin* and *Spanish* we place *In the name* before the persons, and the *Chinese* according to their grammar place it at last. The

more I have study'd this business, the greater the difficulty appears. Those of my order add the aforesaid word.

Item, *Whether absolutely speaking it be lawful to baptize the children of infidels, hereticks and apostates, leaving them under the care of their parents? The missionaries vary, and so do authors; but the council of Toledo speaking of the Jews, gives it in the negative. The infidels hearing converts say, that baptism delivers from the devil, and is a wholesome medicine to this and other purposes, they beg their sick or possess'd children may be baptized. Quære, Whether it be lawful to baptize them upon the aforesaid motives?*

Answer. It is not lawful to baptize them, if they are to be left after baptism in the power of infidels.

Answer to the other part. That it is not lawful to baptize upon those motives alone.

I have seen both cases, and variety of opinions among the missionaries. The council of *Toledo* 4. c. 59. & refertur cap. *Judeor.* 16 quest. 1. speaks thus; *That the children of Jews which are baptiz'd, be separated from the company of their parents, lest they be led by them into error and prevarication.* The same reason stands good in the case of Gentiles and hereticks. The resolution set down, is the doctrine of master *Bannez* upon the subject of baptism, and others. Some moderns, and among them *Diana*, speak otherwise as to the children of hereticks. Read *Leander tract.* 2. de bapt. disp. 5. quest. 8.

Authors speak variously as to the second case. Our most reverend *Passerinus* has it in terminis, and resolves as above. In the second tome I speak enough to the purpose.

3. *The missionaries are unanimously of opinion, that it is very expedient, for avoiding the calumnies of the Gentiles, to give females at womens estate the sacramentals with a pencil, and not with the finger. However it is desir'd to know the will of our most holy Lord.*

Answer to the 3. It was answer'd elsewhere, that the common practice of the church is to be observ'd.

I suppose it may be done as was propos'd, and that this opinion is general among doctors, therefore I was persuaded the answer would have been favourable. But they always taking care, and that with good reason, not to open a way to depart from the general use and practice of the church, they did not consent to what

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NAVARETTE. I desir'd, tho' in *China* we all agreed to it. And if they will not dispense with a ceremony so easily to be dispensed with in appearance, how should they dispense with not administering the sacramentals?

4. *Whether on account of any one singular case it be lawful absolutely and universally to abstain from administering the oil of catechumens to females at womens estate? For it seems to be against the decree of the holy congregation.*

Answer to the 4. That it is not lawful.

In the second tome I set down all that was alledg'd in the disputation at *Canton* upon this point.

5. *The holy congregation may be pleas'd to order, that all missionaries administer the sacrament of baptism in the same form.*

Answer to the 5. It was order'd before, that all should observe uniformity in holy rites.

There has been no small variety in this particular, as shall appear in its place.

6. *His holiness's pleasure is also desir'd, for the bishops using some sort of instruments in administering confirmation, to anoint women grown with the holy chrism, and to give the stroke on the cheek. His pleasure is likewise desir'd for omitting the anointing of feet in administering extreme unction to women.*

Answer to the 6. It has been answer'd before, that the custom of the church is to be observ'd in administering these sacraments.

It is plain the point concerning confirmation is more difficult than what was propos'd, *num. 3.* for grave authors say, it is an essential part of this sacrament, that the bishop lay on the chrism with his own fingers. And according to this opinion, the pope cannot dispense for doing it with any other instrument. There is another opinion that holds the contrary.

As to the second part the difficulty was less, since all the doctors agree with *S. Thomas*, that the anointing of the feet is no essential part of that sacrament. Nevertheless it is not allow'd for the reason above assigned. *Baronius* says, *The church is most tenacious of antiquity.* It will not allow any to depart from its antient and universal custom. We think in *China* it is a commendable zeal that moves us to attempt these and the like things, to make the access to our religion the more easy and pleasing; and I don't doubt but at *Rome* their zeal is as great and as hot as ours, and yet we see they oppose our opinions. These resolutions by order of the holy congregation were laid before the cardinals *Bona* and *Casanate*, of whose learning, zeal, and virtue, none can make any question no more than of the most reverend fathers consultors who sign'd them. We writ to *Manila* upon this very subject, and the

most *R. F. F. Francis de Paula*, then the second time provincial of our province, commissary of the inquisition, and bishop elect of *New Caceres*, answer'd us, That we must not omit the anointing of the feet; and in case we could not do it, we should forbear administering the sacrament. The answer seem'd to us rigid, and I find it was agreeable to the resolution at *Rome*.

The following case is part of that which went before.

6. *The Chineses when they marry are wont to kneel to heaven and earth, to repair to the idol-temples, where many of them place the images of their ancestors departed, or else their tablets, and kneel to them. Quære, Whether it be lawful to tolerate the aforesaid ceremonies, or connive at them, leaving the Christians in their ignorance, or simplicity.* Marriage.

Answer to the 6. Concerning marriages, and the superstitions us'd at them, the answer is, they are not lawful.

This point is handled in the second book of the second tome.

7. *Experience teaches that of a hundred women which are gain'd to the church, whilst they are marry'd to heathen husbands, at least fourscore fall back. But for maid-servants who appear good Christians whilst they are under the yoke of servitude, when married to infidels, not one of them perseveres; what remedy can the missionaries find against such misfortunes?* Convert women.

Answer to the 7. The remedy is, and most absolutely necessary, that the faithful do not marry infidels, because the marriage is not valid; other remedies are to be ask'd of God.

F. Francis Brancato had much experience of the first part, he said not twenty in a hundred persever'd. Of the second I know not how it has been found in other parts, but in ours we are sure no woman slave ever continued a Christian after she was marry'd to an infidel. Read *Oleas. in Deut. vii. ver. 1. ad mores.* *Diana* writes, such marriages were tolerated in those countries, because there were hopes the infidel husband would be converted by the Christian wife, or *econtra*; he was little vers'd in these affairs. The reason is, because the missionaries cannot hinder it. In the resolution above those marriages are declar'd void, by reason of the *impedimentum dirimens* there is in them; and the same impediment lasting as long as they live together, it is in effect living in fornication, and consequently either the husband or wife that is a Christian cannot be absolv'd till they part. There is no doubt but this will give great trouble to the missionaries, and those Christians who are so marry'd. As long as positive church-laws were not publish'd, this

this might be conniv'd at, but at present it cannot; therefore recourse must be had to God: we must govern our selves as we are directed; and not rely on our own knowledge, fancy and opinion. Thus shall we go on safely; and tho' we imagine we shall advance little this way, perhaps we may prevail the more, and God whose cause it is may favour, protect and assist us. And tho' there be fewer Christians, a few good are better than a great many bad ones. Our *Nider* in his treatise *De Reform. Relig.* speaks of an emperor who was us'd to say, he had rather have ten good horses in his stable than an hundred bad ones; and he was in the right. *F. Adrian Grelon* urg'd this very same in a meeting at *Canton*, let us look for the grain and leave the chaff.

Divorce.

8. *There is no small variety of opinions among the missionaries concerning the marriages of those countries, whether they are valid or not; as for the Chinese marriages some hold the affirmative, some the negative. The philosopher Confucius assign'd five impediments which dissolve matrimony, to be observ'd by his school. 1. If a woman be talkative. 2. If she fall into the leprosy. 3. If she be bar-*

ren. 4. If she happen to steal from her husband. 5. If she proves disobedient to her father and mother-in-law. Upon any of these accounts a man has full liberty to dissolve the marriage, and the woman has leave to marry another. Quære, Whether the aforesaid impediments do any way prejudice the indissolubility of matrimony?

Answer to the 8. Those impediments mention'd do not dissolve matrimony.

We had several disputes at *Canton* concerning these points. In the second tome I set down what both parties alledg'd. *F. M. Ferre* argues, Whether the marriages of *Tunquin* be valid, or not, and largely proves the affirmative. I do not question but it is a favourable opinion for missionaries, if they will follow it. The greatest difficulty lies in this, whether if the matter of fact be propos'd as in reality it is, and as I can testify in this particular by what I have heard, I then judge it to be as the aforesaid author writes. The great opinion all men have of his extraordinary knowledge, makes his doctrine the more practicable, as do the reasons he gives for his opinion, and the answers to all arguments that can be urg'd against him.

Twenty-five Doubts concerning the Worship the Chinese give to their Dead.

1. **W**Hether other missionaries are to stick to the information given in to the holy congregation by *F. Martin Martinez* touching the business of the dead here propos'd, and are oblig'd to obey the decree granted him by the said holy congregation? The reason of making the doubt is, because it was disapprov'd by very grave fathers of the society.

Answer to the 1. It has been answer'd before, and missionaries are to act according to the resolutions of the holy congregation.

In the second tome I give an account, how *F. Martinez* his propositions were dislik'd by the fathers *John Adamus*, *Antony de Gouvea*, and *Ignatius d' Acoſta*, the ancientest and graveſt missionaries of these times; nor did *F. Emanuel George* approve of it. For these four I have it of my own knowledge, and guess the same of others. The reflections above on these propositions, clear this point.

Dead.

2. *The Chinese rituals ordain, That when any person dies another takes his garment, and standing on the top of the house towards the north with the dead body's garment calls the soul three times. He is to call towards heaven, then towards earth, and lastly through the middle region; which done folding up the dead parson's garment, he goes down towards the south, and stretching it out upon the body they thus expect the return of the soul and resurrection of the body three days. If the*

person was taken away by a violent death, the same ceremonies are perform'd without the city. Quære, Whether the aforesaid ceremonies may be tolerated in Christians, for the comfort of their relations?

Answer to the 2. That it is not lawful.

I thought no man would have spoken a good word for this ceremony, which is still practis'd in *China*, because it plainly appears of itself to be bad. Since I found some contend it is only civil and political. What has been said about it is mention'd in its proper place.

3. *When the body is laid into the tomb, the Chinese are wont to put wheat, rice, and other sorts of grain, as also gold, silver and jewels, according to the quality of the party deceas'd, into his mouth. And gathering the parings of the nails into little bags, together with the scissars that cut them off, they place them in the four corners of the coffin. Quære, Whether it be lawful to allow these things to Christians, and to connive at their simplicity?*

For these things seem to be done, that the dead may make use of what is bury'd with them, which appears by that, before the *Tartars* put out the edict for cutting off the hair, they were wont to put the hair and a comb into the coffin, which they do not now since they don't wear long hair.

Answer to the 3. That the missionaries are oblig'd to make known those errors to

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such as are converted, and to admonish them to leave them.

It is easy to guess that a nation so full of superstitions, and so remote from the light of the gospel, must at every step stumble and fall. What has been mention'd can no way be excus'd from being a vain custom. We do not speak here of the ceremony which abundance of *Chineses* use, of putting a piece of money into the mouth of the dead person, which is to serve the soul as a *Vaticum* into *India*; no man doubts but this is plainly superstitious.

4. *Whether it may be allowed Christians to place a corporal representation of the soul near the dead body, to secure and protect it?*

Soul.

Answer to the 4. That it is not lawful.

The *Chinese* ritual directs, when any person dies, to make of pieces of silk the image and representation of the soul, with its face, eyes, and other limbs, in the resemblance of a child in swaddling bands, as they are usually dress'd in *Spain*. They place it near to the dead body, to cherish and protect it. The cut of it is in the ritual. It is plain, this is contrary to the law of God.

Condo-
lance.

5. *Concerning the Chinese TIAO, in Spanish call'd Pelame, in English Condoling; Quære, Whether it may be tolerated in Christians? The reason of making the doubt is, because the Chinese ritual ordains, that the aforesaid ceremonies of condoling are to be perform'd before the bed on which the image of the soul lies, and they offer candles and perfumes to that figure or image; which not having been propos'd in the year 1645, therefore now the decision of the holy congregation is desir'd.*

Answer to the 5. As elsewhere in the negative.

There has been no little disagreement about this particular in *China*. True it is, I never saw the case set down by any missionary, so formerly as I propos'd it; but the holy congregation forbid it without all that, much more when all the particulars above are express'd. F. Antony Gouvea several times told me, he did not like it; and if what the ritual says, whence I took the proposition, be observ'd, I believe no man will like it.

6. *It is the custom of the Chineses at every thirty foot the bier is carry'd, to scatter a certain quantity of ruddy earth. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to do it, forasmuch as it seems to tend to no good end?*

Answer to the 6. That it is not lawful.

At every thirty foot or thereabouts, as the bier passes, they throw down a basket of ruddy clay: I own I am not satisfy'd of the end or design of it, but it appears

this action can have no good meaning. The graver sort use it. I must observe that all that is said in this place belongs to the learned sect.

7. *Quære, Whether F. Martinez his proposition, viz. The Chineses attribute no divinity to their souls departed, they neither ask, nor hope any thing of them, be tolerable? Forasmuch as the gravest missionaries, and almost all that are now in China, maintain the contrary; and F. Martinez himself affirm'd the contrary in China.*

Answer to the 7. As was answer'd elsewhere, that it is not lawful.

I could have wish'd the solution of this doubt had been plain, I writ much about it in the second tome. F. Antony of S. Mary a *Franciscan* writ enough against the proposition. The same may be gather'd from the writings of the fathers *Matthew Riccius*, *Julius Aleri*, and *Pantoja*; the fathers *Acosta* and *Fabre* are of the same opinion in express terms, and F. *John Balat* assur'd me the same of the rest. F. *Alvaro Semedo* publish'd it in print, page 125. of his *Chinese empire*, and 119. F. *Gouvea* writes the same in his manuscript history, which has had the approbation of the fathers *Akunna* the visitor, *Amaya* the vice-provincial, and *Canavari* a very ancient missionary; it is in chap. vi. fol 26. In the meetings those of the society had in the years 28 and 44, they conclude upon the same. So does F. *Intorceta* in his *Sapientia Sinica*, pag. 39. The infidels maintain it, Christians own it, and F. *Martinez* himself confess'd in *China* that it was true for three hundred years last past. He propos'd the contrary at *Rome*, and methinks ought to have express'd what has been said, tho' he had not thought it to be so from the original institution of the *Chineses*. It shall be explain'd at large in the place above mention'd.

8. *Whether it be lawful to leave the Christians who sacrifice to their dead and to Confucius, in their ignorance and simplicity, and to connive at these their sacrifices? For the Chineses are wont to chuse certain days to perform the aforesaid sacrifices, and to consult heaven, whether the day so chosen be fit for those ceremonies.*

Answer to the 8. That they are oblig'd to admonish them of the aforesaid errors.

I use the word sacrifices, because in my opinion, and of others, they are really such, and because all the missionaries of the society call them so in their writings, and among others it may be seen in F. *Intorceta's sapientia Sinica*. And it is not likely, or credible that so many learned men, and so well vers'd in the language and books of the *Chineses*, should not have divid'd into the

the sense of the words, and had the sense to distinguish betwixt an offering and a sacrifice. A farther account is given of it in its place.

9. *Whether the Chinese previous three days fast, and abstaining from the marriage-bed for seven days, to dispose them for the aforesaid sacrifices, be a political preparatory cleansing, or rather religious, and may be lawfully allow'd the Christians?*

Answer to the 9. That the aforesaid preparation is unlawful.

I could never conceive these were political and civil acts, whereas the end to which they are directed is not such; whether it be a sacrifice in the strictest, or in the largest sense, but no honourable offering. For it is a receiv'd maxim, that actions take their denomination from the end they tend to, concerning which see *S. Thom. 1. 2. q. 18. art. 2. and 4.*

Dead.

10. *Whether that treble crying out in the nature of sighing may be allow'd the Christians? The Chinese ritual directs, that as they go into the temples of the dead, some persons cry out three times after the nature of sighing, to awake the souls that dwell within with the noise.*

Answer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is not perform'd every time they go into those temples, but at such time as other ceremonies are to be perform'd there. It is to the purpose, whether the voice be in the nature of a sigh, hoarse, or after any other material manner. Read *A Lapide in vi. Bar. ver. 31.*

11. *Whether the ceremonies and worship perform'd by the Chinese to the dead be real sacrifices? Whereas nothing seems to be wanting to make them so: As also because they are call'd by the Chinese KUNG JANG, as the worship of the idols is call'd.*

Answer to the 11. That they are unlawful.

I said above, it signified little to us whether they are sacrifices or not, the matter is to know whether those ceremonies are lawful. The reason of putting the question whether they are true sacrifices was taken from cardinal *Lugo*, who teaches that sacrifice is equally so call'd, whether true or idolatrous, and that the latter is also truly so on account of the reality of the sign. As *Vasquez* and others, taking it from *S. Thomas*, say that, *Adoration is equally so call'd, whether it be that of the true Deity, or idolatrous.* This point is handled at large in the second tome often mention'd.

Temples.

12. *Whether the houses of the dead be temples, or halls? The aforesaid houses have three several names, SCU TANG, MIAO, and NI; all which, according to the Chinese*

books, the common way of taking, the ceremonies perform'd in them, and the end for which they are erected, belong to temples, not to halls?

Answer to the 12. No answer can be given, because the matter of fact is not plainly made out.

The proofs I brought were in themselves very sufficient: but the recalling of the decree granted to *F. Martinez*, depending on this point, it was thought necessary there should have been somebody who was well vers'd in the Chinese language to speak for him. *F. Martin Martinez* was the first of all the missionaries that ever were in China, who invented the name of halls for the aforesaid structures; and so it appears by all the dictionaries the fathers of the society had put out in China: the fathers *Alvaro Semedo* and *Interceta*, which last writ after *F. Martinez* had made his proposition, unanimously call them temples. They plainly are made out to be so by the Chinese books, by their shape and form, being in all respects equal to the idol temples. The use and end they are built for is well known, which is no other than to perform ceremonies to and worship their dead, to petition and pray to them. In short, they are no dwelling places or habitation for living people, nor built to that purpose; have pictures, and altars with candlesticks, and other ornaments; and many of them have a bell: the Chinese look upon them as temples, what matter is it if others call them halls? *H. O. B.* This being a material point, and upon which much variance has been, it was requisite to insert in the second tome all that was said to it as *Canton*, or writ upon the subject.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to be present in the aforesaid places, together with the infidels, at the prayers, sacrifices and other ceremonies, not giving an inward consent, but only in outward presence, directing all those things in their mind to God, which the others direct to their dead?*

Answer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

F. Antony of *S. Mary* and I enquir'd concerning this point of some Christians, and particularly of one whose name was *Paul*, and another call'd *CHANG Mark*, a Bachelor; who told us, it was an establish'd custom in China to pray to their progenitors, decess'd emperors, and *Confucius* the philosopher; and that they and other Christians were present at it, as well as the infidels; only with this difference, that when the prayers were read directed to the dead, they as Christians directed them in their intention to God. Other matters to this purpose are handled in the second tome.

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RETTE.14. *Whether the tablets of the dead are absolutely to be call'd superstitious?**Answer to the 14.* That they are superstitious.

Tablets.

This is a very material point in that mission. At first they call'd them little boards, or tablets; they ought to call them tabernacles, as in effect they are. One of them was carried to *Rome*, the most eminent lords cardinals of the holy congregation saw it; the letters and mysteries contain'd in the form, figure, length, breadth and depth, were explicated to them, with other particulars necessary towards their making a judgment of them. They have been condemn'd three times. *F. Antony de Gouvea* us'd to tell me he did not like the letters that were in those tabernacles. Brother *Antony Fernandez*, temporal coadjutor to the society, a *Chinese* by birth, and other Christians, assur'd me it was very common in that kingdom to believe that the souls of the dead come to those boards, and reside in them. The same appears by the *Chinese* books, and the two meetings of the society above-mention'd. All shall be set down in the place above-written.

Souls.

15. *Whether Christians, laying aside the errors concerning the steam of the meat feeding the souls of the dead, and of their residing in those boards, may lawfully pay the other ceremonious worship to the boards, and offer meat before them?*

Answer to the 15. That it is not lawful.

These two points were discuss'd in the two meetings aforesaid; and they agree, that the *Chinese*s imagine the souls feed upon the steam and smell of the meat they offer before the boards, or tablets.

Sacrifice.

16. *At sepulchers the Chinese offer sacrifice to the peculiar spirits of those places, to whom they also return thanks for the benefits they have bestow'd on the dead bodies, and pray that they will always assist them. Which being given for granted: Quære, Whether F. Martinez ought to have express'd this ceremony in his proposition? Item, Whether Christians omitting the aforesaid ceremony, may lawfully perform the rest? For their ritual commanding the observation of all these ceremonies, the Chinese seeing some of them perform'd by the Christians, will believe they observe all the rest.*

Answer to the 16. That the faithful cannot join in these superstitions.

This point has been handled in the reflections upon *F. Martinez's* propositions. More shall be said in another place.

17. *The Chinese ritual allows sons lawfully begotten to offer sacrifice to the dead, which it absolutely forbids the illegitimate. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to take upon them and perform this office and employment?*

Answer to the 17. That it is not lawful.

Since even the sons of concubines, who, according to what has been said above, cannot be altogether call'd illegitimate, are excluded from those offerings as incapable and irregular, it is a visible consequence, that what is there offered is not an indifferent oblation to the living and dead, as some would make it, because no person is incapable or excluded from offering meat or other things to the living; therefore it is most certain there is something more peculiar and mysterious in this action, as there is in erecting temples to the dead, which all persons may not do: and it is most undoubted, that all persons whatsoever may build as many houses, habitations, and halls as they please, there being no determinate number for them, as there is for temples, which the emperor himself cannot exceed or increase, whereas he is under no confinement as to palaces and halls. These reasons were ever of great force with me as to what has been said; others shall be alledg'd in due time in confirmation of this subject.

18. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to give an account before the boards or tablets, in the temples of their departed ancestors, of their marriages or contracts, to offer meat with the usual genuflexions, shedding wine upon the image of a man made of straw? Item, Whether it be lawful to perform the same ceremony, and burn perfumes when they undertake any business, enter upon employments, go abroad, and return home?*

Answer to the 18. That it is not lawful.

I spoke of some ceremonies the *Chinese*s use at their marriages in the second book of this volume. As for the rest that concern the *Chinese* nation, I was always of opinion the Holy Ghost spoke to it, *Wisd. xiii.* where he says, "Then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life. For health, he called upon that which is weak; for life, prayeth to that which is dead; for aid, humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help; and for a good journey, he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forwards: And for gaining and getting, and for good success of his hands, asketh ability to do of him that is most unable to do any thing."

19. *When the structure of the temple of the dead is finish'd, the crevices that remain are to be fill'd up with the blood of beasts, according to the great Chinese ritual, which is, it says, to worship the habitation of spirits. Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully perform the aforesaid ceremony.*

Answer

Answer to the 19. That it cannot be lawfully done or practis'd.

It is a plain case, this ceremony is not perform'd in China in halls, or other dwelling-places.

20. *Whether it be lawful to celebrate publick obsequies with the mass for heathens, who dy'd in their infidelity, for the comfort of Christians, tho' the sacrifice of the mass be not applied for the infidels departed? Item, Whether it be lawful to say masses for the dead, that God may ease their pains?*

Answer to the 20. That it is not lawful.

A missionary practis'd the first part, as he himself publickly own'd to all the rest of us that were there assembled together, but only he approv'd of it: the same person maintain'd the second. What was urg'd about it on both sides, is set down in the second tome. As to the second part, see *S. Thom. in 4. d. 45. q. 2. art. 2.* and *Suaraz de vit. Christ. de 43. sect. 3. & tom. 4. in 3 part. M. S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6. and Lugo de incarn. disp. 5. sect. 5. num. 108.*

21. *Whether Gentiles who do not live over loosely, but in some measure modestly, be punish'd with eternal sufferings? some missionaries defend the negative.*

Answer to the 21. Those who teach that such Gentiles are not punish'd with everlasting pains, contradict the gospel.

Methinks this may suffice to stop their mouths; what was said on this subject shall be set down. Some say, that if any one dy'd in only original and venial sin, he would be damn'd, much more those we have spoken of. Read *Wisd. xiii.*

22. *Whether there be a distinct place to be assign'd in the other world for the souls of the aforesaid Gentiles, besides hell, purgatory, and Limbus? Some maintain it.*

Answer to the 22. The question is impertinent, and the assertion false, which says there is any other places besides those nam'd in holy writ.

Some mens extravagant opinions force the asking of impertinent questions; but there being no other way to reduce them to the right way, this must be follow'd. Three or four who defended the proposition next before it, maintain'd this too. On the one side, they excluded those souls from the hell of the damn'd; they could find no means to bring them into purgatory, or limbus, much less into heaven, where they own'd they could not be; wherefore they had no way left but to find or assign another place. It shall be further explain'd in the controversies. See the divines in *4. d. 45. where they assign only four places; and S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6.*

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23. *Whether it may without judging rashly be affirm'd of an infidel notoriously wicked, who hangs himself, that he is damn'd? Some deny it, on account that God at the last moment of life might enlighten his understanding, and give him such grace, that being converted, he might make an act of contrition.*

Answer to the 23. Missioners are not to argue about these possibilities, but are oblig'd to teach, that infidels who do not receive baptism, either actually, or in their wishes, are damn'd, much more if they kill themselves.

Much was said to this point, and the two foregoing cases were set down on account of this.

24. *Whether infidels who transgress the laws of nature, deserve eternal punishment? Some deny it, alledging they are excus'd from such grievous pains by their not knowing God, and the law-maker.*

Answer to the 24. That they are damn'd.

Here the argument began, whether the sins of the infidels, tho' against the laws of nature, are to be look'd upon only in a civil, and not in a theological sense, with other particulars, which I shall mention in due time; it is enough now to give a hint of them.

25. *It is express in the three catechisms printed in the Chinese language, by the missionaries of the three religious orders, That the law-giver of the idolatrous sect FOE by name, was damn'd. In the time of the persecution, some of the counsellors of the court of rites examining certain missionaries as to this saying; they answer'd, It was not to be understood so absolutely, but conditionally, viz. If he did not know God, and keep his commandments. Quære, Whether the answer was good and proper? For books do not speak conditionally, but absolutely. Besides, the faithful and others, by these conditional expressions, will judge we flinch for fear.*

Answer to the 25. If it is notorious that he was the law-giver of that sect, and equally notorious that he had not the knowledge of God, it is to be answer'd, That he was damn'd.

There are some, who upon pretence of charity, deny it can be absolutely affirm'd, that this or that man was damn'd, whether he dy'd a heretick or infidel; they presently alledge that God might assist them at the last moment of their life, and move their hearts to true sorrow and contrition. And consequently they maintain, it can only be affirm'd of Judas, and the rest the scripture makes appear were damn'd, because this truth is there reveal'd: But that it cannot be said of Arius, Calvin, Luther, and others. Yet we certainly know that one is set down in the Roman martyr-

NAVARETTE. martyrology as a martyr, who was slain at Damascus by the Mahometans, for saying that Mahomet was in hell, notwithstanding he had the knowledge of GOD. How much better may it be said of Foe, who liv'd seven hundred years before the coming of CHRIST, there being not the least sign

that he had any knowledge of GOD; and having been the founder of a sect, which has sent twenty times more souls to hell than that of Mahomet has done? I spoke of this sectary and his sect in the second book.

Four Doubts concerning Fasts.

Fasts.

1. **A**LL the ancient and modern missionaries, except two or three, agree in this particular, that the superstitious observers of the Chinese fasts are not to be admitted to baptism, unless they first actually break those fasts. Whereupon the holy congregation is intreated to injoin this practice by their positive command, that the ministers of the gospel may act uniformly in a matter of great consequence, if otherwise carried.

Answer to the 1. All the superstitions of the Gentiles in relation to fasting, which are laid before those that are to be baptiz'd, must absolutely be abrogated.

Much was said and writ to this point; among others the fathers Balat and Grelon writ two very learned treatises, which I was mightily pleas'd with. The substance of them I will insert in the second tome.

2. Whether those who keep these superstitious fasts may continue them for fear of the devil, and of the mischiefs he can do them?

Answer to the 2. That they are not to be kept or observ'd.

Those above-nam'd writ to this point, and exhorted me to do the same. One was positive in defending the contrary to the resolution above. The principal matter he had to say was, GOD's judgments are secret and inscrutable; his Divine Majesty may permit the devil to punish a Chinese for having left the superstitious fasts, where-with before he honoured this common enemy; why then may not this Chinese, after receiving baptism, continue his fasts, to free himself from the harms and mischiefs the devil does him? Thus much, as delivering ones self from the mischiefs and harms the devil may do, is good *ex parte objecti*; and consequently it is so to continue the fasts. The reason I alledge against it is this, making use of the same antecedent, then may he for the same cause and motive continue the adoration of the idols he ador'd before baptism. The parity holds

good all along, without the least shadow of disparity in my opinion. It shall be all made out.

3. His holiness is intreated, that as his most holy predecessors dispens'd with the West-Indies about fasting, so his holiness will be pleas'd to grant the same liberty to the Chinese Christians, not only from fasting, but from abstinence from flesh. Many are of opinion that it is not convenient, and there are motives enough to persuade the doing of it.

Answer to the 3. As for abstinence from fasting, and other particulars of the positive ecclesiastical law, an answer was given in the year 1656.

I ask'd more than that; the resolution there given seem'd somewhat dark to those of the society, and therefore they took up with the resolution in the year 1646. In my time we made use of a decision of Innocent the tenth; some made a doubt of it, and therefore I desir'd this point should be further explain'd.

4. His holiness may be pleas'd to dispense, Birth-days, that the Christian Chineses may not be oblig'd to fast upon their birth-days (which all of them keep with great solemnity) if they should fall out on fasting-days.

Answer to the 4. as to the third.

I have already mention'd the most universal custom of China, for all men to celebrate their birth-days with the greatest solemnity they possibly can. Every one of these days to the Chineses is a mighty festival; the kindred, friends, and acquaintance meet, and together with the family, celebrate the master of the house's nativity, and the main diversion is feasting. I was of opinion if their birth-days fell in Lent, on eves or fridays, there was occasion enough for dispensing, not only with the fast, but even with the abstinence from flesh, especially since there is such a dispensation for the eve of their new year, and the two days following, tho' they fall upon Ash-wednesday, or a friday in Lent, as sometimes it happens.

Sixteen Doubts relating to the same mission.

NAVA-
RETTE.

1645. 1. **W** Hether the answers of the holy congregation to the questions propos'd in the year 1645, may be said to have been given without hearing the parties concern'd?

1656. 2. Whether it may be said, that the holy congregation, when in the year 1656 it judg'd that the ceremonies of Confucius then specify'd, might be allow'd the Christian Chinese, gave that judgment, supposing some of them to be bad?

The two first questions were sufficiently answer'd in the year 1645, and 1656.

I desir'd a fuller answer, but it was not given me; they are govern'd at Rome by more elevated causes, and I do not question but they are just and righteous, tho' neither I nor some others comprehend them; but it becomes us always, and is our duty to respect and honour their commands with the greatest submission and obedience, and to execute them. There are some men who let fly, without ever considering what they are to say, contrary to the advice the Holy Ghost gives us in this particular. To maintain that the aforesaid decree, and answers annexed to it, were given without having heard the parties concern'd, is downright condemning his holiness, and the holy congregation, as corrupt judges and persons, who know not how to decree what is convenient. What judge is there, tho' he be but a country bailiff, but knows that judgment cannot be given against a party not heard? Those questions were propos'd, without mentioning any person whatsoever that held a contrary opinion, as a man would propose a doubt or a case of conscience, in which no body is concern'd but he that proposes or asks.

As for Confucius's ceremonies, some are of opinion they are good, politically; others, that they are bad. These last said, the holy congregation did not approve of them, because an approbation must be of a good thing; but that it tolerated them tho' bad, as the civil government tolerates lewd women. And to express thus much, the words of the decree are, *They may be tolerated*. The most eminent lord cardinal Ottoboni, when I discours'd his eminency upon this point, plainly told me this was never the intention of the holy congregation; and he being a member of it, and having been so when that decree pass'd, could not but understand the whole affair. And though it were so, how could we absolve the Chinese who perform'd those evil ceremonies unless they forsook them,

and if they had no purpose to amend? The government's toleration of lewd women, tho' it remits the penalty due according to the laws of the kingdom to their crimes, yet it takes not off the guilt, nor does it authorize confessors to absolve them whilst they continue in that bad state of life. The case is the same.

3. What censure that proposition deserves, which asserts, that all popes have not the authority of declaring which are the forms of sacraments?

Answer to the 3. They who maintain it are to be impeach'd by name, that they may be punish'd.

A missionary publickly spoke what is contain'd in the proposition; the reason he gave for it was set down before; I lik'd it very ill. The most eminent lord cardinal Bona condemn'd it, and the reason given for it very much.

2. Whether it may be said, that the church does not yet define the mystery of the immaculate conception, only because it fears lest the fathers preachers should not submit?

Answer to the 4. That such trifling matters do not concern the mission.

The answer is very good; it is odd they should in China, and in time of persecution, think to govern all the world. They threw this in my dish; and tho' it be meritorious to suppress and wink at personal defects, it is detestable to bear with those which are so great a blemish to the whole order, especially when it has so many positive acts in matter of obedience, even to bare orders of the see apostolick. It were easy to mention some in this place, and instance many more.

5. This concerns Confucius, and has been set down already.

6. Supposing that the infidel Chinesees ask Dead assistance of their emperors departed, and of their forefathers who died in infidelity; whether it be lawful for Christians to perform such ceremonies with them, directing the intention of their petitions to God?

Answer to the 6. It was answer'd before, that it is not lawful.

7. Whether it be lawful for Christians to honour the images of their ancestors departed, who died in infidelity, with perfumes and lighted candles?

Answer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

This worship is religious, not political, whatsoever others may say of it. Read cardinal Lugo de incarn. disp. 37. sect. 2. num. 21.

8. Supposing it be the opinion of the Chinese infidels, that the spirits or airy souls of the

NAVARETTE. the dead are refresh'd with the steam of eatables offer'd, and that their posterity living fare the better for it: Whether nevertheless it be lawful for Christians to make such feasts for their dead?

Answer to the 8. It is not lawful.

Which is to be understood, tho' the Christians do not believe that error. These points are handled in the second book of the second tome.

9. *Supposing it to be the opinion of the Chinese infidels, that many felicities accrue to posterity, by chusing a place for a tomb according to the ritual of the learned sect; Whether it be lawful for Christians to chuse a burying-place according to the said ritual?*

Answer to the 9. That it is not lawful upon that motive.

In its place I set down the ceremony the learned use upon this account, which tho' it be very different from those of other sectaries, yet they will always have it, that the good fortune of their posterity proceeds from the good situation of the tomb.

10. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to fast in honour of their emperors departed, or other notable men, or of their ancestors?*

Answer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

Fasting was never a political action.

11. *Whether youths, who fast in honour of their mothers, that they may restore the blood lost at their birth, may be admitted to baptism, as long as they refuse to forbear that fast?*

Answer to the 11. That they cannot be admitted to baptism, till they lay aside all superstitions.

12. *Whether it be lawful for Christians either of their own accord, or when commanded, to build idol-temples, or rebuild those that are destroy'd? The same is ask'd concerning the little vaulted chapels or boxes of idols.*

Answer to the 12. That it is not lawful.

F. Julius Aleni set down this decision some years ago in a book of confession he printed in the Chinese character, but all missionaries do not consent to it. And I find F. Morales holds the contrary in his treatises, lib. II. cap. vi, §. 3. num. 10. pag. mihi 290. his words are these: A Christian painter or carver, who has a picture or statue of an idol bespoke, does not sin in painting or carving, and delivering it to him he knows desires it to commit idolatry, if he cannot without considerable prejudice to himself avoid doing of it. He quotes F. Hurtado, to corroborate his opinion. But his brethren in China would not agree to it by any means, when this point was argu'd, but condemn'd the opinion, one only excepted, who always lov'd to be singular. Morales adds, and says the same for those who upon the like occasion build

idol-temples, Jews synagogues, or Mahometan mosques. F. Gabriel Vasquez gave the same resolution, when ask'd by our F. general Claudius, on account of Japan, on the 4th of April 1595; and the fathers Azor, Michael Vasquez, and Mucius de Angelis asserted it at Rome in the general congregation of the universal inquisition in Palat. App. on mount Quirinalis, before our most holy lord Clem. viii. on the second of June 1602. Had I known what has been here set down, when I was at Rome, there is no doubt but I had propos'd it as a reason of making the doubt. I had before read something concerning the matter, but not having those treatises at hand, rather than omit it, I propos'd the question absolutely; and it is strange, that some months passing before the answer was given me, and those ministers being so well vers'd in the resolutions that have been given at that court, they should make no mention of this, which is so much in favour of the missionaries, who desire these affairs may be delay'd as much as possible. I also observe that F. Morales, tho' he sets down what those grave fathers affirm'd before his holiness, yet he does not tell us, whether that opinion was approv'd of there or not, and that alters the case very much. In short, since I ask'd how we ought to proceed, and what we ought to do in China, we will act according to the answer given me, as long as we have no other orders, and others may do as they think best. The sentence of S. Thomas and his scholars 2. 2. quæst. 169. is well known.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to contribute to the building or repairing of idol-temples?*

Answer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

It cannot be deny'd but that he who contributes to the building of an idol-temple, is accessory at a greater distance to the sin of idolatry, than he that makes the idol, or builds the temple, and consequently if it is not lawful to contribute, à fortiori it must be own'd to be unlawful to make idols and build temples. By which it appears how far they are at Rome from justifying the making of idols, and building their temples. F. Morales writes much to the contrary, but the resolution mention'd suffices to secure us from erring.

14. *Whether missionaries or other Christians are oblig'd to give alms, unless in case of extreme necessity, to idol-priests, who will not work?*

Answer to the 14. If it be given for mercy sake, it is lawful.

I own I was the rigidest in this point, when we disputed it: First, because alms is not to be given to those who want thro' laziness, and because they will not work.

It is the doctrine of *Soto*, and many more quoted and follow'd by *Leander* *tr.* 5. *de Eleemosyna* *disp.* 5. *q.* 4. Secondly, tho' alms are to be given to wicked men and infidels, yet it must not be when they are cherish'd in their sins by the benefit; and to give it to *bonzo's* seems to encourage them the further in their hellish state. Thirdly, tho' we are to give alms to enemies, as *CHRIST* commands *Matt.* v. yet it must not be in case *That were the means to support those enemies in their malice against us, and would make them more able to oppress us.* Fourthly, because even in case of extreme necessity alms are not to be given to the enemies of the commonwealth. Read *Leander*, *q.* 6, 7 & 8. why then should it be given to *bonzo's* who are mortal enemies of *CHRIST's* commonwealth? What are these but soldiers of hell, who continually have their weapons in their hands to make war upon the church and its members, and can never make peace or truce with them? We are bound to stand by what is resolv'd.

15. *Whether a chalice that is bless'd and remains whole, is to be thought to have lost its blessing or consecration, because it was only put to a profane use by hereticks, for instance to drink out of it at table?*

Answer to the 15. That it remains accursed.

That the reader may be satisfy'd in this particular, I will here set down the matter of fact. The *Dutch* in *India* do by the chalices they have robb'd the churches of, as king *Belshazzar* did by the holy vessels *Nebuchadnezzar* had carry'd from *Jerusalem*, *Dan.* v. 3, 4. only with this difference, that the *Dutch* every year commit the sacrilege that king did but once, because it has not pleas'd *GOD* to punish them, as he did him.

Their custom, or rather sacrilegious abuse is, that at great feasts, or when they celebrate the anniversary of taking such towns, they place the chalices on the sideboards, and make use of them to drink healths about. It happen'd at *Jacatra* that two priests and a lay-man, a good Christian, whom I know very well, were invited. They drank in one of the chalices to the elder of the priests, who without regarding or making the least scruple drank out of it. The other priest, as I remember, told me he rose from table, abhorring what he had seen his companion do. The lay-man was in a great disorder and scandaliz'd; I cannot be positive, whether he rose too. When afterwards they represented the heinousness of the action to that priest, he us'd to answer, That those chalices had lost their consecration, as being profan'd by hereticks. Not-

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withstanding this answer, which did not please all men, the action was ill look'd upon, and much talk'd of. Discouraging on this subject at *Madagascar*, with the lord bishop of *Iliopolis*, he told me; To shew what great difference there is betwixt the actions of men, your reverence must understand that the same year the *Dutch* took *Cochin*, they carry'd some chalices and other holy things to *Suratte*, where they made a plentiful feast. Among the guests was an *Englishman* of great note, they gave him a chalice to drink out of, and he refus'd it, saying before all the company, Tho' I am not of the *Roman* religion, yet this and other vessels there were dedicated to the service of our *GOD*, and this is enough to make me have a respect for them, and not to presume to drink out of them; Gentlemen, you must excuse me, for I cannot comply with you in this particular. I was astonish'd when I heard it. Granting that chalice was profan'd by hereticks, and had lost its consecration, yet he who drank out of it did ill, because of the scandal that follow'd, and because the hereticks might reflect on it. And since he went upon that ground, he ought to have declar'd it, and made it out before he drank to prevent what follow'd, and has been related; as also because of the famous maxim in the canon law, *Semel. 51. de Reg. Jur. in 6. ibid.* What is once dedicated to *GOD* must not be any more turn'd to human uses. He acted contrary to this rule.

In relation to the answer giver, observe that the word *execrare* (translated by me in the answer *accursed*) according to *Silv. verb. calic. §. 2. Serr. 3. p. q. 83. pag. mibi. 625.* and others, signify to lose the consecration, and that it requires to be consecrated anew, so that the aforesaid chalice loses the first consecration it receiv'd; as when the cup breaks off from the foot, according to the common opinion of authors. Whence it follows that priest was in the right, in saying that chalice was not then consecrated.

What authors usually say, 'is of no small force against this, viz. that a thing once consecrated loses not its consecration as long as it remains whole and the same. So says, *S. Thomas 2. 2. Quest. 88. art. 11. in corp. & 3. part. Quest. 83. art. 3. ad 3.* See the same, *S. Thom. 2. 2. Quest. 88. art. 19. in confirm. ult. arg.* *Serra* quoted above, and *Leand. tract. 5. par. 5. disp. 2. Quest. 42.* where he has these words, *consecration is indelible, whilst the thing itself and suppositum remains.* He quotes *S. Antonine, Silvester Paludanus*, and others.

But the case here spoken of being so singular, there must be something more in it. That it requires some blessing or ceremony,

NAVARETTE. money, as a church that is polluted, seems to be plain. Read *Leander*, part 2. tract. 8. disp. 3. Quest. 4. & Quest. 31.

16. *Whether it does not seem convenient that the holy congregation command all missionaries in China to abstain from building sumptuous churches, from wearing costly apparel, and making great presents without necessity; in regard these things are insupportable to some missionaries, and gave occasion for the persecution?*

To the 16th nothing is to be answer'd.

I and many more thought it requisite to assign some limitation in the matters propos'd. Something shall be said upon the subject in its place. Several opinions have been in *China* concerning the silk garments many missionaries wear. The ancient ones blame the younger; these justify them, and

defend they are very convenient in that mission. The fathers *Gouvea*, *Acosta*, *Lu-belli*, and *Torrente* abhor them, and *F. Balat* much detests the presents that have been given without any benefit to the church. *F. Augeri* and others look upon it as most certain, that the clothing and buildings contributed much towards the persecution that was rais'd. The same happened in *Japan*. But what *F. Antony* of *S. Mary* most lamented, and I am concern'd at, is, that if the presents go on, neither the two religious orders, nor any others that shall go thither will be able to support that custom and practice; whereupon they will be oblig'd to withdraw, unless it should please God to order some other means. His holy will be done.

Twenty other special difficulties.

1. **W**HETHER among the mysteries propos'd to catechumens to believe, it is lawful or convenient to add, that the blessed Virgin was conceiv'd without original sin?

2. *Whether it be lawful in new missions to write concerning the said mystery in such manner, that converts may believe the affirmative is absolutely defin'd as Catholick faith?*

Answer to these two doubts. That the constitutions of *Sixtus* the fourth, *Paul* the fifth, *Gregory* the fifteenth, and *Alexander* the seventh, are to be read and observ'd.

I would not have meddled with these points, had not others taken notice of them in *China*, it is a duty to obey apostolical constitutions. The first case is printed in the *Chinese* language.

3. *Whether it be convenient to give out among converts that the blessed Virgin plainly beheld the divine essence from the first moment of her conception, and so continued thro' the whole course of her life, as is unanimously believ'd of Christ our Lord?*

Answer to the 3. The missionaries are to forbear such useless arguments.

This is a very good answer. I knew him who first set that saying afoot, and how it took root among some persons; the occasion was very inconsiderable for a matter of such moment, nor was the wisdom or authority of the author sufficient to give it any reputation. No body lik'd it in *China*, and it being no way necessary for the salvation of the *Chinese*, it is a useless argument for them. Nay did those Christians or others put the question, we ought to answer, not to what they propos'd, but to the purpose that most concern'd them to know, after the example of

Christ. One ask'd him, *Luc. xv. Lord are there but few sav'd?* He answered, *Do you strive to get in at the narrow gate.* Lord, that is not the question, answer directly to what is ask'd. *S. Cyril* in *Catena Aurea*; But it must be said, that it was the custom of our Saviour, not to answer those that ask'd according to their mind, when they ask'd useless questions, but with regard to what was beneficial to the hearers. But what benefit were it to the hearers to know whether many or few are sav'd? But it was more necessary to know the means thro' which a man may attain salvation. This same I say as to the proposition.

4. *Whether invincible ignorance may be allow'd in the converts touching self-murder? Some maintain the affirmative, but we are persuaded it cannot be so in itself and regularly, because before baptism they are sufficiently instructed in the commandments.*

Answer to the 4. That they are bound to teach them the truth, that they may lay aside errors.

In the year 1665 it happen'd at the 1665. court of *PE KING*, that a Christian, as soon as he had confess'd and communicated, went home and hang'd himself, and was bury'd like other Christians. Upon this the doubt here propos'd was started, and several opinions were given: mine always was, that such ignorance could not be allow'd of; first because this sin is specify'd in the catechism printed there, and in the next place, because if in *China* there cannot be invincible ignorance allow'd in case of killing another, much less can it be for killing ones self. Nor is that nation, or others in those parts, so void of sense, as to follow the errors other barbarous people do, as to the law of nature.

Our

Our *Capicque* master of the sacred palace does not allow this ignorance in any man, as I shall shew in another place. See *S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 64. art. 5. and his disciples.

5. *Whether it be lawful for converts to bear mass cover'd, and to receive the communion in the same manner? The greater and ancients, number of missionaries answer in the affirmative, according to the ancient and general practice among them all, except here and there one, which is grounded on the dispensation granted to missionaries by Paul the fifth to say mass cover'd, because in that country it is a sign of respect.*

Answer to the 5. That the decrees of popes are to be observ'd, where there are any, as is alledg'd in the case propos'd.

This question was started by some few, after it had been many years practis'd without opposition. I writ a treatise somewhat copious upon the subject, which pleas'd all that were of my opinion; something shall be brought out of it in the second tome. One of the reasons I urg'd was, that since we priests say mass in *China* cover'd, and *Paul* the fifth dispens'd with it in regard to the way of paying respect and civility in that kingdom, which is opposite to ours in this particular, for the same reason, and *a fortiori*, the same ought to be understood of the natives. For to do the contrary look'd preposterous, that the *European* should worship God with the *Chinese* ceremony, which in the church is irreverence; and that the *Chinese* should worship him with the *European* ceremony, which to them and their kingdom is a great disrespect.

6. *Whether missionaries being ask'd by a tyrant whether they will stay in his kingdom, upon promise made that they will not diffuse the gospel, may lawfully consent, promise, and accept of such a condition? The missionaries no way agreed about deciding this case, when it press'd upon them.*

Answer to the 6. That they cannot make such a promise.

Tho' this took not effect, yet we were all persuad'd it would, so that we argu'd long about it, without agreeing in any point. On the one hand the Christians lamented, for if we answer'd in the negative, they were for ever depriv'd of priests, and their tears were very moving. Therefore a considerable number of us missionaries were of opinion it was lawful to make such a promise, and that it was no evil or scandalous condition which was requir'd of us. Every man writ down his sentiments, but when we thought the trial was at hand, all were left at liberty to make their minds known. Something of what was writ upon the subject shall be insert'd in its place.

See *S. Thom.* 2. 2. quest. 88. d. 29. art. 7. *NAVARETTE*.
7. *Whether it be lawful for missionaries, or other Christians, without necessity to go to the idol temples, and to say the office their kneeling, even where they may be seen by the faithful and infidels? Some maintain it.*

Answer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

F. Morales writes something to this purpose, and *F. Gouvea* told me it might very well be done. Others dislike it, and I thought it fit to put the question, that one false antecedent may not produce other consequences. I writ upon the subject, as shall appear in another place.

8. *Whether any could attain to life everlasting, without the knowledge of God the supernatural being, and without the knowledge of the immortality of our soul, and of reward and punishment after this life? Some maintain the affirmative, speaking both of the Jews and Gentiles.*

Answer to the 8. That the affirmative can neither be defended, nor taught.

The fathers *Fabre* and *Coplet* were guilty of this weakness, there was noise enough about it. The fathers *Balat*, *Grelon*, and I positively maintain'd the contrary, and brought reasons enough for it, which shall be insert'd in the second tome. See *S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 1. disp. 4. art. 1. *Ferre*, *Serra*, *Leander*, and others.

9. *Whether the friars Minors, and Dominicans may and ought to follow some opinions, which they think improbable because others affirm they may be put in practice, and that they have sufficient reasons for them? For it seems too hard to follow the footsteps of others blindfold.*

Answer to the 9. That no man can act contrary to his conscience in a known improbability.

In the second tome I write what has been done in this case. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that if all those in *China* agree in one point, we of my order may lay aside any scruple and follow them, practising the same; but it is sufficient ground not to be thought to act rashly, but prudently, when many go on in the same method unanimously, after having consider'd, weigh'd, and conferr'd about the matter. True it is I am of opinion, it is more than probable, we shall not come to this pass.

10. *Whether all those, who are directly concern'd in the banishment of doctor Brindeau, an apostolick missionary from the city Macao, incur'd the censure laid upon those that hinder missionaries, by his holiness Urban the eighth in his bull pass'd in the year 1633? The affirmative seems to be true.*

Answer to the 10. No answer can be given, the party is not heard.

The matter of fact and all circumstances

NAVASTANCES are set down, as may be seen in its place.
REITE.

11. *Whether they who within the mission drive missionaries from one province to another, incur the aforesaid censure? For such persons truly hinder missionaries in their business and duty.*

Answer to the 11. That the words of the decree are to be maturely consider'd, in order to give an answer upon any fact.

Some particular canon laws, alledg'd by authors in the like cases, suit with this point.

12. *Whether he who directly or indirectly endeavours to turn missionaries out of their missions, tho' it does not take effect, incurs the aforesaid censure? For tho' it does not take effect, they are in appearance, and actually obstructors, especially because by troubling and molesting them, they are the immediate cause that they cannot conveniently perform the duty they have in hand.*

Answer to the 12. As to the last.

In like cases like judgment, *cap. 2. de transf. Episc.* It is well known that in these cases regard must be had to the intention of the law-maker, and to the motive he had for making such a law. From these principles we must descend to particular cases, and consider whether they are comprehended under it, or not.

13. *Whether it be lawful for regulars mendicants, especially missionaries, and others who by the pope's particular order exercise the function of curates in India, to take upon them to be godfathers in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation? Some authors defend the affirmative, and whereas spiritual advantages may accrue from their undertaking it, it is most humbly prayed that his holiness will dispense in this case.*

Answer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

The affirmative is frequently enough to be found among modern divines, you may see *Leander tract. 2. de Baptism. disp. 7. q. 16.* tho' our *Serra* does not follow it *3. p. q. 67. art. 6.* only in case there be no lay person to be had, and with his superiors leave. *Quintaduennas* has writ upon the subject. There was within these few years a great contest on this account in the kingdom of *Siam*, and a *French* bishop who resided there highly condemn'd this opinion, wherein I was always of opinion he exceeded. He might very well refuse to admit of the religious man as godfather, without condemning *Quintaduennas* for allowing and teaching that opinion. It is no new thing to say, that when any thing is forbid the monks in the canon law, the mendicants are not taken under the denomination of monks, their circumstances being different from those of the others.

Much less ought it to be understood of missionaries, and other regulars who perform the function of curates. The resolution given has settled the business for the future.

14. *Whether any missionaries of the kingdom of Cochinchina had the power to dispense with a convert to marry two sisters successively? (observe that they were his own sisters.)*

Answer to the 14. No answer can be given without hearing the missionaries, who affirm they have this authority, but without it they cannot.

The greatest difficulty is, whether this matter be capable of a dispensation or no. The case was argued at *Madrid* in the reign of *K. Philip the second*; our master *Orellana* and others maintain'd the negative. The lord *Araujo* in *stat. Eccles.* follows this opinion, and sufficiently makes it out, against *Basilus* who quotes *Leander* for the contrary opinion, and others. The resolution here mention'd makes out the contrary. More shall be said in another place. Allowing it to be capable of a dispensation, it might be a sufficient motive to grant it, if the king of *Siam* and the queen his sister were converted to our holy faith; but certainly it is too much to make use of it for a *Japonese* shopkeeper, and two sisters successively. I mention'd in another place that *Corn. a Lap.* follows *Orellana's* opinion.

15. *Whether it be lawful for missionaries to carry warlike ammunition into countries of infidels, upon pretence of opening, or keeping open the way to plant or diffuse the word of God? For such infidels, tho' during some time they shew the Christians some tokens of friendship, yet they soon turn tail, as present experience has taught.*

Answer to the 15. That it is not lawful.

16. *Whether Christian merchants may lawfully do the same upon pretence of securing their trade? The bull De coena Domini against those that do so was publicly read in the city Macao some years since.*

Answer to the 16. That it is not lawful.

Something is writ concerning both cases in the second tome.

17. *Whether any missionaries had any particular privilege not to make the Chinese converts acquainted with the duty of observing the positive ecclesiastical precepts?*

Answer to the 17. This was answer'd in the years 1645 and 1656.

F. Morales writ upon this subject, he quotes the fathers *Hurtado* and *Emanuel Diaz*, who affirm'd it, tho' they own, they cannot tell what pope it was that granted it.

18. *Whether it be lawful for churchmen, or seculars, to cast great guns in countries of infidels, and to teach them those arts, and to*

the engineers for raising of forts, and other works?

Answer to the 18. Church-men may not concern themselves in such affairs.

I expected the answer in relation to seculars, who follow this business in those parts; and methinks it may be made out of that which was given to the sixteenth doubt.

19. Whether a Confessor may lawfully allow penitents half confessions, upon pretence that all may gain the jubilee, which they could not do, if they were to confess intirely, because the time of the jubilee is not sufficient to hear all out? Somebody there is that maintain the affirmative. Yet when there are several albor confessors upon the spot, to whom the penitents may have recourse, it seems, that confessions are dock'd unreasonably.

Answer to the 19. That it cannot be done upon any account.

Ever since in the year 1659 I read this opinion at Macasar I mislik'd it, and much more, the practice of it which has follow'd in some parts, where there was plenty of confessors; and I am satisfy'd that all who have heard of this opinion, are of my mind.

20. An Oath among the Chineses is taken, as follows, according to their ritual. First, they dig a square pit in the ground, over which they slaughter a beast, and cut off its left ear, which they lay in a dish with jewels; in another they have the blood adorn'd in the same manner: they write the oath upon a paper with that blood, and anoint their lips: having read the paper, the beast is thrown into the pit, and the paper being laid on its back is cover'd with the earth. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to observe this form of swearing, or be present when this ceremony is perform'd?

Answer to the 20. That it is not lawful.

We whose names are underwritten, to whom the solution of these doubts was committed by the sacred congregation of the holy inquisition, thought fit to return the answers abovemention'd. April the 22d 1674.

I F. Laurence de Laurea of the order of friars minors, consultor and qualificator of the holy inquisition, sign'd with my own hand.

I Cajetan Miroballas of the regular clergy, qualificator of the holy inquisition, sign'd with my own hand.

I had some more doubts to propose, but forbore, because I would not be too troublesome to those most reverend fathers, and because I was myself indisposed: I set them down in the second tome, where I have set down what doctors have said upon them.

We have light to follow, and a plain way to tread with safety, which I do not doubt is the same to others.

21. On account of what was said in the eighth doubt concerning the sacraments, I have one thing to observe, not unlike what happen'd about the same time in Europe. The same influence of the stars it is likely prevail'd in both places. There are certain books in China call'd KIA IU, that is, family discourses, or household doctrine. There are six volumes, I read them all; Confucius the philosopher was the author of them, and his name is in the title page. The learned sect, and their school, agree they are his; the said books are quoted in the works of that sect, and particularly in the great philosophy. Notwithstanding all this, and that Confucius has been above these two thousand years quietly possess'd of the title of author of these books, in my time a few missioners took in hand positively to maintain they were no work of his. Is it possible there should be a stranger undertaking in the world? That Europeans should go into China to argue that Confucius is not the author of those books, unjustly ousting him of a possession he has enjoy'd so many years, without any better authority than that they find in them some doctrine opposite to what has been practis'd of late years? Hereticks deny the books of Maccabees are canonical, because they oppose their tenets, without any other reason. Others for the same reason deny S. Thomas the honour of great part of his works, and so in time they may deny what S. Augustin and others writ. Truth is at this time so odious, that it finds not hearers, but persecutors, said Hugo in Joan. viii. ver. 40.

I must also observe, that some call that of the learned in China a political sect; and I doubt not but it is so, as that of the Pharisees was. Cajetan ad Philip. iii, says thus, For it was the principal political sect among the Jews; I say political, to distinguish it from that of the Essenes, because that was not political, as being without matrimony like monks. Even so is the learned sect of China political. But this does not take away its being religious, as the fathers Matthew Riccius, Longobardo, Gouvea, and others plainly declare.

22. Lastly, I observe that Queser in Gen. vii. argues, whether there are any creatures unclean by the law or dictates of nature? He defines and proves there are none, and says, But it is very strange, we see some birds and beasts which nobody will eat to this day, as the ass, horse, camel, lion, and others. And among birds we see nobody eats the kite, nor other birds of pray, nor the jackdaw, nor the pie, nor others. Against eating of which al-

NAVA- most all of us have a certain abhorrence, as
 RETTE. it were natural. To resolve this point, I
 say it is requisite to know several nations.
 In Spain we abhor asses, dogs, horse-flesh,
 &c. consequently they do so in other coun-
 tries; that is no good inference. I have
 said before, that throughout all China as-
 ses-flesh is valu'd more than any other, tho'
 there are capons, partridges, and excellent
 pheasants; dogs-flesh is the next in esteem,
 horse-flesh is extraordinary good; and I
 always lik'd wild-mice. In the Philippine
 islands bats are good meat, jackdaws are
 eaten in other parts: in short, God cre-
 ated them all for man, and they are all
 good; so says *Gen. chap. ix.* and *S. Paul*
confirms it, Rom. xiv. See *S. Thomas, lect.*
3. The uncleanness of the law, mention'd
Levit. xi. is of another nature. Read also
S. Paul ad Tim. i. and *S. Thomas, lect. i.*
All creatures are good, and none to be re-
jected, &c.

Food.

Oleaster treats of this subject again on
chap. ix. ver. 3. where he has these words;
I can by no means grant that Noah was al-
low'd to eat all living creatures, or all that
move, viz. that it should be lawful to him
to eat snakes, moles, mice, and the like. I
 said before it was requisite to see much of
 the world to solve such doubts. In the
 seventh chapter above-quoted, he places
 the camel among the unclean beasts, and

we see it is not so to the *Tartars* who have
 enter'd *China*. In this ninth chapter he
 names the mice, and I know they are eaten
 in *China*, and not only the wild ones bred
 in fields, but those that breed in houses,
 though I would never eat of these last. He
 also excludes snakes; the *iguana*, which in
New Spain and the *Philippine* islands is a
 dainty dish, is certainly a species of a ser-
 pent or snake. The crocodile is also a very
 deform'd and frightful serpent, yet the *In-*
dians eat it. Snakes are eaten in *China*;
 and so the toad I said in another place is
 call'd XE IU, which is uglier to look at
 than our toads, is an excellent bit in that
 country, and fit for a prince, I ate it se-
 veral times. As for shell-fish, I have seen
 and eaten many very loathsome to look at.
 Since so many things which *Europeans* abhor
 are eaten in those parts, what may we not
 believe is eaten in *Africk* among the *Blacks*,
 and in other countries through the world?
 The same I say in regard of several sorts
 of grain which they eat there, with such
 herbs as no man in these parts would eat.
 Besides, how many are there among us,
 who could not endure to eat snails or
 frogs, and yet in other parts they are va-
 lu'd? In *China* a pond of frogs is worth
 double the price of any other fish whatso-
 ever.

To the Bishops and Vicars apostolick in the eastern parts, the confirmation and am-
 plification of the Constitution of Urban VIII. concerning the liberty of going into
 those parts any other way than by Portugal.

Clement X. Pope.

“ AD futuram rei memoriam. The du-
 “ ty of the pastoral function hea-
 “ ven has bestow'd upon us, requires that
 “ we endeavour to alter those things which
 “ were providently ordain'd by the popes
 “ our predecessors, according to the exi-
 “ gencies of times, as we shall judge in
 “ our LORD convenient for the propaga-
 “ tion of the faith, and salvation of souls;
 “ if we discover that the circumstances of
 “ things being chang'd, they are an obstruc-
 “ tion to the end they were piously design'd.
 “ It is long since pope Clement the eighth,
 “ of blessed memory, our predecessor, by
 “ certain letters of his granted, among
 “ other things, to all and every the ma-
 “ sters and generals of the Mendicant or-
 “ ders, then being and to come, that as
 “ necessity requir'd they might send over
 “ any religious men of their order, who
 “ were persons of known piety and learn-
 “ ing, and whom they should judge fit in
 “ our LORD for the office and employ-
 “ ment of preaching the gospel, teach-
 “ ing the Christian doctrine, administering

“ the sacraments, and performing other
 “ ecclesiastical functions, through Portu-
 “ gal only, and thence by sea into India,
 “ and the city Goa, and to the superiors
 “ of orders residing in those parts; and
 “ that as well those who should be sent
 “ over as other religious men of the
 “ aforesaid orders residing in India, and
 “ chosen and approved for this employ-
 “ ment by their masters, ministers, gene-
 “ rals, or other superiors, might repair
 “ as well to Japan, as to the other neigh-
 “ bouring and adjacent islands, countries,
 “ and provinces of China, the next king-
 “ doms, the continent and India. And of
 “ later times pope Paul the fifth, our pre-
 “ decessor, also understanding it was found
 “ by experience, that the prohibition
 “ against going over to India and the city
 “ Goa, by any other way than thro' Por-
 “ tugal, had neither produc'd the fruit
 “ that was hop'd for, nor been any way
 “ advantageous to the propagation of the
 “ catholick faith; he therefore desiring to
 “ provide that so great a work of God,
 “ all

all obstacles being remov'd, might be freely perform'd, did also grant by letters of his to all and every the masters, ministers, priors-generals, and all other heads of *Mendicant* orders, by what name soever distinguish'd, for the time being and to come, that as necessity requir'd they might send over to *Japan*, and the adjacent and neighbouring islands, provinces and regions aforesaid, and to the superiors residing in those parts, any religious men of their order, of known piety and learning, whom they should judge in our LORD fit and proper for the aforesaid duties and functions, by any other way besides *Portugal*; still the form of the said predecessor *Clement*, in other particulars being observ'd in all and to all points, and not otherwise. In like manner our predecessor pope *Urban* the eighth, of blessed memory, considering it appear'd by many years experience, that the directions given in those letters were not sufficient, and that they wanted some amendment, that the holy gospel of *CHRIST* might be more successfully and easily preach'd and propagated in the aforesaid islands and regions; after mature deliberation had with the cardinals of the holy *Roman* church, who have the charge of propagating the faith throughout the world, adhering to the letters of the aforesaid *Paul* his predecessor, he gave and granted apostolical authority to all the masters, ministers, priors-generals, or other heads of *Mendicant* orders, by what name soever distinguish'd, and even of the society of *JESUS* then being and to come, that when they should think convenient they might freely and lawfully send, by other ways besides *Portugal*, any religious men of their orders, or institute whom they should judge fit for missions by their age, life, manners, and learning, to the aforesaid islands, provinces, regions, and kingdoms of *East-India*; observing the form of the said letters of his predecessor *Clement* as to other points, in all and to all particulars. And he also, *ipso facto*, excommunicated all persons whatsoever, who should obstruct clergy and religious men, of what order or institute soever, as well *Mendicants*, as the society of *JESUS*, and the lay-brothers of the religious, to be sent as aforesaid, from coming freely to the abovemention'd islands, provinces, regions and kingdoms. And he ordain'd many other things, as is express'd more at large in the said *Urban* our predecessor's letters upon this matter, and in this like form of brief. *February 23, 1633.* The tenor whereof,

as also the tenor of the aforesaid letters of our predecessors *Clement* and *Paul*, we will have to be taken as if fully and sufficiently express'd and inserted in these our letters. But whereas our venerable brothers the bishops and vicars apostolick, deputed by apostolick authority, and residing in the eastern parts, have caus'd it to be made known to us, that to take their way through *Portugal* to the *East-Indies* and *China* is no less difficult to them, and to their secular clergy sent, and to be sent into those parts, than to the religious persons aforesaid, and utterly useless to the propagation of the gospel, and that there are other ways much easier and shorter; and have therefore caus'd us to be humbly intreated, that we would be pleas'd in our apostolick goodness, to provide for them opportunely in the aforesaid particulars, and dispense as follows: We therefore being willing to grant a special favour to the bishops and vicars apostolick, and by these presents absolving every their persons from any ecclesiastical sentence, censure, or pains of excommunication, suspension and interdict denounced *ipso facto*, or by any man upon any occasion or cause, if they have incur'd any such, and deem'd them absolv'd; and being favourably inclin'd to grant such requests, by the special advice of the congregation of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the holy *Roman* church appointed over the affairs of propagating the faith, do by these presents, and apostolick authority, confirm, approve, and renew the aforesaid letters of our predecessor *Urban*: And we do extend and enlarge the same letters to the said bishops and vicars apostolick, and also to secular priests and laymen, as well those already sent, as to be sent hereafter into *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other places, islands, provinces, regions and kingdoms of *India*, and other eastern parts; so that they, and any of them, may freely and lawfully go thither any other way whatsoever they shall think fit, besides the way of *Portugal*, and shall no way be oblig'd to pass through *Portugal*, or to take shipping there; in other things still observing the form, authority and tenor of the aforesaid predecessors of *Clement*. And we do actually, without further denouncing, accordingly excommunicate any ecclesiastick and religious men, of any order or institute, as well not *Mendicants*, as *Mendicants*, even of the society of *JESUS*, and seculars, who any way whatsoever obstruct the going of bishops and vicars apostolick, as

NAVA-
RETTE.

“ also of secular priests and laymen, as well
“ those already sent, as those to be sent
“ hereafter into *China, Cochinchina, Tunkin,*
“ *Siam*, and other places, islands, provinces,
“ regions, and kingdoms of *India*, and other
“ eastern parts. Decreeing the said letters
“ shall remain and continue in full force
“ and vigour, and have their full and intire
“ effect; and that those whom it does, or
“ may at any time concern, do in all respects
“ give full submission to them, and do re-
“ spectively observe them punctually and
“ inviolably, and that so it ought to be de-
“ fin’d and adjudg’d by any ordinary judges
“ and delegates whatsoever, even the judges
“ of causes in the apostolick palace, and
“ any others, whatsoever preheminance or
“ authority they do or may exercise; any
“ power or authority of judging or inter-
“ preting otherwise being taken from them
“ and every of them; and that it shall be
“ void and of no effect, if any person shall
“ attempt any thing to the contrary of what
“ is here mention’d, upon any authority,
“ knowingly or ignorantly. Therefore we
“ command all and every the patriarchs,
“ archbishops, bishops, and other prelates
“ of churches and places, even of regulars,
“ throughout all the world, that they

“ cause these letters to be inviolably ob-
“ serv’d by all persons in their respective
“ provinces, cities, dioceses, chapters and
“ jurisdictions; and cause them to be so-
“ lemnly publish’d, as often as they shall
“ be requir’d so to do by the aforesaid bi-
“ shops and vicars apostolick; as also by
“ secular priests and laymen, as well those
“ already sent, as that shall be sent as be-
“ fore, or any of them; notwithstanding
“ the apostolick constitutions and ordinati-
“ ons, and all those things, and every
“ of them, which the aforesaid our prede-
“ cessor, in his aforesaid letters, would
“ have to be no obstruction, and all things
“ else whatsoever to the contrary. But our
“ will is, that the same credit be given in
“ all places to the copies of these letters,
“ even tho’ they be printed; or when sub-
“ scribed by some publick notary, and seal’d
“ by any person constituted in an ecclesiasti-
“ cal dignity, as would be given to these
“ presents if they were produced and
“ shewn.

*Given at Rome at S. Mary Major, un-
der the Fisher’s seal, on the twenty-third
of December 1673, in the fourth year of
our papacy.*

LAUS DEO.



A

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